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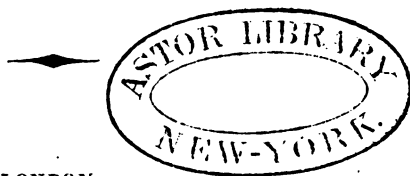
THE  
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AND  
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

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“—FIAT JUSTITIA.—”

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VOL. XX.



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THE  
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SEPTEMBER, 1822.

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ART. I.—CRIMINAL LAW OF ENGLAND.

1. *Speech of Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. in the House of Commons, Wednesday, May 23d, 1821, on the Bill for mitigating the Severity of Punishment in certain Cases of Forgery, and the Crimes connected therewith.* John and Arthur Arch. London, 1821.
2. *Inquiry into the present State of the Statute and Criminal Law of England.* By John Miller, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. Murray. London, 1822.
3. *Observations on the Criminal Law of England, as it relates to capital Punishments, and on the mode in which it is administered.* By Sir Samuel Romilly. Cadell and Davies. London, 1813.

THIS whole great question lies spread before us in the above publications. The arguments for the mitigation of punishments in our criminal law are nowhere to be found in more efficient form and stronger array than in the speech of Mr. Buxton, nor do we remember to have seen the opposite reasonings better enforced than in the pages of Mr. Miller's '*Inquiry*.' That our criminal law is characterized by many imperfections both in theory and in practice, seems no longer, as a general fact, to be much disputed by statesmen or jurists. After the temperate, though effectual confutation of Dr. Paley's speculative positions by the late Sir Samuel Romilly in the observations published by him in the year 1813, that indefinite system of wide discretionary jurisprudence, of which the eminent writer alluded to is the panegyrist, will find but few advocates. The difficulty that now presses is to determine within what limits this judicial discretion should be allowed, having regard to certain specific advantages, which in the opinions of some persons it may be supposed to



possess, and to the necessity which, from the varying circumstances and shades of moral guilt, arises for its exercise to a certain extent. From this roomy state of the question, if we may be allowed the phrase, a latitude is afforded to each disputant to mistake or exaggerate, wilfully or mistakingly, the propositions and conclusions of his adversary, as far as it may be serviceable in setting off the comparative value of his own arguments. Those especially who contend for the mitigation of our supplicatory laws, are frequently answered by their opponents as if the only question between them was the measure and quantum of actual punishment, whereas the diminution of the punishments nominally annexed to various secondary descriptions of guilt is proposed to prevent the frequent escape of delinquents by those who admit the claims of mercy to be more than satisfied by the limits to which punishment is practically restrained. Neither are the arguers on the side of our multiplied capital denunciations to be always regarded as enemies to the principle of proportion; on the contrary, they assert that the only effectual way of adjusting the ratio between crime and punishment, is to allow to the magistrate a large discretion in order to meet all the varieties of circumstance which aggravate or extenuate an offence. That the great purpose of criminal law is the prevention of crime by correcting offenders, and deterring others, seems to be a point equally conceded by all; and the controversy between men who have any understanding of the subject, is reduced to the question whether the terror of extreme punishment, depending upon discretion, and liable as it is to the interposing influences of habits, temper, and feeling, in those through whom the law is administered, or the expectation of punishment more moderate, but more defined, less threatening, but more certainly consequential, less tremendous in name, but more inflexible in operation, is the preferable medium by which the great end, in view is to be accomplished—the diminution and prevention of crime. The points perhaps substantially in dispute lie in no very wide compass, though the discussion demands the most cautious collection and examination of facts, and an acquaintance with the springs and motives which are found on the largest scale of observation to influence and determine human actions and preferences.

It seems to us that in the treatment of this question a great deal of discussion is absolutely wasted. This most assuredly is the case whenever an abstract view is taken of it. It is idle to talk of punishment as if to give it operation nothing more were required than to pass a law for it. The moral structure of the mind must determine in a state constituted like ours how far it can be exercised, and with what success. In despotic govern-

ments the natural effect of capital pains may be the subject of calculation with reference only to man's hypothetical nature under such a state of things; but in a government like that under which we live there is a previous question,—how far can the members of such a community be made the agents for carrying the law into operative existence. In a country where the execution of the laws is virtually committed to the body of the people, the necessity for adapting them to the common feeling by an ostensible equity in their composition, is so obvious, that it seems hard to conceive not merely how any other supposition could be taken as the foundation of criminal jurisprudence, but how the point could ever come under any reasonable doubt. To us it appears contradictory to common sense to contend that the criminal jurisprudence of a free state can be considered as in a good train, when, without even aiming at certainty or proportion, it awards punishments indiscriminately violent, simply to enlarge the potential discretion of the magistrate. If a punishment thus excessive in its severity is meant only to exist *in terrorem*, the danger, if very remote, loses even this effect, and ceases to be in any degree salutary; still, however, while it may be too little probable to deter from the commission of crime, its mere possibility may prevent as well the parties injured, as those who are to determine the weight of testimony, and to decide the question of guilt or innocence, from bringing the accused within the reach of so disproportionate an infliction, and may thus render nugatory even that questionable resource of penal justice—the boundless discretion of the judge.\*

It seems to have been too little considered that there is a moral character even in the denunciations of the law, which cannot be neglected without injury to the tone of public sentiment and feeling. Unless they bear reference in their quantity to the qualities and degrees of transgression, they are neither satisfactory nor instructive; neither consonant to that divine law which speaks plainly to the hearts of reasoning beings, nor consistent with the advancement of those distinctive perceptions of duty and principle, which to cherish and diffuse will be deemed a most important object by him who knows most in what the happiness of society consists. To deter men from the breach of the laws is, according to Sir Matthew Hale, the true, or at least, the prin-

\* Μαλιστα μὲν ἐν πρῶτῃ καὶ τοὺς ὀρθῶς νομοῦς, ὅσα ἐνδεχεται, πάντα διεκρίνει αὐτὸς, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀλαχίᾳ καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοὺς κρινέσθαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ἕνα λαβεῖν καὶ ὀλίγους ῥῆον, ἢ πολλοὺς ἐν φρονούντας καὶ δυνάμεινους νομοθετεῖν καὶ δικάζειν· ἐπειδὴ, αἱ μὲν νομοθεταὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου σκεψάμενοι γινώσκουσιν· αἱ δὲ κρίσεις, ἐξ ὑπογυμνῶν ὥς καλεῖται ἀποδίδονται τοῖς δικαίον καὶ συμφέρον καλῶς τὴν κρίνοντας· τοὺς δὲ πάλιν μεγίστην, ὅτι ἡ μὲν τοῦ νομοθετοῦ κρίσις ἢ κατὰ μέρος, ὅτε περὶ τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλὰ περὶ μέλλοντων τε καὶ καθόλου ἐστὶν ὁ δ' ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καὶ δικαστικῆς τῆς περὶ παρόντων καὶ εὐφραδισμένων κρίνει· πρὸς οὗς καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν τὴν καὶ τὸ μισεῖν καὶ τὸ εὖ καὶ συμφέρον συνήθηται πολλοῖς· Arist. de Rhet. lib. 1.

cial end of punishment; but it is not the single end of punishment. Every punishment pronounced by the law is, or ought to be, a part of a general penal system; which in the spirit of its denunciations should be an organ of public and private virtue, the guide and ally of sound opinion, and the interpreter of those decrees of immutable justice which are the proper basis of human institutions. Though the principal end of judicial punishment is prevention of crime, yet that end is not to be pursued at any rate, and by any methods. The means of enforcing obedience to law may be in themselves unlawful by being excessive. In such a procedure, more injury may be done by the distortion of natural sentiment, than good obtained by the fullest accomplishment of the particular object in view. The single end may be unwisely brought about by the sacrifice of the combined purpose. But if the particular aim is missed, and the general tendency at the same time perverted by the injury done to the character of public justice, nothing but mere mischief is the consequence; and we are firmly persuaded that the primary object of prevention will invariably fail wherever to any criminal act a degree of punishment is annexed, though nominally, and *in terrorem* only, which is palpably disproportionate and excessive. Theory and practice go hand in hand in condemning a mode of legislation which, even if expediency seems to call for it ever so loudly, is pronounced illegal by a voice from Heaven.

We have no design to enter upon the abstract enquiry, whether, as man has no original or natural right to take away the life of a fellow creature, he can acquire that right in his corporate or politic state. It is clear that the divine law has permitted and enjoined it in certain cases, and we feel no disposition to question the soundness of Sir Matthew Hale's opinion, that "although many of the schoolmen and canonists have been of opinion that death ought not to be inflicted for theft, yet the necessity of the peace, and well-ordering of the kingdom, hath in all ages, and almost all countries, prevailed against that opinion, and annexed death as the punishment of theft, when the offence hath been accompanied with *enormous circumstances*." We forbear to carry the objection further, than to maintain that it ought not to be inflicted, when any penalty less shocking to humanity would answer the purpose of prevention better, or as well. All nature is in insurrection against it, and it is doubtless attended by many demoralizing effects, when it becomes a spectacle of frequent recurrence. Let it at least, therefore, be reserved for those cases of atrocity in which common feeling acknowledges something like a balance between the punishment and the offence, and in which humanity or society is so deeply outraged or endangered, as to call for the strongest protection which the law can afford it. This homage to charity a Christian legislature is bound in duty

to manifest by its reluctance to intercept the possibility of repentance; but when the law, as her last resource, has placed the sword of supplicatory justice in the hands of her ministers, for visiting the sanguinary and ferocious offender with punishment of the same complexion with his guilt, infallibly and inflexibly to execute her denunciations, is substantial benevolence under the form of severity; and if not mercy in the act of administration, it is succeeded by those benefits to humanity at which Mercy must smile through her tears.

We have made it pretty plain in various parts of this journal, that we are not among the advocates of theoretic reform: but to deny the expediency of reform in every department of polity from a bigotted addiction to things as they are, makes no part of our character. It is evident to every man at all acquainted with our constitutional history, that just principles of legislation have been often out of sight in the fabrication of our criminal code. The pressure of a particular exigence, or the prominence of a single object, is apt to occupy the mind of a legislator, so as to shut out from his view the just value of other considerations, as well as those consequences of a general kind which experience gradually develops. Looking only to the existing evil, the mind listens readily to suggestions which propose strong remedies; and it is almost natural to it to imagine that the restraining influence of punishment will be in proportion to its severity. The multiplicity of checks which interrupt the efficacy of all violent expedients, and particularly the tendency of all exuberant and excessive measures to end abortively, partly from a certain counter effort which they are sure to excite, and partly from the disturbance which they create in the very subjects on which they are to operate, are considerations not very apt to occur to a mind ardent in the prosecution of a purpose by which a palpable inconvenience or suffering is to be removed. At once to effectuate this object, the extreme of punishment has presented itself as the simplest expedient, leaving to the judge the qualification of the remedy according to the circumstances of the case. Guarded, as it has been thought, by this discretion in the magistrate, the operation of the law has been abandoned to its course, and a total unconcern has succeeded with respect to its permanent consequences, or its effects in combination with the system to which it belongs. Its tendency to disturb the general economy of punishment, to approximate things naturally wide of each other, to dissipate the force of example, and to perplex the theory of ordinary morality, has been little cared about, or inquired into. Remedies adapted to particular cases, in perfect independence of any general plan of legislation, have at length, in a course of accumulation, in which neither order nor proportion has been observed, produced a shapeless mass of enactments, in which it



is impossible to discern the lineaments of an ethical distribution, or any consistency of technical arrangement. Extreme penalties having been profusely denounced, an insuperable reluctance has been always felt to recur to penalties less severe, when an evil urgently requiring to be repressed has presented itself. The notion of increasing restraint by diminishing punishment has been considered, in spite of experience, as too paradoxical to be safely entertained. Thus we find ourselves at the commencement of the nineteenth century, in a very contradictory and jarring predicament; with enlarged views of human nature, and human interests, in a condition which we call enlightened, and advanced by centuries of progressive refinement to a high pitch of moral and intellectual cultivation; yet sinking under the weight of an undigested chaos of criminal law, in which justice has defeated its own ends by an impracticable violence in its denunciations, has merged its real terror in its nominal barbarity, and sacrificed its efficiency to its fury.

Of all the different modes ever devised of governing and restraining human beings, much threatening with little performance is the weakest and the worst; and this must be the case invariably under all governments of which it has been the policy to multiply capital punishments, and to extend them to offences unaccompanied by personal violence.

There are certain objections to the infliction of death which can only be answered by the imperious necessity of the case. These objections increase in strength with the frequency of its recurrence. The oftener this painful spectacle is before the eyes of the public, the less it produces of salutary terror. It is much to be feared, that the exhibition tends in some degree to diminish the horror of homicide, and to confirm the habit of ferocity. Nor are we justified in the inference that the punishment most terrible to the sufferer, is the most operative on the mind of the spectator. On the contrary, violent impressions are generally short and transitory. It is the spectacle of continued suffering and privation only that produces permanent impressions, and gives birth to those sentiments which dwell in the mind, and penetrate and decide the character. The pain of death expends all its moral upon the spectator in one tumultuous emotion; it collects its force into one transient shock; it is a short exit from misery, and in the opinion of the crowd is an expiation of crime, — sometimes a sort of apotheosis. There is a pageantry often attending public executions, by which their disgrace is softened: a parting scene, a flourish of declarations, confessions, and expectations, a black or white costume, and other decorative incidents, cast a deceitful dignity over the last moments of the criminal. Sometimes his contempt of death makes him the hero, sometimes his protestations of innocence the martyr, of the mob.

Impressible minds avoid the spectacle; the hardened look on, and become more callous to their danger. If the crime of the sufferer is one to which the punishment is disproportioned in the common judgment of mankind, the infliction carries in it no moral lesson: its rarity prevents its being an occasion of terror; its excess operates powerfully in exciting contumacious and indignant hostility. When it is applied to crimes of the highest kind, and consequently of the least frequent occurrence,—when it is used to testify the horror and detestation with which society regards the deed of blood or rapine, and the act which strikes at the very foundations of public or private security, capital punishment fulfils its proper ends;—it has its distinctive efficacy, and touches, as it were, the true and responsive chord of natural feeling. But by the frequent and prodigal application of this ultimate remedy, that consequence is soon perceived which invariably befalls the frequent use of strong excitements,—they act with diminished effect; the sensibility of apprehension is gradually reduced; punishment loses its corrective influence, and a fearful crisis of moral disorder approaches.\*

Nothing, we apprehend, is more clear than that this level treatment of crimes, essentially different in their degrees of guilt, has a negative tendency to render more frequent those of the most flagitious description. By the application of the highest punishment to a secondary order of offences, no adequate correction is left for those which call more urgently for repression. In this state of things crime assumes a more dangerous character, and punishment becomes more and more impotent as the more atrocious offences increase in frequency. The inducement to stop short in the career of iniquity is removed, when by an additional act of wickedness no greater punishment is incurred, while thereby the risk of detection is materially diminished. Under such a regimen men look for security in the very atrocity of their deeds, and approach the last stage of guilt with calculating confidence. Nor is it inconsistent with daily experience to remark, that the very jeopardy of life is in itself not seldom the incentive to actions of villanous hardihood. There is a magnanimity connected with the peril which will sometimes turn menace into encouragement. A species of heroism not unfrequently mingles itself with the most sanguinary career of crime, which finds its meed and its reward in the society and the applause of abandoned associates.

We believe these observations to be founded on the general

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\* The speech of Diodotus on the great question before the Athenians of punishing with death the delinquency of the people of Mitylene, comprizes an interesting view of the testimonies which the experience of those days bore to the inefficacy of capital punishment when inflicted with indiscriminate violence. *Thucyd.* l. iii.

character of the human mind, and are partly induced by our conviction of their truth to declare decidedly for a reformation of our criminal code, by a juster and more proportionate adaptation of its punishments, on principles more in harmony with the moral constitution of nature. Violence may be properly met by violence; but in cases of less enormity we are satisfied that a scale of punishment regulated as far as conveniently may be (we know it must be necessarily imperfect) by the amount of guilt, will at least be exempt from the evils above enumerated. No illusory triumph, no spurious heroism, no display of intrepidity, nothing dramatic, nothing interesting, nothing that lends a parting grace to that which should inspire aversion, is found in the circumstances of him who expiates his crime by loss of liberty, seclusion, low diet, and severe labour. Such a condition shows the criminal to his fellow men in a state degraded and cashiered, and presents crime in its proper association with sorrow and disgrace. It is a spectacle that makes upon the beholder's mind a continuous impression, and forces it upon the perpetual comparison of the consequences of depravity with the lot of those who live honestly and reverence the laws.

The remarks which have above occurred to us, owe what strength they possess to a plain deduction from the nature and constitution of man; we might safely, however, try them by authority, or refer them to the test of fact and experience. It would be as rational, in the present state of the world, to recommend the Valerian or the Porcian laws to the adoption of the legislator, as to put forth the works of Montesquieu or Beccaria as practical guides in the details of jurisprudence: but, as authorities occasionally supplying the wisest and profoundest principles to govern the general course of legislation in the treatment of crimes, those writers are well entitled to the homage of all free governments. It is thus that the former of these writers expresses himself in treating of the power of punishments.

“If an inconvenience or abuse arises in the state, a violent government endeavours suddenly to redress it, and, instead of putting the old laws in execution, it establishes some cruel punishment which instantly puts a stop to the evil. But the spring of government is hereby weakened, the imagination grows accustomed to the severe as well as to the milder punishment; and as the fear of the latter diminishes, they are soon obliged in every case to have recourse to the other.”

“Men must not be led by excess of violence; we ought to make a prudent use of the means which nature has given us to conduct them. If we inquire into the cause of human corruptions, we shall find that they proceed from the impunity of crimes, and not from the moderation of punishments.”——“It often happens that a legislator, desirous of reforming an evil, thinks of nothing but of this reformation; his eyes are open only to this object, and shut to its inconveniences. When the evil is redressed, there is nothing more seen but

the severity of the legislator: yet there still remains an evil in the state which has sprung from this severity." (L. vi. c. 12.)

We have selected the above two or three passages from Montesquieu, because they have the solid basis of history and facts to support them, and derive no part of their attraction or value from their subserviency to a favorite theory, which too frequently characterises the propositions of that brilliant writer. The Marquis Beccaria is an author of the same class with Montesquieu; if not his equal in genius, little less sagacious, and much less addicted to a system. We cannot but think him well warranted in the general remark, that "if an equal punishment be ordained for two crimes that injure society in different degrees, there is nothing to deter men from committing the greater, as often as it is attended with greater advantage,"—that "all laws are useless, and in consequence destructive, which contradict the natural feelings of mankind.—We cannot confound the immutable relations of things, or successfully oppose nature, whose actions not being limited by time, but operating incessantly, overturn and destroy all those vain regulations which contradict her laws. It is not only in the fine arts that the imitation of nature is the fundamental principle; it is the same in sound policy, which is no other than the art of uniting and directing to the same end the natural and immutable sentiments of mankind."

We are by no means prepared to go the length of the marquis in his chapter "On the Punishment of Death," but we cannot refuse our assent to many of the strong observations by which he endeavours to support his humane theory. The right to inflict death is, we think, denied by him on very insufficient grounds, and its inefficacy as an example of terror is certainly overstated; but his general objections to it seem to us to be grounded on accurate observations of our common nature; and whatever may be said for or against his recommendation of perpetual slavery and labour as a substitutionary punishment, his views of the superior operation and influence of those examples which keep up the sentiment in the beholder of the degradation and suffering consequent upon crime, are substantially just, and true in their principles.

"It is, moreover, absurd and impolitic," says Sir William Blackstone, "to apply the same punishment to crimes of different malignity. A multitude of sanguinary laws (besides the doubt that may be entertained concerning the right of making them) do likewise prove a manifest defect either in the wisdom of the legislature, or the strength of the executive power. It is a kind of quackery in government, and argues a want of solid skill, to apply the same universal remedy, the *ultimum supplicium*, to every case of difficulty. It is, it must be owned, much easier to extirpate than to amend mankind;

yet that magistrate must be esteemed both a weak and a cruel surgeon, who cuts off every limb, which through ignorance or indolence he will not attempt to cure. It has, therefore, been ingeniously proposed, that in every state a scale of crimes should be formed with a corresponding scale of punishments descending from the greatest to the least: but if that be too romantic an idea, yet, at least, a wise legislator will mark the principal divisions, and not assign penalties of the first degree to offences of an inferior rank. When men see no distinction made in the nature and gradations of punishment, the generality will be led to conclude that there is no distinction in the guilt." (4 Bl. 18.)

The plain good sense of this reasoning has compelled the acquiescence of the moral mind in all civilized periods of the world. The laws of Draco, indeed, propounded an undistinguishing system of punishment:

—tantundem ut peccet idemque,  
Qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti,  
Et qui nocturnus Divum sacra legerit.

But they had more fury than force. Their rigour was soon departed from; and their excessive severity fell back into the opposite extreme by a sort of natural rebound; so that licentiousness and impunity were the only fruit of their self-destructive violence. This state of anarchy threw the republic of Athens into the hands of Solon, who retrieved its affairs by a total repeal of Draco's laws, and the introduction of a system of moderation. Those intemperate laws, therefore, had a short existence; the laws of Solon maintained their authority as long as the Athenian republic subsisted. They were full of errors, being contrived in an early stage of the most difficult of all arts; but from what is handed down to us concerning them, we find them characterised by a regard to that natural sense of justice which has never entirely abdicated its seat in the human heart. It is impossible, indeed, to read without a profound delight what the virtuous ancients say of that fundamental equity, which vindicates its holy original and stationary right, amidst all the varying institutions of the world. Το μὲν φύσει, says Aristotle, ἀκίνητον καὶ πανάχρησεν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐχει δύναμιν, ὥσπερ τὸ πυρὶ καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Περσείᾳ καί ἐστι. Arist. v. Eth. 8. And speaking again of these natural principles, he says, Πανάχρησεν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐχει δύναμιν, καὶ ὅτι τῷ δοκεῖν ἢ μὴ. Arist. v. Eth. 10. They have every where the same force, and are independent of all decrees. Let the reader turn also to the Antigone of Sophocles, where the same immortal sentiment is made to ring in the ears of the tyrant Creon. Οὐ γὰρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἢν ὁ κηρύξας ταῦτα, κ. τ. λ. where he may learn from this heathen moralist, and half-enlightened Greek, the insufficiency of a mortal's law

"To abrogate the unwritten law divine,  
Immutable, eternal, not like these  
Of yesterday, but made ere time began." \*

It would be to misconceive us very widely to consider us as the advocates of a lax system of judicature, in which crime is not severely denounced, or met by punishment of sufficient restraining efficacy. We contend only that conventional law must not contradict the law that is written in our hearts, or be at variance with the natural order in which a providential arrangement has impressed the degrees of guilt and transgression upon our consciences. A system of this traversing kind requires an extraordinary external force to sustain it in action, and while it lasts it is without the fundamental authority of truth; it punishes without correcting, multiplies pain without diminishing vice, disturbs analogies, dissociates affinities, transposes just ideas, and confounds the whole economy of moral perceptions. From ancient Greece and Rome we may learn prudence on this important subject of policy. † If the Porcian law be reprehensible for its excessive lenity, that excess seems to have been provoked by the character of the twelve tables which are said to have been full of cruel punishments, affording an instance of the tendency of violent enactments to terminate in impunity. It is a memorable circumstance that the senate engaged the consuls to propose the Acilian law, by which those that were guilty of intriguing for places were subjected to a fine, rendered incapable of the rank of a senator, or of holding any office of dignity, in order to anticipate the Tribune Cornelius, who, with the people on his side, was expected to institute for this offence a punishment of inordinate rigour. Upon which Montesquieu remarks that "the senate rightly judged that immoderate punishments would strike, indeed, a terror into the people's minds, but must have also this effect, that there would be no body afterwards to accuse or condemn; whereas by proposing moderate punishments there would be always judges and accu-

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\* While upon this subject it is not easy to premit the noble passage which occurs among the fragments of Cicero De Republica, preserved by Lactantius, and which Sigonius thinks he borrowed from Aristotle or Sophocles, alluding to the passages which occur in our text. "Est quidem vera lex, recta ratio, natura congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna, quæ vocet ad officium jubendo, vetando a fraude deterreat, quæ tamen neque probos frustra jubet, aut vetat, nec improbos jubendo, aut vetando movet. Huic legi nec abrogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest. Nec vero aut per senatum, aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus. Neque est quærendus explanator, aut interpres ejus alius: nec erit alia lex Romæ, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia posthac; sed et omnes gentes, et omni tempore una lex, et sempiterna, et immortalis continebit; unusque erit communis quasi magister, et imperator omnium Deus ille, legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator: cui qui non parebit, ipse se fugiet, ac naturam hominis aspernabitur, atque hoc ipso luet maximas pœnas, etiamsi cætera supplicia, quæ putantur, effugerit."

sers." With this sentiment the observation of Livy, upon the terrible death inflicted by Tullus Hostilius upon the Alban Dictator, remarkably accords, "Avertere omnes a tanta foeditate spectacula oculos. Primum, ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet, nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas," which observation we must refer to a period posterior to the institutions of the Decemviri; and this continued to be the character of the Roman laws, until the civil wars threw things into confusion; and, at length, under the emperors, the Decemviral constitutions were imitated in their punishments, and the essential grandeur of the state declined and fell.

It cannot be too often impressed that laws are a branch, and in truth the most important branch of practical morals. It has, therefore, always been usual with ethical and political writers to deduce the character of a people from the spirit of their laws—a truth which Demosthenes urges upon the Athenians as a motive to the greatest care and cultivation of this department of their polity. He does not scruple at once to adopt a sentiment which he states himself to have heard attributed to the wisest men—"that laws are in truth nothing but the morals of a state," *τροποις της πολιως ειναι*. C. Timocr. T. iii. Ed. Cant. p. 439. This affinity with ethics makes it the more important, that a fitness and proportion should, as far as is consistent with its multifarious objects, be maintained throughout the system of national jurisprudence, and especially through that part of it which comprehends what is most open to the view of the world—the dispensation of criminal justice,—that it may coincide with those great aphorisms of universal equity, which speak the natural sense of mankind. Where legislators thus feel they will avoid what the judicious Hooker well warns them against—"the measuring by one kind of law all the actions of men," whereby they will be sure to "confound the admirable order in which God has disposed all laws, distinct in nature as in degree;" remembering, with that great man, that "of law no less can be acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God,—her voice the harmony of the world."

It is, furthermore, among the high collateral duties incident to the business of legislation, to lead and meliorate opinion. It is as true of the people at large, as it is of little communities and individuals, that a government which makes no appeal to implanted and primary perceptions of the just measures of correction can never succeed in the grand purpose of general improvement and permanent discipline. This object can only be attained by slow and indirect impressions. Living in an atmosphere of unclouded justice, the public body feels more and more

the refreshing influence, imbibes at every pore the salubrious qualities of the medium in which it moves, and in a course of gradual assimilation takes on a sort of second nature, and assumes a higher rank in the scale of moral existence. Or, will it better illustrate the rectifying influence produced upon the public temperament by the habitual contemplation and enjoyment of a rational system of distributive justice, to compare it with that improving relish for the sublime and beautiful in the arts, which results from a constant commerce with specimens wherein true principles are exemplified, and the real constituents of excellence are developed in their just relations and proportions?

We trust we have offered some arguments to our readers, not wholly unworthy of their attention, against a system, better called an aggregation, of irrespective and disproportionate punishments. They contradict the seminal principles of morality lodged in the human mind, and they cross the purposes of right reason and wholesome education. They are discreditable to the character of a nation, and, instead of correcting, they deteriorate public opinion. But there is another objection to them, of a more palpable and obvious description. Injurious and calamitous they must be if carried into general effect; but carried into general effect they never can be in a free or well-governed state. They are practicable only where the government is despotic; and there they are, for the most part, the proximate cause of revolution. Laws of excessive severity in a free state, or in a mixed and temperate monarchy, are eventually encouragements to crime; and those who propose them legislate for impunity. In our own state, the genius of the people is turned strongly towards equity and proportion; and our criminal jurisprudence is at its base humane, while the superstructure is top-heavy with enactments, and seems ready to fall by its own unwieldy weight. We have utterly neglected the sound observations of Montesquieu, that "if we inquire into the cause of human corruptions, we shall find that they proceed from the impunity of crimes, and not from the moderation of punishments;" and that "in monarchies a good legislator is less bent upon punishing than preventing crimes." Quotations from Blackstone's Commentaries are trite, but we will not be deterred by that consideration from reminding our readers of the first chapter of his fourth book.

"We shall find it difficult to justify the frequency of capital punishment in the English law; inflicted, perhaps inattentively, by a multitude of successive and independent statutes, upon crimes very different in their natures. It is a melancholy truth, that among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no less than an hundred and sixty have been declared, by act of Parliament, to be felo-



nies without benefit of clergy; or, in other words, to be worthy of instant death. So dreadful a list, instead of diminishing, increases the number of offenders. The injured, through compassion, will often forbear to prosecute; Juries, through compassion, will sometimes forget their oaths, and either acquit the guilty, or mitigate the nature of the offence. The Judges, through compassion, will respite one half of the convicts, and recommend them to the royal mercy. Among so many chances of escaping, the heedful and hardened overlooks the multitude that suffer: he boldly engages in some desperate attempt to relieve his wants, or supply his vices; and if, unexpectedly, the hand of justice overtakes him, he deems himself peculiarly unfortunate, in falling, at last, a sacrifice to those laws which long impunity has taught him to contemn."

"Upon an average," says Mr. Buxton, to whose printed speech, standing at the head of our article, we are now brought by the current of our argument, "every year of that period, (adverting to the last century,) was marked by the enactment of a capital offence; besides those occasions in which the legislator, as if tired of the tedious retail method of confining one capital denunciation to one statute, had heaped together—had faggotted, for that is the only term which is applicable—fifteen or twenty of such enactments in one heterogeneous mass. I remember a case," continues the same gentleman, "in which in the same paragraph, nineteen are thus bundled together; one of which is for a civil trespass to the value of sixpence; and another for the worst species of murder. All these acts, as far as I can learn, passed *sub-silentio*, without debate, inquiry, examination, evidence, or any general interest." This statement is a striking comment upon the intimation of Sir William Blackstone, occurring in the passage above cited from his Commentaries, that these statutory inflictions were imputable to inattention. The thought carries in it something tremendous, that laws reaching to human life should ever be the result of carelessness: and if admitted to be a fact (and it is not denied, even in the work of Mr. Miller, which seems to have been composed to take off as much as might be of the trenchant edge of Mr. Buxton's charges), is there not reason enough to awaken the conscience of the legislature to the calls made upon it for investigation, and for the correction of institutions so momentous in their consequences, so spurious in their origin.

Our readers will not reproach us with a propensity to innovation. On the *vexata questio* of parliamentary reform we have spoken out frequently and fearlessly. We are not the advocates of ambiguous change in matters of positive institution, where the proof is in the operation, and where the machine, though liable to theoretical objections, has been, through a long course of experience, found not only to work well, but to contain in itself a principle of constant though gradual improvement and progress.

sion, and which involves nothing intrinsically wrong or indefensible on moral grounds; but with respect to the disproportioned and incongruous structure of our criminal law, it may be securely averred, that it neither looks well, nor works well; that it is as ineffectual in operation as it is uncomely in form, and deficient in principle.

In treating of the punishment for the offence of simple larceny, Sir William Blackstone seems half afraid to avow his own convictions, and endeavours to maintain a neutral ground in the midst of reasons and authorities which, upon his own showing, ought to have decided him. Having stated the Jewish and Attic laws upon the subject, he proceeds to say, that "from these examples, as well as from the reason of the thing, many learned and scrupulous men have questioned the propriety, if not the lawfulness, of inflicting capital punishment for simple theft," and then adduces the opinions of Sir Thomas More, and the Marquis Beccaria, "who, at the distance of more than two centuries from each other have," he observes, "very sensibly proposed that kind of corporal punishment which approaches the nearest to a pecuniary satisfaction, viz. a temporary imprisonment, with an obligation to labour, first for the party robbed, and afterwards for the public, in works of the most slavish kind, in order to oblige the offender to repair, by his industry and diligence, the depredations he has committed upon private property and public order." This would seem to be a clear suffrage on the side of More and Beccaria; but to balance these observations he observes further, that "notwithstanding all the remonstrances of speculative politicians and moralists, the punishment of theft still continues, throughout the greatest part of Europe, to be capital; and Puffendorf, together with Sir Matthew Hale, are of opinion, that this must always be referred to the prudence of the legislature, who are to judge, say they, when crimes are become so enormous as to require such sanguinary restrictions. Yet both these writers agree, that such punishment should be cautiously inflicted, and never without the utmost necessity."

If "learned and scrupulous men" have, from the examples of states, and "from the reason of the thing," doubted or denied the expediency of punishing simple larceny capitally, and have sensibly proposed a penal method less violent, but more appropriate, as seems to be admitted by the learned commentator, it is difficult to account for his afterwards giving them the appellation of speculative politicians and moralists, merely because he seems to be bringing against them the weighty authorities of Puffendorf and Sir Matthew Hale, which in truth he does not; for those learned men say no more than that in cases of the enormous kind, by which must be meant a criminality greatly beyond simple

larceny, the necessity for sanguinary punishments must be referred to the prudence of the legislature.

But the ground which Mr. Buxton takes is in a great degree independent of the mere question of rigour, or the justifiable degrees of punishment in an abstract view of the point. What he principally charges upon our present system of criminal law is this,—that its numerous denunciations of capital punishment for offences of a secondary or comparatively light degree of guilt, being in opposition to the strong current of human feelings, are, generally speaking, incapable of being carried into effect. They are the mere abortions of justice. The life of the law is its execution, and that life is denied by the natural constitution of things to these severe enactments. Witnesses, juries, judges, citizens, are all in a humane conspiracy to suspend and stifle their operation. The great leading principle of Mr. Buxton's speech is this,—that without the sympathy of the people of this country, nay, without their co-operation, their hearty concurrence, and gratuitous aid, little can be done by legislative inflictions, however multiplied and severe, towards the repression of crime; and that in proportion to their very multiplication and severity, their distance from this sympathy and co-operation is increased. The fact is that the people are the real executors of the law; and there is nothing more characteristic of the ancient jurisprudence of our land, than its reliance upon the activity of the public in lending effectual aid to its processes and mandates for bringing offenders to justice.

“Upon this system,” says Mr. Buxton, “which, resting upon public co-operation, requires the public sympathy, we have unhappily engrafted another system, which does violence to the feelings of the nation. And here is the practical inconvenience. It is taken for granted, that he who can, will inform—that he who can, will apprehend—that the person aggrieved will prosecute. All this is taken for granted; and justly, so long as the public feeling went along with the law; but now a man's life is at issue, and this at once seals the lips of the man who would inform; stays the activity of him who would apprehend; pacifies the prosecutor; silences the witnesses; often debauches the conscience of the jurymen; and sometimes even sharpens the merciful acuteness of the judge. In fact and in truth, it effects the deliverance of the felon.”

It is impossible, therefore, not to see with this very able and eloquent commoner, that the inevitable consequences of such a system must be the impunity of crime. That these consequences have taken place in an alarming degree, is a fact strongly urged in the report made by the select committee of the House of Commons, appointed in March, 1819, to inquire into the offences made capital by the present criminal laws. A report

which Mr. Miller in his treatise at the head of this paper, characterizes as a "work comprising the most valuable collection of documents which has perhaps ever been given to the world relative to the administration of criminal law in any country, and contains the first distinct annunciation of that plan of reform, which certain gentlemen within parliament, and their coadjutors out of it, have been for some time strenuously endeavouring to introduce into our whole penal code;" though, with an apparent contrariety of sentiment, which it would take much reasoning to reconcile, the aim of his publication is to invalidate the testimony upon which the report establishes itself. It seems to us that Mr. Miller is rightly charged by Mr. Buxton with expecting from the committee too much in the way of evidence to substantiate their opinions. He appears to have expected on the subject of each particular law, to which an excess of severity is imputed, an aggregation of facts collected from a large body of witnesses, to show the practical results of that severity; a work of endless detail, and as it strikes us, of superfluous labour, on an occasion where all that seemed necessary was to support a principle, and prove a general consequence by the opinions and observations of men selected for their long and particular experience in the subject matter of the enquiry; and we cannot but feel that the best course was taken by the Committee to effectuate this object. They did not, it is true, ransack the whole community for evidence, but they examined solicitors of the excise, solicitors of the Old Bailey, officers of the police, clerks of the police offices, magistrates, jurymen, merchants, bankers, and shopkeepers, selected possibly with some previous knowledge of their sentiments, but selected undeniably from among the persons most competent to supply the information required.

Among the evil consequences resulting from the inconsiderate multiplication of capital punishments in our English code of criminal law, is the necessity under which juries seem to consider themselves as placed, of giving false verdicts to save an offender from the peril of a capital punishment. It is thus that Sir William Blackstone expresses himself on this subject:

"The punishment of grand larceny, or the stealing above the value of twelvepence (which sum was the standard in the time of king Athelstan, eight hundred years ago), is at common law regularly death: which, considering the great intermediate alteration in the price or denomination of money, is undoubtedly a very rigorous constitution; and made Sir Henry Spelman (above a century since, when money was at twice its present rate) complain, that while every thing else had risen in its nominal value, and become dearer, the life of man had continually grown cheaper. It is true, the mercy of juries will often make them strain a point, and bring in larceny to be under the value of

twelvepence, when it is really of much greater value; but this, though evidently justifiable and proper, when it only reduces the present nominal value of money to the ancient standard, is otherwise a kind of pious perjury, and does not at all excuse our common law in this respect from the imputation of severity, but rather strongly confesses the charge."

On which reasoning of the above-mentioned learned person, Sir Samuel Romilly, in his observations on our criminal law, most justly exclaims,

"What must be that system of laws, the evasion and disappointment of which is looked upon with so much favour, even by a person who was one of the most distinguished ornaments of the magistracy, that he would be induced to give an epithet of such praise and honour to so detestable a crime as perjury, and to regard the profanation of the name of God, in the very act of administering justice to men, as that which is in some degree acceptable to the Almighty, and as partaking of the nature of a religious duty!"

We will now lay before our readers a passage from Mr. Buxton's speech, which will make this matter pretty clear to their apprehensions.

"And here, Sir, I must refer to the Sessions' Papers. My object is not to demonstrate perjury in a few special and selected cases. I admit that I prove nothing at all, if I do not prove it in tens, nay, in hundreds of thousands of instances. For the sake of clearness, I shall advert to but one species of crime; namely, Larceny; and to one species of perjury; namely, a diminution, by the Jury, of the value of the goods stolen, below the sum made capital by law. The House are aware, that Larceny from the person is, or has been to a late period, capital, to the extent of twelve pence; from a shop, to the extent of five shillings; from a dwelling-house, to the extent of forty shillings. Now, I will read to the House a few cases, by which they will judge whether Juries do or do not perjure themselves, for the purpose of saving the life of the prisoner.

"Mary Whiting was indicted for stealing 7 guineas and 34 shillings, in the house of John Sun. Verdict, guilty 39s. . . .

"Jonathan Smith was indicted for stealing 20*l.* in money in the house of J. Marsh. Guilty 39s.

"Elizabeth Parsons was indicted for stealing 23 guineas in the dwelling-house of Richard Staples. Guilty 39s.

"Joseph Court was indicted for stealing 8 pair of gold ear-rings, value 3*l.* 16*s.*; 121 other pairs of ditto, value 74*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* 48 pairs of ditto, value 12*l.* 12*s.*; 204 pairs of ditto, value 36*s.* 9*s.*; 24 pairs of ditto, 6*l.* 6*s.*; 2,488 gold beads, value 72*l.* 18*s.*; 864 coloured beads, value 18*l.*; 144 pairs of gold ear-rings, value 20*l.* 8*s.*; 3 pairs of gold enamelled bracelets, value 9*l.*; 18 pairs of gold ditto, value 11*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* 3 small cases for bracelets, value 6*s.*; 36 gold seals, value 3*l.* 12*s.*; 12 gold locketts, value 3*l.*; and a parcel of shoes, value 14*s.* 8*d.*; the property of Messrs. Mackenzie and Grey, in a lighter belonging to them on the Thames navigable river. Guilty 39s.

"Stephen Blanrise and John Parker were indicted for stealing 68lb. of beef, value 15s. and 12lb of pork, also a stock-lock, privately, in the shop of Thomas Burdett. Guilty 4s. 10d.

"William Parker was indicted for stealing 4 cocks, 17 hens, 5 ducks, 15 drakes, 20 fowls, the property of E. Tilson. Guilty 10d.

"Barbara Hensley was indicted for stealing a gold watch, and a gold chain, value 10l.; 2 cornelian seals, value 40s., privately, from the person of Edward George. The watch and chain found on the prisoner's person. Guilty 10d.

"David Dickson was indicted for stealing 18½ guineas, in the dwelling-house of Mr. Hall. Guilty 39s.

"Edward Greenwood was indicted for stealing 240 gallons of vinegar, value 22l. a hogshead and 6 half hogsheads, value 4l., the property of Elizabeth White, on a wharf adjoining the Thames navigable river. Guilty 39s.

"William Moore was indicted for stealing 10 gallons of wine, value 10l.; 42 bottles, 7s.; and a handkerchief, 2s., in the house of Peter Dennis. Guilty 39s.

"George Taylor and William Dove were indicted for stealing a bedstead, and curtains, set of fire-irons, a stove, a looking glass, 4 checked linen shirts, a chest containing a bill, value 4l. 8s., another bill value 4l. 4s., another bill value 2l. 2s., two dollars, and 7 bills (Spanish money) in the house of Mary Glass. Taylor guilty 39s. Dove guilty 10d.

"Catherine Tracey was indicted for stealing 6 guineas, and 2 half guineas, from the person of George Bennington. Guilty 10d.

"John Powell was indicted for stealing 34 wooden half firkins, and 1,150lb. of soap, value 20l. Guilty 10d.

"John Martin was indicted for stealing 6 guineas, 2 crowns, 3 silver shoe-buckles, and 11 silver buttons, in a small trunk, in the dwelling-house of Thomas Smith. Guilty 39s.

"Thomas Radford and Thomas Williams were indicted for stealing 7s.; a bank-note, value 10l.; 1 ditto, value 2l.; 3 others, each 1l.; and 2 others, each 5l. monies of John Hartshorne, in his dwelling-house. Guilty 39s.

"Alexander Chalmers was indicted for stealing 333 yards of Holland linen, value 105l. 5s.; 24 yards of printed linen, value 4l. 4s.; 45 yards of damask, value 16s.; 26 yards of striped linen, value 3l. 5s., in the dwelling-house of Edward White. Guilty 39s.

"Joseph Day was indicted for stealing a gold watch, value 20l.; a gold watch-string, value 2l.; a gold chain, value 10l.; a pair of diamond ear-rings, value 20l.; a silver snuff-box, value 3l.; 6 silk gowns, value 12l.; 2 pieces of gold and silver brocaded silk, containing 40 yards, value 60l.; 10 pieces of silk, containing 80 yards; and other things, in the dwelling-house of Thomas Cooke. Guilty 39s.

"William Fox was indicted for stealing 50l. in money, numbered, in the house of Alexander Steele. Guilty 39s.

"Philip Shovel was indicted for stealing 9 geese, value 40s. Guilty 10d.

"Mark Woddin was indicted for stealing 12 guineas, and 4 shillings, in a dwelling-house. Guilty 10*d*.

"Henry Todd was indicted for stealing 2 live pigs, value 10*s*. the property of John Dunn. Guilty 10*d*.

"Now, here is a case which is somewhat inexplicable to those who think that there never has been any disposition on the part of the Judges to rescue the guilty prisoner from the legal consequences of his guilt. Martha Walmsey was indicted for stealing 1 pair of silver shoe-buckles, 2 pair of leather shoes, 3 shirts, 3 other ditto, 3 aprons, a frock, a gown, a bed-gown, 2 pair of hose and 2 curtains, with many other things, value 3*l*. 10*s*. in the house of Henry Grinling. *Court to Prosecutor*. "If you can fix the value under 40*s*., you will save the prisoner's life." *Prosecutor*. "God forbid I should take her life! I will value them at 8*s*. Guilty 8*s*."

"Here is another case to which I beg to call the particular attention of the House. William Earl, alias Day, was indicted for stealing 13½ yards of lace, value 6*l*. in the dwelling-house of Arabella Morris. Guilty 39*s*. He was a second time indicted for stealing 4½ yards of lace, in the house of Henry Pearse. Guilty again 39*s*. Now, it is somewhat curious, that 4½ yards of lace, and 13½ of lace, upon the oath of twelve jurymen, should be valued at precisely the same sum. But, what is still more extraordinary, he was a third time indicted for stealing 6½ yards of Mecklin lace, and 7 yards of English lace, in the shop of John Gubbins. Now, if 4½ yards were worth, valued upon oath, 39*s*., one would have thought that these 6½ yards of one description, and 7 yards of another, must have been worth something more. But it appears, they were worth a great deal less; for the Jury brought in their verdict, Guilty of stealing to the value of 4*s*. 10*d*. Is there any man who doubts the reason of these strange and sudden fluctuations in the value of the property?—That their value was limited to 39*s*. in the two former instances, and to 4*s*. 10*d*. in the latter, because, in the former, the Larceny was from the Dwelling-house; in the latter, from the Shop?

"Again: A Bank-note of 50*l*. is taken from the pocket of the prosecutor: the Jury swear it is worth but 10*d*.—from the Shop of the prosecutor, the Jury swear it is worth 4*s*. 10*d*.—from the Dwelling-house of the prosecutor, the Jury protest that it is worth but 39*s*. Now, Sir, if any man denies that this is palpable and rank perjury, he is bound to explain so curious a phenomenon. Here is a piece of paper worth 10*d*. in one spot, 4*s*. 10*d*. in another, 39*s*. in a third, and 50*l*. all over the world besides.

"These are some few of the cases of this nature which I have selected; and I hold in my hand twelve hundred of a similar description, with which I need not trouble the House. I, in the little leisure that I enjoy, have only been able to select so limited a number; but, if any gentleman wishes to enlarge his collection, he will find no difficulty in making that twelve hundred, twelve thousand. Now, observe: each of these cases involves the perjury of twelve men, I have confined myself to one species of crime out of a multitude—to one species

of evasion out of a multitude—and to one court, the Old Bailey, without touching upon the remainder of England, all Ireland, and all Scotland. And, thus restricted, I prove my point. But, had I enlarged upon all crimes, tried in all courts, subject to every species of evasion, what would then have been the number of demonstrated perjuries?

“As this is an important part of the case, I wish to prove whatever I have asserted. I must, then, show, that there are a multitude of evasions: Goods may be taken, and yet the act not amount to Larceny, in the contemplation of the law. It may be larceny, but not privately; Or, being privately, not to the value required: Or, being to the value required, not from the Person, the Shop, or the Dwelling-house; and in each of these steps there is room for evasion. Nothing, for example, can be more common than a case of this nature; The prosecutor swears that he lost a Five Pound Bank Note, put it in a drawer, locked the drawer, took away the key—the drawer was broken open, the money gone, found upon the person of the prisoner, and other circumstances conspire to establish his guilt. The jury declare, that he is guilty of stealing, but not in the Dwelling-house; by which they imply, that the note and the man were accomplices—the note breaks open the drawer, passes through the doors, finds its way into the street, and there is met by the prisoner—then, and, upon the oath of the Jury, *not till then*, his guilt commences—he is guilty of stealing, but not in the Dwelling-house.

“Again: There is another mode of evasion, of great efficacy in preserving the lives of criminals—A supposition, that the thing stolen was taken in parts, and at different times; consequently, the prisoner at no one time is guilty of stealing to the amount made capital by law. For example: a man has a guinea in his pocket—the prisoner evidently took it; and the jury suppose, that he first contrived to divide it into some six-and-twenty separate pieces, committed six-and-twenty distinct robberies, and then recoins the guinea which is found upon him.

“Again: John Williams steals a live pig, sells it to a publican much under its value, for 7s. and a pot of beer. The Jury are confident, that before he stole it, he cut it into pieces, stole it slice by slice, then rejoined the parts, resuscitated the pig, and produced it, unimpaired in voice, health and spirits, after so serious an operation.

“But, I will fatigue the House with only one additional case. It certainly is the most curious of all that I have stated; but I am bound to add, that it does not stand upon that authentic and indisputable evidence, upon which I rest all the other facts now advanced. I advert to the celebrated case at Pevensey; to which antient and respectable borough belong, I believe, some peculiar, but rarely exercised rights of trying offenders. A man was brought before the Magistrates at Quarter Sessions, charged with stealing a pair of leather breeches. The evidence was clear, and his guilt was manifest; the Jury brought him in guilty; and the Magistrates were going to pronounce upon him sentence of imprisonment, when the Clerk informed them, that the offence was capital, and that therefore they must proceed to pronounce sentence of death. This information threw these respectable



Magistrates into the utmost confusion and dismay. What was to be done? was a question which all asked, and none could answer. One advised the insertion of *Not* before the word *Guilty*: Another thought it would be more regular to turn the prisoner loose, and say no more about the matter. At length, it was determined to adjourn the Court, and to send a deputation over to a Mr. Willard, a gentleman, I presume, very learned in the law, to beg his counsel in so desperate an emergency. It so happened, that the Lord Chief Baron and another of the Judges were dining with Mr. Willard, when this strange embassy introduced themselves. When their melancholy case was stated, the Chief Baron said, that the best way would be to insert after the word "*Guilty*," the words "*Of Manslaughter*." The deputation were delighted with so ingenious an expedient—returned in triumph—and I am misinformed if it does not appear by the records of this respectable borough, that the man was tried for stealing breeches, and convicted of Manslaughter. In another instance, I hear of a man who was indicted for returning from transportation, and found guilty of Petty Larceny.

"Now, Sir, I know not the value which gentlemen in this House attach to the Trial by Jury: but this I do know, that it is nothing, and far worse than nothing, except upon the presumption of the veracity of a Juror's oath: and that there is no gentleman, who hears me, who holds any thing, however dear to him, the possession of which may not depend upon the veracity of a Juror's oath. Is it, then, policy or prudence—(I say nothing of its wickedness)—to tamper with that which is so very delicate; or even to permit the reputation of that oath to be impaired, or any stain to be cast upon its purity? But, when the public see twelve respectable men—in open court—in the face of day—in the presence of a judge—calling God to witness, that they will give their verdict according to the evidence, and then declaring things, not very strange, or uncommon, but actual physical impossibilities, absolute miracles wilder than the wildest legends of Monkish superstition—what impression on the public mind must be made, if not this—that there are occasions, in which it is not only lawful, but commendable, to call God to witness palpable and egregious falsehood?" (P. 56—63.)

A case occurred in the year 1733 of a description that shows still more strikingly, if possible, not only the absurd extent to which juries have sometimes carried their violations of truth and probability for the sake of evading the severity of the law, but of the judicial discretion which they have indirectly exercised under the pretext of this pious perjury. In the case of George Dawson and Joseph Hitch, it appeared that the two prisoners, in company together at the same time, stole the same goods privately in a shop, and the jury found one guilty to the amount of 4s. 10d. and the other to the amount of 5s.; that is, that the same goods were at one and the same moment of different value. It seems that George Dawson had been tried before at the same sessions for a similar offence, and had been convicted of stealing to the

amount only of 4s. 10d. And the jury, says Sir Samuel Romilly, seem to have thought, that having had the benefit of their indulgence once, he was not entitled to it a second time; or, in other words, that having once had a pardon at their hands, he had no further claims upon their mercy.

Thus has this careless frequency of capital enactments in our criminal code, and its general want of correspondence with the common measures of justice, and the common sentiments of mankind, among its other ill effects, familiarized to the minds of juries, under that species of apology which Sir William Blackstone has denominated *pious perjury*, the dangerous practice of tampering with their oaths, and considering them in the cause of humanity as "more honoured in the breach than in the observance." What Blackstone has denominated "*pious perjury*," Sir Samuel Romilly has described by the more appropriate phrase of "*profane levity*," and has rightly anticipated the most fatal consequences from the practice alluded to.

In the case of forgery, this door of escape is not open to the offender; and here the effect of a disproportioned severity has been tried in all its latitude. But humanity will break out somewhere, where the character of a people is humane. The crime is of more dangerous consequences than ordinary thefts in a commercial country, but the civil consequences of a crime do not enhance its moral and intrinsic guilt: the sympathies of the people therefore are not on the side of the law in the punishment of this offence, but on that of the criminal. The consequence therefore must necessarily be, that the guilty will go free, if not by the perjury of juries, at least by the reluctance of the party injured to prosecute. The very certainty with which execution has followed conviction in the case of forgery, has produced all the mischiefs of uncertainty, by multiplying the chances of escaping prosecution. There is an odium attending the prosecution, not because the crime is not considered as deeply infected with moral guilt, but because the title to commiseration conferred upon it by its hard treatment, merges some part of the ignominy which ought in justice to attend upon it. Criminals are fully aware of the feelings that operate in their favour, and found their calculations of impunity upon the very denunciations of an angry judicature. Thus the late executions for forgery, and the concomitant increase of the crime, the character which the trials for this offence have of late years assumed, the embarrassment of judges, the dilemmas of juries, the conduct of prosecutors, all evince the magnitude of the evil into which we are falling under the present injurious system. Every day adds confirmation to the sentiment of the Rambler, (No. 114), which is the more valuable as being the result of the general

thinking of a great moralist, reasoning untechnically, but profoundly from his own wide survey of human nature and society, that "the frequency of capital punishments rarely hinders the commission of a crime, but naturally and commonly prevents its detection; that all laws against wickedness are ineffectual, unless some will inform, and some will prosecute; that the obligations to assist the exercise of public justice are indeed strong, but they will be overpowered by the tenderness for life; that what is punished with severity, contrary to our ideas of adequate retribution, will be seldom discovered; and multitudes will be suffered to advance from crime to crime, till they deserve death, because if they had been sooner prosecuted, they would have suffered death before they deserved it."

From Mr. Buxton's speech, we borrow the following facts on the negative and affirmative side of the question. The offence of forgery, with respect to certain stamps, prior to the year 1807, was punished only with fine. It was then raised into a felony, and with what effect may be learned from the statements of the solicitor of the excise, who declares to the committee on his examination, that it was a change for the worse; that the excise was better protected as the law stood before its augmented severity; that he had observed that the officers would rather connive at the offence, than expose themselves to the pain and obloquy of bringing the offender to justice. The crime had not abated; but by the official return presented to the committee, it appeared that the prosecutions had abated more than one half. Here, therefore, in the critical case of forgery, is an instance of the effect produced by advancing a misdemeanor into a felony, and throwing the public on its side. The same speech supplies us with an example of the effects produced by an opposite course of procedure. About the year 1811, the linen bleachers of England and Ireland found their property peculiarly exposed to depredation. "This," says Mr. Buxton, "they ascribed to the impunity with which the crime was committed; and that impunity to the reluctance to prosecute; and that reluctance to the severity of the law." Appended to the Report of the Committee is a return of the number of persons convicted of the offence of stealing in bleaching grounds, in the County of Lancaster. The return is for twenty years, thirteen of which were prior, and seven subsequent to the mitigation of the law. A comparison is made by Mr. Buxton between the first five years, during which the crime was capital, and the last five years during which the crime was not capital, very properly observing that the first two years of the time immediately succeeding to the mitigation of the law would not afford a just criterion, both because an apparent increase of the crime is produced by the increase of prose-

cutions, and a real increase may be the probable result, until the knowledge of the mitigation of the law by those who are in the habit of committing the offence, is followed by the knowledge which experience, the only instructor to which they will listen, brings with it of the greater certainty of punishment which is the consequence of the mitigation. Mr. Buxton fairly contends that his point would have been established, if he could merely have proved that since the alteration of the law, the offence had increased only in the proportion of other offences; for if the minor penalty be equally effectual with the penalty of death, the infliction of death is shown to be unnecessary, and if unnecessary, then unjustifiable. If he could have gone only a step further, and shown that while other crimes had increased, this particular offence had remained stationary, he would have been entitled to consider that fact as evidence of the positive benefits of relaxing the penalty of the law in the case under consideration; but he does in truth show that while all other offences have rapidly increased, this offence alone has as rapidly decreased during the last five years of the seven subsequent to the mitigation of the law. We have then a table produced to us, by which it appears, that during the first five years of the thirteen prior to the relaxation of the punishment for this offence, the prosecutions for highway robbery were 31; during the last five years, since the change of the law, 77. Burglary for the same period before the change, 30. After the change, 108. Horse-stealing for the first five years, 7; for the last five years, 31; and stealing in dwelling-houses had increased from 4 to 45 in similar periods, that is eleven-fold. But when we come, (says Mr. Buxton), to the offence of stealing in bleaching grounds, we find 28 in the first five years, and 9 in the five last. And by the same official returns, it appears that during the former period at least one-third were acquitted; whereas, during the latter period, there had not been a single acquittal; showing, at the same time, how much the certainty of conviction had been promoted by the reduction of the penalty. Again, by the return of the number of committals and convictions for bleach-ground robberies on the north-east circuit of Ulster, in Ireland, it appears that as the law stood before the alteration, out of 62 persons committed, 53 or 59 had not been convicted, but that since the alteration of the law above-mentioned, though the number of trials had decreased only one half, the number of convictions had increased five-fold.

It is utterly impossible for any degree of prejudice to be impenetrable to these facts, the force of which is carried still further, by reflecting that the above comparison is between two periods, the latter of which has been under the great

disadvantage attending a change from war to peace, from occupation and gain, to distress and compulsory idleness. And further to prevent an erroneous view of the case, it is particularly necessary to be made aware of the false inference into which we may be led by the numerical increase of the number of persons convicted of an offence shortly after the reduction in the penalty annexed to it. A temporary increase of prosecutions is a consequence to be expected naturally to arise from such change. It is, in truth, the great object of it; and it is through this consequence that the advocates of reduction look for its ulterior efficacy in producing a real diminution of crime.

We cannot pursue further the details of Mr. Buxton's speech, but must content ourselves with declaring our conviction that he has most interestingly and impressively made out his main proposition, that while nothing has been more characteristic of the policy of this country, during the last stage of its history, than the rapid increase of its criminal laws, nothing during the same period has been more remarkable than the multiplication of the very offences against which this severity has been directed. He has, in short, fully entitled himself to ask, whether the fact, that crime has grown—has flourished—has obtained unprecedented extent, under the existing law, can be tortured into a proof that the law has been effectual?

The plan of distributive justice which has so long unsuccessfully prevailed in this country, (for who can deny that it has *unsuccessfully* prevailed, when he hears that by the papers laid before the House of Commons, it appeared that there passed through the prisons of this country, in the year 1818, no less than 107,000 individuals, and that it appeared before a committee of the same House, that there are in the metropolis of London alone, from 8 to 10,000 children, "who earn their daily bread by their daily misdeeds,") the plan of justice, we say, which multiplies, without any regard to system or proportion, the sanguinary pile of capital punishments only to define the boundary, (which in truth is nature's boundary, at which all penal laws must stop of themselves) to which the discretion of the judge may flow as to its high water mark, has certainly no countenance from the deliberative sense of our ancestors. No such folly has ever been committed, as to make laws without designing them to be carried into execution. Enactments which deform our criminal jurisprudence by their preposterous severity, those accidental and untimely fruits of legislative superfecundity, laws which have been made to satisfy the irritation, alarm, or superstition of the moment, have all in their day been carried into strict execution.

According to the tables of the convictions and executions at

the Old Bailey, the proportion in the number of executions appears to have been decreasing with the progress of time, gradually, though slowly; but still, at the commencement of the reign of George the Third, the number of convicts executed exceeded the number of those which were pardoned. At the time in which we live, those who are pardoned very far exceed in number those who suffer the sentence of the law. It appears that under the statute of 10 and 11 William III., which inflicted the punishment of death on persons convicted of privately stealing in a shop or stable, goods of the value of 5s.; and under the 12th of Anne, which annexes the same punishment to the crime of stealing in a dwelling-house property to the amount of 40s. during the years from 1749 to 1771, 240 persons were convicted, of whom 109 were executed; from 1802 to 1810, the year in which Sir Samuel Romilly's bills were moved for in the House of Commons, it appears from the tables published under the authority of the Secretary of State, that there were committed to Newgate for trial, charged with the crime of stealing in dwelling-houses, 599 men, and 414 women; and charged with the crime of shop-lifting, 506 men, and 353 women; in all, 1,872 persons, and that of these, *only one was executed*. "In how many instances," says Sir Samuel Romilly, "such crimes have been committed, and the persons robbed have not proceeded so far against the offenders, as even to have them committed to prison; how many of the 1,872 thus committed were discharged, because those who had suffered by their crimes would not appear to give evidence upon their trial; in how many cases the witnesses who did appear withheld the evidence which they could have given; and how numerous were the instances in which juries found a compassionate verdict, in direct contradiction to the plain facts clearly established before them, we do not know; but that these evils must all have existed to a considerable degree no man can doubt."

Notwithstanding, however, all that can be said or shown upon this subject, very many reflecting persons are attached to the present state of our criminal law, though they admit it to be the result of casualty rather than contrivance. They say that the wide discretion with which the magistrate is invested, does sufficiently qualify the asperity of the law, and leaves nothing but its theory open to the objections to which we have been adverting. Doubtless the discretion of the judge is of incalculable use in tempering the severity of an angry and unmeasured system of criminal law, and we believe that in fact it is as conscientiously as it is beneficially exercised. But in the extent to which the indiscriminating vengeance of our penal enactments have made its use and interference necessary, it has become the source

of much misery and mischief. It has operated to remove whatever of salutary terror might have deterred the criminal bosom from resolving on the commission of a capital offence, when the danger of infliction was substantial and imminent; but it leaves, we apprehend, enough of an unsalutary terror, in the chance that remains of the law being left to take its course, to warp others from their duties, whether as prosecutors, witnesses, or jurymen. Still at the discretion of the judge the capital punishment may be, and sometimes is inflicted, from a knowledge of which he is in possession respecting other particulars of the prisoner's conduct, to which the public are strangers;—a case which exhibits at once most of the disorders which belong to the system;—the punishment having no visible reference to that for which the prisoner suffers, it fails as a particular example; being ostensibly referrible to a crime to which it seems disproportioned, it is attended with an opinion of injustice and inhumanity, and consequently fails as a general lesson; the criminal is punished for an offence of which he has not perhaps been regularly proved to have been guilty; and both he, the prosecutor, the witnesses, and the jury, have reason to complain that fair warning was not given them that death would be the consequence of the conviction. After such an effect of their verdict, it is but too easy to see what is likely for some time afterwards to be the disposition of jurymen on similar occasions, and what the calculation which the sons of violence and crime will be apt to found upon that anticipated disposition.

If this principle of keeping the denunciation of capital punishment suspended over the heads of criminals, subject to the tempering interference of the discretionary power of the judge, be good at all, it should be good throughout; and there would be no reason for not making the law, as to criminal justice, a much simpler system than it is, by at once putting the whole upon this footing; first declaring what acts are crimes, and then denouncing death against all without distinction, leaving the discretion of the judge to reduce the rigour of the law as he shall see occasion. But it is only necessary to have clear views of the advantage of certainty in the administration of justice, to be sensible of the objections that lie against committing to individuals, of whatever supposed general competency or uprightness, a larger discretion than may be conveniently avoided. One man's discretion is not another's, and the more the criminal justice of the land is left to be thus complexionally influenced, the less certain will be its procedure, and the less steady its rules. What Sir William Blackstone predicates of our law as it stands, is truly descriptive of what it should be.

“It is” says he, “one of the great glories of our English law,

that the species, though not always the quantity or degree, of punishment is ascertained for every offence; and that it is not left in the breast of any judge, nor even of a jury, to alter that judgment, which the law has before-hand ordained, for every subject alike, without respect of persons. For if judgments were to be the private opinions of the judge, men would then be slaves to their magistrates, and would live in society without knowing exactly the conditions and obligations which it lays them under. And besides, as this prevents oppression on the one hand, so on the other it stifles all hopes of impunity or mitigation, with which an offender might flatter himself, if his punishment depended on the humour or discretion of the court. *Whereas, where an established penalty is annexed to crimes, the criminal may read their certain consequence in that law, which ought to be the unvaried rule, as it is the inflexible judge of his actions."*

It is not easy at the same time to advert to the large number of cases in which it is in the breast of the judge to subject a criminal to the ultimate sentence of the law, or to reduce the punishment to transportation or imprisonment, and to acquiesce altogether in the propriety of the above eulogium on the penal laws of England as pronounced by the above high authority. The judges have, in truth, a discretion of great latitude in the practice of our crown law, and it is a discretion not of the best regulated kind; for as the law appoints the capital infliction, should the judge determine to let the law have its course, whatever apparent disproportion there may happen to be between the offence to which the conviction applies, and the severity of the penalty under which it falls, the law is chargeable with a large part at least, and indeed with the more positive part of the sentence, and consequently carries off much of the odium that may belong to it.

It has never been our fate to meet with any writer on the philosophy or the practice of jurisprudence insensible to the vast importance of certainty in the laws appertaining to penal justice, till we took up Mr. Miller's "Enquiry into the present State of the Criminal Law of England." We will not say, indeed, that Mr. Miller has in direct terms or in substance disputed the principle, but he reasons thus upon its impracticability:

"It may be still urged that much additional light has of late years broke in upon the whole subject of penal law, and that it has now been discovered, that without resorting either to capital punishment, or the severe secondary ones contained in the codes of which we have been speaking, crimes may be effectually repressed by mild punishments certainly and invariably inflicted. Some devoted adherents of the system of perfectibility go one step farther, and with Smeat, in the Critic, anticipate the era when they will be repressed without any punishment at all. 'This,' says he, 'is a comedy, on a new plan, replete



with wit and mirth, but of a most serious moral. You see it is called *The Reformed Housebreaker*, where by the mere force of humour, housebreaking is put in so ridiculous a light, that if the piece only has its proper run, I have no doubt but that bolts and bars will become useless by the end of the season.—In short, his idea is, to dramatise the penal code, and make the stage a court of ease to the Old Bailey.\* Much reasoning has been employed by very grave men respecting the possible mildness of punishments, scarcely less visionary, and far less harmless than the schemes ascribed to the author of the *Reformed Housebreaker*. There is no authority to be found either in Revelation or the aspect of the present times, for believing that provided punishments were certain, although extremely mild, would effectually prevent the commission of most sorts of offences. When it is assumed that a particular result would follow, *provided punishments were rendered certain*, recourse is had to one of the hypothetical arguments sometimes used in controversy, which frequently obstruct, but seldom facilitate the approach to truth. But in reality, no such certainty, nor any great approximation to it can exist. The non-appearance or misconduct of witnesses on the trial, irregularities in the proceedings, and the fallible and differing judgments of judges and juries will always afford numberless chances to the guilty to escape, in addition to that which they estimate more than all the rest, the chance that they shall never be detected. Certainty of punishment is as unattainable as certainty of conviction. No table of punishments has been constructed so accurate and ample as to apply to all kinds and gradations of offences; nor is any country to be found in which the punishment prescribed by law has been invariably inflicted. In the mildest as well as severest systems of penal law, a discretionary power has always been lodged somewhere, and the real question is, to what extent, and by whom it ought to be exercised. The objections to this discretionary power are forcibly stated by Sir Samuel Romilly in his *Observations on Criminal Law*. He complains that no two judges exercise it in the same manner; and that one man may be executed for a comparatively venial offence on account of bad past conduct, while a participator in the same transgression escapes with a more trivial punishment, by which means the public loses the benefit of example, and never knows the real crime for which the severer punishment has been inflicted. Though these objections are not without foundation, they are pressed a great deal too far. As long as human understandings differ, the administration of law and equity under different judges will differ also, whatever pains may be taken to prevent it; and the public invariably display greater penetration in discovering the real cause of distinctions of punishments than Sir Samuel Romilly has supposed. If two men are convicted of the same crime, one of whom is an old and the other a new offender, if the first is executed and the second escapes with transportation or imprisonment, the public seldom mistakes the true reason of the distinction made between them. It is one which, in the administration of every law, there ought to be an opportunity of making. If a confirmed London thief, for instance, who has long lived by stealing, but has all the while continued to elude

the vigilance of justice, is at last convicted; or if a person should be convicted of passing forged notes, who is, at the same time, well known to be a forger, every principle of equity demands that a more severe punishment should be inflicted on such hardened malefactors as these, than on those who though they have been participators with them in one particular act of delinquency, have been but recently seduced from the paths of virtue. Sir S. Romilly says, if this discretion is to be continued, it should be methodised, and that general rules should be framed for the instruction of the judges. To this there can be no objection, provided the end in view is attained either by general rules applicable to the whole Criminal Code, or special ones adapted to each particular case. The only fear is that if the attempt were made, there would be found an insurmountable difficulty in making any kind of rules concise and intelligible. Admitting, however, that such a plan is practicable, the argument here used would in no respect be affected. All that is contended for is, that under whatever form it appears, however it may be limited, and to whomsoever it may be committed, this discretion will, and for the furtherance of substantial justice ought invariably to exist. In this country, it is in effect, though not in theory, delegated to the judges; and though it may be inexpedient to trust them with it to so great a degree as at present, it will be found neither practicable nor desirable to deprive them of it altogether. The very responsibility which it entails is one of the best securities the country can have that the ministers of justice will be men of capacity and integrity; and the exertion of it is among the most legitimate means of securing to them that respect and deference which ought to be yielded to their office." (P. 224—229.)

This is not, in our humble judgment, at all a specimen of fair argument. The pleasantry about the reformed house-breaker is mere matter of interpolation impertinent to the question. It may be very idle to surmise the possibility of dispensing with punishment altogether by substituting plans of reformation, and yet very wise and discreet to propose a much greater degree of certainty in the system of criminal law than is at present accomplished or aimed at; and even to expect from this higher degree of certainty in the application of punishment the possibility of some remission in the degrees of it; nay, further, to anticipate, according to the principle of the argument to which we have already called the attention of our readers, a much greater degree of certainty in the administration of justice from this very reduction, and apportionment of its penalties. Mr. Miller says, "there is no authority to be found either in Revelation or in the aspect of the times, for believing that provided punishments were certain, although extremely mild, they would effectually prevent the commission of most sorts of offences." Now we do not precisely see what Revelation has to do with this point. The Revelation of the New Testament leaves wholly untouched the question of civil polity, and remarkably abstains from all inter-

ference with the internal economy of states. The Revelation of the Old Testament lays open to us, it is true, the whole plan of legislation for the government of the people of God. The penalties under this system inflicted for the breach of duties of the civil and social kind, were in general mild. Theft was punished only by pecuniary fine and satisfaction to the injured party; nor when the sun was risen was it permitted to slay a thief in the very commission of the crime. (Exod. xxii.) Idolaters, blasphemers, sabbath-breakers, incestuous persons, such as offered their offspring to Moloch, those who cursed or struck their parents, and other offenders against the Divine ordinances of Him who had a sovereign right to settle the quantum of guilt and quantum of punishment to belong to and follow upon every act of disobedience, were subjected by his express authority to the infliction of death; but it cannot be necessary to insist upon the impropriety of reasoning by analogy from the case of that insulated community living under the guardian care and special jurisdiction of God, and designed to fulfil certain special appointments of infinite wisdom, to the ordinary circumstances of man. To say "the aspect of the times" affords no ground for expecting that milder punishments would answer the judicial objects of Government, is to beg the entire question. If what is averred by the advocates for more proportionate punishments be true, namely, that the bad aspect of the times is the consequence of this disproportion, which, they say, is the source both of uncertainty and impunity, then before this question is decided, it is not to be permitted to the opponent to assume the "aspect of the times" as an argument against the substitution of milder punishments than those which are now denounced against secondary offences. It is the *exceptio ejusdem rei cujus petitur dissolutio*. Neither ought the question to stand as Mr. Miller has chosen to state it,—whether there is reason to believe that, "provided punishments were certain, *although extremely mild*," they would answer the purpose of prevention. We do not find Sir Samuel Romilly or Mr. Buxton contending for any such loose proposition; they do not say, let punishments be *extremely mild*, but they say, do not let a disgusting list of capital punishments remain upon our statute books, to give a boundless discretion to judges, and by the uncertainty which springs out of the varying exercise of such discretion, to place the adventurers in villany precisely in that predicament which is most agreeable to a character that has a natural pruriency towards danger, and delights in abandoning itself to dubious and desperate fortunes.

The whole of the above argument of Mr. Miller, concerning the question of certainty, proceeds upon an overstrained under-

standing of the certainty recommended. It supposes an absolute certainty, or "a great approximation to it," to be in the contemplation of the persons upon whose expectation he is pleased to be so jocose. And verily, if such a degree of certainty were maintained to be possible, or even proposed as a proper object of experiment, Mr. Miller might properly answer that "no table of punishments has been (nor indeed could be) constructed so accurate and ample as to apply to all kinds and gradations of offences; nor is any country to be found in which the punishment prescribed by law has been invariably inflicted." Now what is it that Sir Samuel Romilly says upon this subject. He maintains that the certainty of punishment is much more efficacious than any severity of example for the prevention of crimes. He supposes, indeed, that if it were possible that punishment as the consequence of guilt could be reduced to an absolute certainty, a very slight penalty, meaning, as he must undoubtedly be in fairness understood, a comparatively slight penalty, would be sufficient to restrain from the commission of almost every species of crime, except those which arise from sudden ungovernable passion. No man would steal what he was sure he could not keep;—no man would by a voluntary act deprive himself of liberty, or expose himself to certain disgrace and infamy without the possibility of gain. This absolute certainty, it is true, can never be attained where facts are to be ascertained by human testimony, and questions are to be decided by human judgments. But the impossibility of arriving at complete certainty ought not to deter us from endeavouring to approach it as nearly as human imperfection will admit, and the only means of accomplishing this, are a vigilant and enlightened police, rational rules of evidence, clear and unambiguous laws, and punishments proportioned to the offender's guilt.

Surely there is nothing that ought to sound romantically to the ears of the soberest enquirer in all this. The possibility of absolute certainty is treated as visionary, and only advanced as an hypothesis to illustrate a principle. What more is suggested than was maintained by Sir W. Blackstone, that though a scale of crimes with a corresponding scale of punishments is a thing impossible, yet at least a wise legislator will mark the principal divisions, and not assign penalties of the first degree to offences of an inferior rank. There would always among the best informed exist differences of opinion as to the extent to which the divisions might be carried, but these discrepancies would probably grow less as the enquiry proceeded, and at all events the process might be begun by removing those laws from our statute books, which, from their entire want of all merciful or moral proportion to the offences to which they have been annexed, through

acknowledged inadvertency, alarm, superstition, or temporary paroxysms of legislation, are a disgrace to those books in which they stand "more in mock than mark."

Judge Blackstone certainly looked to a probable progress in this adjustment of punishment to the degrees of guilt. Adverting to the many benefits to be expected from improved methods of reformatory punishment, and contemplating a period of more judicious arrangements in the correctional plan of our places of confinement, he thought there might be "reason to hope that such a reformation might be effected in the lower classes of mankind, and such a gradual scale of punishment be affixed to all gradations of guilt, as might in time supersede the necessity of capital punishment, except for very notorious crimes." It can hardly be expected from us, that we should open the question at all as to the practicable graduation of guilt and punishment: we know that it might easily be pushed to absurdity; but it is to be remembered, that to a certain extent the principle of penal apportionment must have place in every system of criminal jurisprudence, or it must be at a great remove indeed from the decrees of common sense and the ordinary dictates of morality. It is really among all men of understanding and candour come to be a question of quantum and practicability. What is proposed is only that the principle be recognised in the frame and structure of our laws, as it is of necessity in their actual administration. As far as it is made to prevail in the legislative enunciations of penalties for crime, it conduces to certainty, warning, example, and prevention: if left to be settled as cases arise by individual opinion, however high, it affords no certain rule to restrain or awe the vicious, it diversifies the course of justice with the shades and colours of individual feeling and opinion, it lays a ground for speculation in crime, and encourages a sanguine reliance on the preponderancy of slight circumstances, and accidental impressions.

That many of those circumstances attendant upon the commission of crimes, which do, or ought uniformly to decide the discretion of a judge, might be pointed out prospectively in written laws, it seems impossible to doubt. But no man of discernment supposes it possible to carry the principle so far as not still to leave a large discretion in the judge. To narrow the range of a discretion, justified only by necessity, may surely be entertained as the practical object of a sober legislator, since upon the confession of Dr. Paley, the most imposing authority against us, it stands admitted that, "for as much as the ultimate sanctions of all human laws are to be dispensed by fallible men, the safety as well as the liberty of the subject requires that discretion should be bound down by precise rules, both of

acting and judging of actions." Mr. Miller himself, after much argument in opposition to the opinions in favour of the increase of certainty and the diminution of severity; after some ridicule thrown on those who look to the possibility of making our punishments more corrective than exterminative; after duly celebrating the general good effects of our present system of holding the sentence of death over the heads of criminals, with the notorious certainty of its not being executed, takes a lower ground, in page 228 of his work, and, admitting that "it may be inexpedient to trust the judges with this discretion in respect to punishment in so great a degree as at present," is contented with simply observing, that it will be found "neither practicable nor desirable to deprive them of it altogether." We believe that upon this ground Mr. Buxton and Mr. Miller may meet and shake hands most amicably and cordially; for we are quite satisfied, that nothing more is contended for on the subject of judicial discretion by the former gentleman, than what is in the above sentence conceded by the author of the "Enquiry."

It would be great injustice not to admit, that Mr. Miller has in the main conduct of his argument displayed very considerable talent, but we cannot help accusing him of some injustice towards the arguments which, with a mind not wholly unprejudiced, he has undertaken to expose. It is but too much his habit to give to the proposed reforms of our criminal law an appearance of insobriety, by stating them without any of the qualifications by which they are accompanied; and after all, as has been shown above, when he comes to propound his own opinions with due discrimination, they are manifestly at little distance from those which he has been first mistaking, or mistating, and then attacking. It seems that the treatise in its first concoction was an article in the *Quarterly Review*, and there is something generally in the objects and habits of reviewers which gives them litigious views of a question. To understand the opinions which they sit down to confute, with the limitations with which they were designed to be understood, they are apt to suppose would enfeeble their satire, and check the course of observations, which, to be agreeable to the general policy of their work, should never drop the character of confident superiority. Mr. Miller will pardon us if we complain that a little of this want of candour appears in his treatment of the arguments of Sir Samuel Romilly. That erudite lawyer did certainly contend for the possibility of appointing stated penalties for specified offences in many cases, and maintained the propriety and duty of carrying this certainty as far as it was practicable; but he admitted it to be a principle that must stop very far short of an universality of application. He seems to have been

more aware than Mr. Miller has represented him, of the caution which must accompany the process; but he thought himself warranted at least in maintaining that those accompanying and characterizing circumstances, with respect to which it is on all hands allowed that it would be well if the judges were to exercise an uniform discretion, might with no great difficulty be made to enter into the description of an offence, and be subjected to a fixed and immutable punishment, saving the King's prerogative of mercy. Now we cannot but think with him, that from a cautious application of this principle to the laws which affect the life and liberty of the subject, much benefit would be experienced. We think with him, too, that the criminal quality of actions should in every case, as far as might be, without intricacy of definition, or too great a multiplication of divisions, be determined by the invariable voice of law, in order that to the greatest practicable extent every person might be able to foresee the amount of temporal evil to result to himself from the commission of a particular offence; which evil should in each case be made to outbalance the advantage to be expected from the criminal act, of which it should be the sure and infallible consequence. Surely, the more punishment is made a matter of certainty, the milder it can afford to be; so long as it is of sufficient magnitude to outweigh in the estimation of every reasonable being all the possible good which he can promise himself from the perpetration of the contemplated crime. (We here speak of course only of crimes which are not the result of the violent passions and propensities of our nature.) It can then be only the hope of escape, encouraged by examples of impunity, which can determine the choice on the side of transgression. This certainty in the execution of justice, and this clearness in propounding to the people the consequences of their actions, so as upon grounds of common sense and self-love to induce them to obey rather than violate the laws, is not a very new maxim. Plutarch ascribes it to Solon in the following memorable passage: Τον δὲ Σολῶνα φασιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συνθήκας ἀνθρώποι φιλατίησιν ἄς ὑδρέτερω λυσίτελες ἐστὶ παραβαίνειν τῶν δεμμένων καὶ τὰς νόμους ἄνω ἀρμόζεται τοῖς πολίταις, ὥστε πασι τοῦ παρανομεῖν βελτίον ἐπιδείξει το δίκαιοκρατεῖν.

Very wide of each other are Solon and Dr. Paley upon this subject. Our own philosopher, and able expounder, in discussing the policy of the criminal law of England, has observed, that by the number of statutes creating capital offences, it sweeps into the net every crime which, under any possible circumstance, may merit the punishment of death. That when the execution of the sentence comes to be deliberated upon, a small proportion of each class are singled out, the general character, or the pe-

culiar aggravations of whose crimes render them fit examples of public justice; and he deems it impossible to enumerate or define these circumstances before hand; or, at least, to ascertain them with that exactness which is requisite in legal description.

These observations appear to comprise the whole strength of the argument against the certainty, which, to a limited extent, is contended for as practicable, by those who range themselves with Sir Samuel Romilly on this question. The metaphor certainly was apposite, for, as was remarked by the writer last mentioned, "None could have been found which could more forcibly have described the situation of a man, who, taking his notion of law from what he sees executed, and therefore thinking that the offence which he had committed could only subject him to imprisonment or transportation, finds to his surprise, that he had forfeited his life." But if it were wise to make the law a net to ensnare offenders, or to surprise them by consequences, which, from what they had observed, they were unlikely to foresee, the net has not been made sufficiently wide for the purpose contemplated by Dr. Paley; for there are many crimes not subject to be swept within the net, which might be aggravated by circumstances to an equal degree of guilt with others which lie within its compass. And it seems to us to be well remarked by the learned and highly distinguished person, by whom, in his "*Observations on the Criminal Law of England*," Dr. Paley has been shown to be deficient on this topic, that where the *general character* of a crime is such as to render it a fit example of public justice, it can not be considered as *one of those circumstances which it is impossible to enumerate or define beforehand, or even which cannot be ascertained with that exactness which is requisite in legal description.*

Dr. Paley, as Sir Samuel Romilly has observed, himself enumerates the several aggravations, which ought to guide the magistrate in the selection of objects of condign punishment; and mentions principally three—repetition, cruelty, and combination; which aggravations, Sir Samuel remarks, are as capable of being clearly and accurately described in written laws, and as proper to be submitted to the decision of a jury as the crimes themselves.

Whatever propriety there may be in these last-mentioned observations of Sir Samuel Romilly, and we are inclined to think they are entitled to great attention, we cannot but express our surprize at the tenets of Dr. Paley, who proceeds to say, that by "this expedient (meaning the multiplication of capital punishments), few actually suffer death, whilst the dread and danger of it hangs over the crimes of many;" and then that, "the wisdom and humanity of this design" (we have before adverted to



the error involved in this word 'design') furnish a just excuse for the multiplicity of capital offences, which the laws of England are accused of creating, beyond those of other countries." We have already sufficiently expressed ourselves on the feeble effect of this chance of suffering, in deterring men of evil dispositions from the commission of crimes, and shall dismiss the topic with the sagacious and sound observation of the Marquis Beccaria, that where the consequences of crimes are problematical, additional force is given to the passions. With respect to the second remark of Dr. Paley, above noticed, it is impossible not to be surprised, with Sir Samuel Romilly, that in this mode of administering the law, an apology should be found for the great number of our statutes creating capital offences; for certainly "one would have imagined, that one advantage of such a system, by which it is left to those who exercise the law to discriminate, and to find out the circumstances which are to characterize, to extenuate, or to aggravate offences, would be, that the laws being extremely general, might be few in number, and simple and concise in their enactments. Were we to frame laws which should distinguish accurately the general character of different offences, and enumerate all the peculiar aggravations with which they might be attended, and should leave unforeseen and unnoticed no human action which was dangerous by its example, or heinous in its circumstances, we might, indeed, have a good excuse to offer for the multiplicity of our penal laws."

We will borrow one remark more from Sir Samuel Romilly, which appears to us to be both just and ingenious, and then we dismiss the consideration of his valuable suggestions. The power of suspending the laws by granting pardons is exclusively in the king, and it is a prerogative of a very transcendental character. But in the exercise of that discretion, with which, in judicial practice, at least, the judge is invested in dispensing justice on his circuit, he is made the depositary of the royal clemency; he administers the law, he suspends its execution. Still, however, it is through the king alone that lenity after sentence can reach the case of the prisoner. Thus it must happen, that "the convicts pardoned, so much exceeding in number those against whom the law is suffered to take its course, and the few who are executed, not the many who are pardoned, appearing to form the exceptions to a general rule, this prerogative assumes, in practice, an aspect of severity, not of mercy, and the crown seems to single out its victims for punishment, not to select the objects to whom it should extend its clemency."

For the reasons principally above stated, though by disposition and reflection little disposed to favour innovation, even when

it pretends to the character of reform, and still less inclined to think favourably of reformers; reluctant to risk the possession of practical and positive good in the pursuit of problematical advantage, and fully sensible that no considerable change can be brought about, in any part of our civil constitution, without some danger to the pillars of public happiness, we still feel it impossible not to declare our conviction, that the criminal laws of England are in a state most imperiously to call for revision.

It seems to us, that Mr. Miller, however unfriendly he has shown himself to some of the positions, reasonings, and deductions on which the above opinion is principally founded, does, nevertheless, impart great strength and confirmation to it, by the masterly review he has taken in the first 85 pages of his work, of the actual condition of our statute law and law reports.

Whatever argument for the necessity of revision and correction Mr. Miller finds in the careless and slovenly manner in which the statutes in general have been worded and composed, applies with its full force to those belonging to our penal code; which, with all their severity, are often chargeable with a great want of precision. It is thus that Mr. Miller expresses himself on this subject:

Many bills which are introduced bear unequivocal marks of *never* having been maturely considered, either in their immediate or remote effects. They make their appearance in the House nobody knows how or wherefore, and it depends chiefly upon the chance of their attracting or escaping observation whether they are lost or carried. It does not now seem to enter sufficiently into the contemplation of any member of parliament, that his reputation either is or ought to be materially affected by the character of the bills which he proposes." (P. 58, 59.)

If Mr. Buxton has justly animadverted on the carelessness and haste with which new felonies have been created by parliament,—a carelessness which Mr. Justice Blackstone has indirectly admitted, as has above been made to appear, there is surely reason enough to induce the legislature to review its past enactments with such a jealousy for its own honour, as may insure an impartial examination. Much would be gained by the simple investigation; in the course of which the redundancy, deformity, and disorder of our penal constitutions would be fully developed. To be duly impressed with the nature and extent of an evil, is a step in advance towards its cure. As a specimen of the extension of this precipitation and carelessness to the composition of penal statutes, Mr. Miller gives the following instance:—

"By 10 Geo. III. c. 18. it is enacted, that all persons stealing dogs, or selling, buying, or detaining dogs, knowing them to be stolen, shall, for the first offence, forfeit a sum not exceeding 30*l.*, nor less than 20*l.*, upon

conviction, and until such sum is paid, be committed to the common gaol or house of correction; and shall, for the second offence, upon conviction, forfeit not less than 30*l.*, nor more than 50*l.*, upon conviction, and until paid be committed to the common gaol or house of correction, until such sum shall be paid; 'and such justices shall also order the said offender to be publicly whipped within three days after such commitment, in the town in which such gaol or house of correction shall be, between the hours of twelve and one of the clock.' And then the 4th section enacts, 'That if any person thinks himself aggrieved by any thing done in pursuance of this act, such person may appeal to the justices of the peace, at the next quarter sessions of the peace, to be held for the county or place where such cause of complaint shall arise, and within four days after the cause of such complaint shall have arisen, &c. such appellant giving, or causing to be given, fourteen days' notice at least, in writing, of his or her intention to bring such appeal, &c. to the persons whose acts are complained against.' The records of Tartarus itself present no precedent of so outrageous a violation of justice. When the presiding magistrate, in these

——— durissima regna

Castigatque auditque dolos,——

he seems to think it a sufficient abuse of authority to make the sentence precede the trial, and there the iniquity of his proceeding ends. But to insult the complainant with an appeal against whipping, eleven days and perhaps eleven weeks after he has been whipped, provided always he 'should think himself aggrieved,' is a refinement of oppression which it is to be hoped no modern Rhadamanthus, except an English justice sitting in judgment on a dog-stealer, ever had the power of inflicting." (P. 73, 74.)

It is to the last degree surprising that Mr. Miller, after writing the two or three pages, which we shall proceed to extract, should set his shoulder so strongly in opposition to the spirit and principle of the propositions urged with such candour and discrimination by Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Buxton. The excess of the punishment enacted against the three descriptions of larceny, which it was the object of Sir Samuel Romilly to correct, by his bills in parliament, is fully admitted by him; and he argues for the propriety of reducing, in these instances, the severity of the law precisely upon the same grounds as the persons, to whose opinions we have been dedicating so many pages, press for the adoption of a rational system of apportionment and certainty.

"The acts which Sir Samuel Romilly wished to repeal, are the 10 and 11 of William III. c. 23. which made it a capital felony to steal to the amount of five shillings from a shop, warehouse, stable, or coach-house; the 12 Ann. c. 7. which made it capital to steal privately from a dwelling house to the value of 40*s.*; and 24 Geo. II. c. 45. which makes it capital to steal from on board a vessel in a navigable river to the same amount. Of the extent to which the

different species of larceny are carried, and the degree to which they disturb and deprave society, few persons, except those whose attention has been particularly directed to the subject, have formed any adequate conception. It appears from page 131 of the Appendix of the Committee's Report, that from the years 1810 to 1818 inclusive, the total number of persons committed for trial for criminal offences throughout England and Wales, amounted to 75,021, of which no fewer than 50,595, being nearly two-thirds of the whole number, were for different sorts of larceny alone. Nothing can show more forcibly than this statement of the fact, how great a desideratum in penal jurisprudence an effectual punishment for the different varieties of this kind of delinquency is, though no case can probably be mentioned in which it seems so difficult to be devised. The acts of William, Anne, and George II. which have been quoted, never could have been regarded as a rational method of suppressing any species of this offence. I thought unfavourably of them at the time this paper was originally laid before the public, and subsequent inquiry and reflection has strengthened that dislike to them I then felt myself under the necessity of expressing. That the commission of a theft to the amount of five shillings from a shop or warehouse, or to that of forty from a dwelling-house or on board a vessel in a navigable river, should subject every individual who may be guilty of a felonious act to the punishment of death—even where it is a first offence—without any circumstances of aggravation—and though lighter penalties are annexed to crimes of so much deeper enormity, cannot be denied to be enactments conceived in a spirit of indefensible severity. Perhaps no laws could be pointed out from the beginning to the end of the Statute book, which have so much promoted perjury in jurymen, or afford so much countenance to the charge of unnecessary severity which has so often been preferred against the criminal code of England. It is difficult to conjecture why all modification of them should have been so long and strenuously resisted, for though convictions under them have been of extraordinary frequency, the penalty annexed to them can hardly ever be said to have been inflicted. Sir S. Romilly has said, in the fourth page of his observations, 'that if we confine our observations to these larcenies, unaccompanied with any circumstance of aggravation, for which a capital punishment is appointed by law, such as stealing in shops, and stealing in dwelling-houses, and on board ships, property of the value mentioned in the statutes, we shall find the proportion of those executed to those convicted reduced very far indeed below that even of one to twenty.' His calculation was far below the truth. It appears from the Appendix to the Committee's Report, p. 141 and 139, that for the 7 years from 1812 to 1818 inclusive, the convictions in London and Middlesex, for larcenies from shops, dwelling-houses and vessels, amounted to 434; the number of executions only to 10, or 1 in every 43. It appears also from pages 132 and 128 of the Appendix, that the whole number of persons capitally convicted for larceny throughout England and Wales, from 1810 to 1818 inclusive, amounted to 1196, and the number executed to 18, or something less than 1 in 66, showing a disproportion still more striking than the one

first mentioned. It is manifest therefore that the words of these statutes could have conveyed no notion whatever to any person either at home or abroad, of the punishment which convicted thieves in this country actually suffer; and the acts of parliament in question, instead of being a terror to the 65 criminals over whose heads its threatenings were for a time suspended, must with greater justice have been regarded as a surprise upon the 66th object who became obnoxious to their vengeance. At last the 10 and 11 of William III. was modified by 1 Geo. IV. c. 117, and larceny from shops, warehouses, coach-houses or stables, does not now become a capital offence until the value stolen amounts to fifteen pounds. Perhaps it would have been an improvement of this statute, if capital punishment had been attached to larceny of a somewhat lower amount in cases where peculiar trust or confidence had been reposed in the prisoner, or where he had previously been convicted of a capital felony of any description. Even as it now stands, however, there can be no question that it is an important amendment introduced into our criminal law.

“ It is to be hoped that the same mitigation which was effected in 10 and 11 William III. c. 23. by 1 Geo. IV. c. 117. will speedily be extended to 12 Anne, c. 7. and 24 Geo. II. c. 45. As the law at present stands, a man may be proved to have stolen for any number of times to the amount of 14*l.* 19*s.* from a warehouse, where property is in general more unprotected than in any of the other places specified in these acts, and he can at most be transported for life, and is often likely to escape with transportation for seven years: but the law declares him guilty of a capital felony, and sentence of death is regularly pronounced upon him, if he is proved to have stolen to the amount of *forty shillings* from a dwelling-house or from on board a vessel in a navigable river. Such an inconsistency ought never to have prevailed between co-existing British statutes, and it ought immediately to be removed by softening the severity of the objectionable enactments. It may confidently be advanced that though stealing from dwelling-houses and on board ships in navigable rivers were subjected exactly to the same punishment with stealing from shops and warehouses, the security of no one species of property would be in the smallest degree diminished. The returns afford very strong reason to presume, though it does not amount to conclusive evidence of the fact, that out of the whole number of 1196 who were capitally convicted for larceny throughout England and Wales, between 1810 and 1818, not one individual suffered death for any species of larceny to so small an amount as fifteen pounds, unless under such circumstances of aggravation as might have been made an exception to the general rule. The benefits resulting from that further alteration of the law of larceny which has now been urged, would be of considerable moment. The letter of the law and the administration of it would more nearly correspond, the diminution it would cause in the number of capital convictions would make the population appear to be less profligate, the laws would seem less severe, and the effect of the sentence of death, which is calculated to produce so impressive an effect in the way in which it is pronounced in England, would be less frequently thrown away in cases in which there is an

absolute certainty that it never will be carried into execution." (P. 120—126.)

It is rather remarkable, that although in the above passage an excess of severity, in the punishment denounced against the larcenies there described is fully admitted by this writer,—although he declares against it, because it results in impunity, and because it has so much promoted perjury in jurymen, he should still, in maintenance of that attitude of opposition which he seems to consider it a sort of duty to assume, insist upon the expediency of keeping up the legal denunciation of death in cases of larceny to a certain amount; because "in this country personal property has accumulated to so unprecedented an extent;" because "there are vast warehouses in unfrequented streets and lanes;" and because "there are richly furnished shops entrusted to the care of servants;" and for such like reasons; forgetting, as it would seem, that the reason by himself assigned, for repudiating the punishment of death in the larcenies enumerated, was the want of sympathy with the law in the public mind; and that such sympathy does not rise with the costliness of the articles plundered, or the increase of personal property in the commercial progress of the country, or the wealth and importance of the party subject to spoliation: forgetting, also, that on the very principle of policy, on which the severity in the penalties annexed to the larcenies specified seemed to him to require to be reduced, his plan of reserving capital punishment for the more extensively injurious thefts would militate against its own purpose. We cannot but remark, too, that the bearing of the whole passage is strongly towards the adoption, to some extent, of a scale of punishment adjusted to the circumstances and degrees of aggravation accompanying the offence.

We acknowledge ourselves, also, as a portion of the public, obliged to Mr. Miller for his very sensible observations on the dangerous habit in juries of violating their oaths to rescue a prisoner from the disproportionate severities of the law, in cases of a secondary degree of criminality. He thinks Mr. Buxton is too large in his asseverations, with respect to this practice in juries, when he offers to show that such perjury occurs in "tens, nay in hundreds of thousands of instances," and observes, that in his own inspection of the Sessions' Papers, the instances seldom occur in any other cases than those of larceny, and in those cases, not to the extent to which "the literal interpretation of Mr. Buxton's words would warrant." Now really this is fighting with straws; for we do not conceive that Mr. Buxton meant any thing more than that this sort of perjury was chiefly practised in cases of larceny, or that he expected to be understood as

being literally or arithmetically exact, when he talks of his "hundreds of thousands;" that gentleman will probably consider Mr. Miller's admission quite sufficient for all the purposes of his argument, that "there is no doubt but that in cases of larceny it (the perjury of jurymen) is remarkably frequent." He will consider, too, that Mr. Miller travels the whole way with him, and that he is in truth a powerful auxiliary to him whether he intends to be so or not, when he candidly and judiciously observes, that

"Its existence (the existence of this perjury) adds to the regret which he had before expressed, that a total alteration of the law of larceny did not take place a considerable time ago. There would then have been no pretence for the commission of an offence so fraught with every evil consequence. It is unaccountable that the perjury of jurymen should on any occasion have been treated lightly, and its consequences so long overlooked by the judges and the legislature. The violation of an oath, like any other breach of duty, will cause less compunction as it becomes habitual. That which is reckoned pious to save life, will in time be thought venial to save reputation, and not very culpable to save a friend, a cause, or a party. In London, and the neighbourhood, jurors are so apt to be misled or inflamed by the daily press, that they have more than once threatened to assume this discretionary power, from which every public and private consideration ought to withhold them."

Now really after perusing these and other passages, pretty much to the same effect, in Mr. Miller's work, we are rather surprised to find him marching under the same banners with those who are hostile to Mr. Buxton's views and propositions. It seems as if his reasoning faculty was halting between certain predilections and associations, and the mandates of his own superior judgment. With a master mind, and ingenuous principles, he seems ambitious of wearing a badge, and appearing in the colours of party. He seems to conquer only to stoop. *Il veut être esclave—il est contraint de demeurer libre.* The worst of it is, that this sort of neutrality which consists in being active on both sides, serves only to perpetuate a contest which by a more determinate course he might have greatly contributed to decide.

Mr. Miller's observations on the inefficacy of transportation as a punishment, are so founded on every day's experience, that we may consider the point as out of controversy; and we agree with him that, in some respects, good might be expected from abolishing altogether transportation for years, and adopting this mode of punishment, only when it can properly be made perpetual. There is a shock attending the idea of a total separation from the place of one's birth, connexions, and habits, which few are proof against, except the utterly reprobate, and abandoned; but then the persons to whose misdeeds this punish-

ment would apply, would be chiefly, it is feared, of that class. If a selection were contemplated for this punishment of such as give indications of a character likely to be wounded by such a separation, the grounds of such discrimination seem not only too fine and speculative to be carried into practice, but there would be too much of the art of tormenting in it to be easily reconcileable to British humanity. The truth appears to be, that the proper persons to be transported are those chiefly who have been used to country labour, and that they should be sent only to such places as afford by their extent of territory the means of their living thinly dispersed, and actively employed. In such a situation, the temptations to crime are comparatively few, and the motives to labour many; in such a situation therefore only can be looked for any thing like reform as the fruit of this kind of punishment. As long as convicts continue to be sent for a season only to populous settlements, where infamy is kept in countenance by the multitude of its votaries, and the waste of wickedness, disease, and debauchery, is incessantly recruited, till "corruption boils and bubbles," this country, it is true, may get rid for a time of a portion of its moral refuse, but the punishment loses its terrors to the profligate, becomes an interdiction to the improvement of the settlement, and is continually returning back upon the mother country, those who, while they have been legally expiating their crimes, have been learning to become more desperately and deeply criminal.

"It is stated," says Mr. Miller, "by Mr. Bennet, in his letter to Lord Bathurst, that the number of convicts which left England for that colony during the year ending 7th March 1820, amounted to 1016; and if all the alterations of the penal laws proposed in 1821 by Sir James Mackintosh had passed into laws, there can be hardly any question they would soon have been three or four times as numerous. And to what description of persons do these criminals belong that are sent? It has been observed, that the only convicts likely to become orderly industrious members of society, in a country so circumstanced as New South Wales, are those who have been bred to country labour and the handicrafts connected with it. But these are not the classes to which any considerable proportion of transported convicts belong. Those who form the bulk of the cargoes of convict ships are the refuse of trading and manufacturing towns, and just as ill-assorted a commodity for the infant agricultural colony of New South Wales, as can well be thought of. No settler will, on their arrival, voluntarily receive them into their service, and nothing more is accomplished by their banishment than this—they are got rid of for a time by removal to the most distant quarter of the world at an extremely burdensome expense, and continue as indigent, wretched, costly, and corrupt at Port Jackson and on the Coal river, as they could have been in any corner of the



country from which they have been transported. Such is the result of a mode of punishment which has been extolled as honourable to the humanity and intelligence of the present times, in spite of the unequivocal and accumulating proofs regularly received of its having proved abortive. When it is considered what sort of persons are alone fit to be sent out as convicts; the limited numbers that can be sent to any settlement so as to continue it an object of terror and means of reform; and the difficulty of finding an expense of establishing fresh stations, when the old ones require to be abandoned, it is clear that no effectual reliance can be placed upon transportation as a general and permanent mode of preventing crimes either by this or any other country.' (P. 241, 242.)

Mr. Miller's reasoning in respect to prison discipline, and those new plans of correctional confinement which aim at extracting improvement out of punishment, is not encouraging to the busy or the anxious in this work of philanthropy. But we do not think he proceeds in this instance with that candour for which we are willing to give him credit in general. It would appear from his description of the sort of persons principally engaged in promoting the improvement of our prisons, that they consist for the greater part of "notable women, very young men, clerks in counting-houses and public offices, strenuous political reformers, newspaper writers, and the enthusiastical admirers of liberality and humanity." Now this does not seem to be quite the fact; and if it were, we are not sure that women of the better class (we do not know precisely what is here implied by "notable women"), clerks in offices, and even very young clerks, are hurtfully occupied in consulting how human beings in any predicament, may be assisted and improved. The admirers of liberality and humanity he may stigmatize as enthusiastical; but, after all, liberality and humanity are good things, and to love them with a little warmth is not always the sign of a man's being half out of his wits. But Mr. Miller might be reminded that but for a good deal of this busy stir in the cause of humanity, the prisons of this land would probably have remained in a condition to justify the observation, that absolute impunity would scarcely be more productive of crime than confinement in any of the gaols of the country. Mr. Miller does not seem sufficiently to have observed that to our best and holiest things there adheres a natural and characteristic infirmity, often the only part of them which little minds can discern and comprehend. His mind is far from little, but he appears to suffer the puny banter of little minds too much in this instance to influence his own. When a man of strenuous heart, with a great end in view, casts aside all secondary considerations, and with a pertinacity of purpose which nothing can divert, a sacred impetuosity that nothing can

subdue, carries hurry and alarm through all the ranks of indolence, and urges the necessity of a change, to accomplish which, sacrifices, and surrenders, and efforts are required to be made by others, the stream of habit and prescription to be turned about, and the repose of persons at their ease to be disturbed by the complaints of the miserable,—such a man is very subject to be called an enthusiast; but without such enthusiasts, nothing on a great scale of improvement could ever be achieved, and ages of error, and injustice, would roll on without remedy or reform. We will not, therefore, join Mr. Miller in imputing enthusiasm to the great individuals to whose eccentric and fiery benevolence the cause of philanthropy and charity owes so much. And when we reflect upon the zeal, and spirit, and perseverance, which is at this moment put forth to eradicate all principle, and virtue, all religious fear, and all Christian hope from the minds of the multitude, what have we to look to in the way of efficient counteraction but that general stir of the good and humane, under the influence of the men whom the careless call meddling, and the cold enthusiastical? The greatest boast of this country is the improved and improving state of prison discipline; but there is much yet to be done; something towards the promotion of cleanliness and health; but much more towards the immortal object of instruction and reformation. Both purposes, however, move on; and soon, we trust, the accusations contained in a former publication of Mr. Buxton on the subject will not apply: “You give him (the prisoner) leisure, and for the employment of that leisure, you give him tutors in every branch of iniquity.”

The arguments of Mr. Miller against an extensive scheme of prison improvement, on account of the burthensome expense attending it, are, we speak it with respect, not entitled to any attention. While he is writing his objections, the scheme is every where going on, and when the structures are finished, the cost of supporting these establishments cannot be more than that which was sustained in relation to the wretched abodes for which they are substituted. To say that penitentiary houses are liable to decay in discipline, and to be carried on, when the ardour accompanying their first institution is over, with less spirit and perseverance, is only to suppose them subject to the same possible falling off which is incident to all human institutions. That there is much ostentation, and idle bustle, much flutter and parade, much male pomposity, and female gossip, included in the plans and projects respecting prisons and their management, as in other schemes of benevolence now so laudably on foot, may be true, but it is the unalterable law of all human things that evil must ever be an ingredient in their constitution; and if useful undertakings are to be laid by till they can be

entered upon without danger of these disparagements and adulterations, the last trumpet will sound before the work is begun.

We are sorry also to find that Mr. Miller thinks that the great purpose of reformation in our prisons is scarcely compatible with the primary object of punishment—the prevention of crime. But in endeavouring to establish this point, he involves himself in a singular fallacy. He says that “all those who have had any practical acquaintance with the management of criminals, seem to coincide in opinion that the shorter the space of time to which the imprisonment of convicts can be limited, the greater is the chance of their reformation being sincere and permanent. Reformation and prevention, therefore, appear to be certain fixed points, an approach to one of which necessarily implies a departure from the other. Mitigation and abbreviation of punishment, which is most favourable to reformation, is, at the same time, most injurious to prevention.”

It is not always easy to collect from Mr. Miller's language the true posture of his argument. By the passage above cited we are led to understand him as allowing, in some degree, the possibility of making punishment administer to the reformation of the criminal, provided it be of very short duration; and having predicated, that the period of imprisonment cannot be too short for this object of moral amelioration to be in any degree brought about, he decides it to be impossible to carry the two points together of prevention and reformation. In other places, the view taken of punishment by imprisonment, precludes all supposition of its being, under any circumstances, rendered instrumental towards moral improvement. If it be admitted at all, that imprisonment may be so managed as to have any moral effect, to say that the shorter the time to which the imprisonment of convicts can be limited, the greater is the chance of their reformation being sincere and permanent, is a proposition containing very little, if any, meaning. Either imprisonment may become, under certain management, the means of moral discipline, or it cannot; if it be agreed that it can, then, to say that the shorter the time to which it can be limited the more it will have of that effect, is reasoning inconsistently: if it be meant to be averred that it cannot, then the argument would assume its proper shape by the simple assertion, that punishment by imprisonment can never, under any circumstances, be made to have an improving or corrective influence upon the immediate object of it; or, in other words, that the preventive object of punishment is inconsistent with its effect in the way of reformation; and since one must be sacrificed, and the primary object of punishment is prevention, the object of reformation by punishment ought to be abandoned. It certainly does appear, when the

tendency of many of Mr. Miller's pages is considered together, to be his conviction, that, at least for the purpose of reformation, such an extreme degree of mitigation must take place as will entirely defeat the preventive efficacy of punishment, and this he supposes to be the real substance of the thing contended for by those to whom he opposes himself. He seems, however, to us, to be reasoning throughout the whole of this part of his argument upon gratuitous assumptions. Indeed we do not know that any controversial book has ever fallen into our hands, in which the writer has amused himself in cutting out so much unnecessary work for himself, by ascribing to those whom he is bent upon confuting, opinions and principles which, were they allowed to speak for themselves, they would probably at once disown.

Mr. Miller is determined to suppose, upon what foundation we know not, that the advocates of reclaiming and corrective punishments, propose thereby, in the first place, to render unnecessary, and to expunge from our criminal laws, all capital infliction. This we believe is not fairly imputable to them. We do not find either Sir Samuel Romilly or Mr. Buxton maintaining any such proposition. They earnestly contend, indeed, against the impolitic and lavish multiplication of these capital denunciations, without regard to gradation or proportion, in reference to different degrees of guilt. But that the scale of punishment ought never to rise as high as death, not even in cases of treason, murder, or robbery accompanied with violence or cruelty, we do not believe has been said or contemplated by the "men of light and leading" on the side of the question to which Mr. Miller stands opposed. To these same persons again he imputes an intention to recommend all punishment for crime to be softened down to the utmost degree of mildness; but neither is this a just description of the end professedly or really in the view of Mr. Miller's adversaries in this controversy. They are strenuously adverse, it is true, to disproportionate and excessive punishments, as ineffectual, and incapable of being carried with any certainty into operation; it is not, however, part of their argument to contend for an extreme mitigation of punishment, as an absolute proposition. You contend, says Mr. Miller, for a short and lenient punishment, when you insist upon the expediency of so administering it as to produce reformation. This is, in truth, his great dogma on this head. And we are told by him, that to be consistent with any hope of reforming a prisoner, his imprisonment must be short, or if protracted, very gentle, and then it loses its effect, as to the object of prevention.

But the friends of a reformatory system of punishment take

totally different views of the proper effect of imprisonment. To them it appears, that the vicious and abandoned state of a prison renders it less odious to a person of profligate mind; it being then a place wherein he may expect to live without any restraint upon his habits, among his associates in crime, or with persons of a similar description, and with them concert new schemes of iniquity. The very condition, on the other hand, in which a prisoner, for the purpose of reformation, is required to be placed, of privation, labour, regularity, silence, order, and exposure to perpetual observation, is that into which a person, accustomed to live without restraint, or toil, or abstinence, enters with the greatest conceivable aversion. And if this be so, then has this kind of punishment all the wholesome terror by which punishment for crime should be characterized, and the above mentioned observation of Mr. Miller, that "the shorter the time to which the imprisonment of convicts can be limited, the greater is the chance of their reformation being permanent and sincere," falls to the ground; for then the longer the punishment is continued the greater may be expected to be its advance towards its secondary object,—the reformation of the criminal: and then prevention and reformation, instead of being "fixed points, the approach to one of which necessarily implies a departure from the other," are found capable of an union in the same line of progression; and it is an union distinguished by this obvious advantage, that if in proportion as the reformation advances, the restraints of the prisoner bring with them less suffering, precisely in the same degree the punishment may bear to be reduced.

We will not maintain that all modes of punishment can be made thus instructive to the sufferer. The observation applies principally, if not entirely, to punishment by imprisonment. Prevention being the primary object, some crimes may demand a degree of punishment too severe or terrible to admit of being coupled with the purpose of reformation. The case, put by Mr. Miller, of imprisonment on board the galleys, in gaol, or in a mine, for a long period, with perpetual excessive labour, may be one in which no plan of reformation can go prosperously forward; but these are strong cases which prove nothing more, if they prove so much, than that reformation cannot accompany punishment to every supposable degree to which it may be necessary to carry it with a view to its first and great object—prevention. Mr. Miller adduces several facts obtained by some late inquiries into the state of our prisons, by which he thinks himself warranted in asserting that the testimony of experience is against the success of all endeavours hitherto made to couple reformation with punishment. If he can satisfy himself with such reasons for giving up this object as hopeless, he may find an

equally satisfactory apology for the relinquishment of all attempts to render human beings more useful or virtuous by the force of discipline, or by the practical demonstration of the painful consequences of a departure from duty.

The difficulty of making those better who have once become extremely bad, is another argument with Mr. Miller against any attempts to reform criminals. In page 264 of his work we have this difficulty placed before us in its full dimensions. "Let us now turn," says this quiescent moralist, "from the difficulty of the management requisite to work reformation, to the subjects upon whom in this country it has to be wrought." Many of them, he observes, have grown grey in iniquity, have been from ten to twenty times in prison, are forgers, housebreakers, thieves, and pickpockets; and then we are told that the general or frequent real reformation of such malefactors, would be one of the most extraordinary moral phenomena the world has ever seen.

While we cannot help entertaining a most respectful opinion of Mr. Miller's principles and feelings, we are compelled to declare that we scarcely recollect to have read in any work of a decidedly moral cast, sentiments less encouraging or favourable to virtuous efforts, or so little calculated to advance the moral order of the world. It seems, according to Mr. Miller, that the difficulty of doing good is an argument against the attempt. Every step towards the reformation of mankind how difficult! How slow and painful has been every process by which any essential amelioration in man's condition has ever been accomplished! How long is the contest between light and prejudice! How rugged is the path of self-denial, by which virtue pursues her lofty destination! difficulty may be the apology of hard-hearted ease; but to the brave and good it has ever been the great incentive to exertion,—the impulse that has awakened and sustained in operation the finest faculties of the soul,—*curis acuenſ. mortalia corda*. But if the difficulty in this case be great, how fully is it compensated by the minutest success! This Mr. Miller, in another place, feels himself constrained to acknowledge. "If," says he, "only one prisoner in a hundred is through their (speaking of Mrs. Fry and her assistants) means rescued from vice, their labours of love will not go unrewarded." But, surely Mr. Miller has himself shown that the real ground of the difficulty is not so much in the nature of the thing as in a fundamental principle of mismanagement. "Instead of being regarded as rational creatures, misled by strong temptation, or hurried by passion into acts of criminality, of whose amendment any just hopes can be entertained, they come at last, from the complete destruction of every moral principle and feeling, to be distinguished from the other sorts of vermin which render life unhappy,

by little else than their superior powers of doing mischief." Thus speaks Mr. Miller, plainly showing that the difficulty which he sees in the way of all exertions for the reformation of criminals, is a difficulty which is at least in great part, the creature of our own misconduct. And, indeed, if Mr. Miller would condescend to listen to the rules for the treatment of prisoners for crimes proposed by the association of ladies for visiting the gaol of Newgate, he might from them learn the proper methods of removing the preliminary obstructions, which are to him so many lions in the way. They insist mainly and primarily on the necessity of religious instruction, observing that "they have reason to think that a prison, in excluding many objects of worldly interest, occupation, and pleasure; in the pause which it produces in the career of life; and in the apprehensions which it sometimes excites, is well calculated for the inculcation of religious impressions." They then recommend constant employment; simple rules rigidly enforced; classification and separation to the greatest possible extent: and, above all, that prisoners should be treated as human beings, with human feelings, (not as vermin), with that disinterested kindness which will engage their affections: yet as human beings degraded by crime,—with that degree of restraint, and with those symbols of degradation, which may recal a sense of their guilt, and humble their pride.—We see no hazard in the course of treatment above suggested; which may surely be adopted without any mitigation or relaxation of the due and defined quantum of punishment assigned by the law. On the contrary, it seems to us to be judiciously calculated to mark to the prisoner that his punishment has followed according to a right constitution of things, as the inevitable consequence of his crimes, and not from the vengeance of his injured fellow-beings.

Mr. Miller is at issue with Mr. Buxton upon the state of facts. The good results of prison discipline, as related by that gentleman, he seems rather inclined to question altogether; and remarks upon the uncertainty which must exist with respect to the ultimate character and conduct of those who have appeared to come from prison better men. It seems he will not be satisfied that any prisoner has been permanently the better for the discipline to which he has been subjected, unless where authentic testimonies can be produced to show that he has lived in innocence during the remainder of his life. This really does appear to us to be a very captious objection, and a very unreasonable requisition. Surely the humane and religious bosom will feel a conscious satisfaction in dismissing from the prison walls a once desperate and abandoned fellow-creature, with the germs and symptoms of amendment in his character and demeanour. It may be he may fall back into his former course; it may be other-

wise; but it is something on the hopeful side if the person so seeming to be reformed, neither revisits the prison, nor is heard of again within the precincts of criminal justice. Man has planted and watered, and in so doing, has well acquitted himself; it is God that giveth the increase.

We cannot stop to reconcile or decide the differences between Mr. Buxton and Mr. Miller with respect to the actual state of those prisons, where, according to the former of those gentlemen, the best methods were in practice for the moral improvement of the prisoners. According to Mr. Miller, the state of the gaols at Gloucester and Philadelphia, and of the *Maison de Force* at Ghent, has undergone a change greatly for the worse, and both those prisons are in a very crowded state. This he imputes to the mild treatment which the prisoners experience,—the shortness of the period now thought sufficient to effect a cure, (a little above, as we have shown, Mr. Miller considers that the shorter the period the better for the purpose of reformation)—the absence of unsuitable company, which follows from the length to which classification is carried,—the very relief which constant out-door or in-door labour affords to the mind,—the exertions made to provide situations for prisoners after their discharge,—and the very expeditious and effectual process by which lost character may be retrieved,—all conspire to diminish the apprehension with which a lapse from innocence was formerly regarded. To this he attributes the crowded state of our gaols, especially those in which the moral reformation of the prisoners is principally in view. So that to prevent men from becoming vicious, we are, according to Mr. Miller's new specific, to take measures to preclude their return to virtue; or, at any rate, to abstain from a procedure which might facilitate or promote such a happy transformation. Mr. Miller forgets, too, that before the relish for those comforts can have place in the mind of a criminal, he must have made his first step towards a better and happier course; and till then constant work, separation from moral contagion, a retrieved character, and recovered opportunities of living by industry and regular employment, are but dull prospects to a practised criminal. And let it be observed, that Mr. Miller has left out of his catalogue of comforts, low diet, labour with little profit, silence, sameness of occupation, constant supervision, exposure to the punishment of solitary confinement, and other features of that discipline which the prisoner is, or ought to be, made to undergo, where reformation is rationally, and not romantically prosecuted.

We agree entirely with Mr. Miller, that to make a prison a place of comfort, is to invert the moral condition of mankind, and to propose a premium to crime; we carry our consent still fur-



ther; we believe that there is a good deal to mistrust in the humanity of the day. It is often frivolous, often wild, often excessive, and sometimes it lends its name to contumacy and discontent; but because a virtue may be overstrained or distorted, or made a pretext for malignant purposes, it is not the less lovely in its genuine form, less intrinsically pure in its essence, or less beneficial in its genuine operation. Whatever may be the actual state of the prison at Philadelphia, or the Maison de Force at Ghent, if they have really ceased to exhibit those indications of moral reform, which were once contemplated with so much humane delight by Mr. Buxton, and stand recorded in his most interesting, able, and amiable tract on prison discipline, we will rather believe that the discipline and culture there developed has unfortunately fallen into neglect and disuse, than suppose the entire failure of a scheme which cannot altogether be disappointed without a change in the nature and constitution of our being, and the appointments of our beneficent Creator.

We are after all entirely of Mr. Miller's opinion, that to make any plans of prison reformation at all available, an activity must begin every where to be exerted in the same general cause. A preventive discipline must diffuse itself through society, and arrest the progress of crime in the first stages of its career. The inattention to this great object is a deplorable fact. The dangers by which the youth of this country are suffered to be beset, from the want of vigour or strength somewhere to suppress customs and practices which incalculably multiply the temptations to crime, are so great as to allow us to hope, as long as these continue, for little benefit from any partial plans of moral reformation. The notice taken in the report of the committee of the society, for the improvement of prison discipline, p. 13—15 of the two great evils existing in the metropolis, and its vicinity—the houses of public resort, termed flash-houses, and the numerous fairs in the neighbourhood of London, does not appear as yet to have excited due attention. Of the first mentioned of these pestilential institutions, it may be sufficient here to repeat what is said of them in the above report—that “no terms can characterize the diabolical depravity, the gross profligacy, the detestable practices, which are there suffered to range at will, uncontrolled, and unrestrained.” And it is a disgusting truth, that in the immediate vicinity of London, there are no less than eighty-two fair days in the space of seven months; every one of which is a day of debauchery, gambling, drunkenness, and seduction, among the common people. The same report ends its account of these emporiums of vice and infamy by earnestly pressing for their entire abolition. “Why such nurseries of vice,” says Mr. Miller, “should have been so long tolerated in a civilized and

moral country exceeds comprehension, for of all nuisances they seem to be the most easy to be suppressed, and least susceptible of vindication." On the vast increase of public-houses, Mr. Miller's observations are extremely worthy of attention.

To remove, however, or dissipate the mighty mass of moral evil that weighs us down, there must be a serious and simultaneous movement among the higher and middle orders of this great community. It will not do to be for ever teaching; we must show in our own practice what the thing specifically is that we would have the poor adopt. We must legislate by example: otherwise all this alacrity in the diffusion of knowledge, will be commotion without progression — a mere *strenua inertia*. The reformation must go through and through the whole community. In this vocation to teach the million, by which so many of us seem to feel ourselves summoned to an agency of moral dignity and public importance, we shall miserably miss the high and holy mark, unless we feel that our own conduct must be the test of our sincerity;—unless in an emphatic manner we take those duties upon ourselves which we enforce upon our inferiors;—unless the Ministers of State, and others of our nobility and great men, will cease to desecrate the day which the real Christian gives to religious exercise and reflection, by public dinners, and evening assemblies, under whatever silly and sickening title of concerts or conversaziones these assemblies may mask their profanation;—unless the clergy is advanced to a higher state of discipline, and the patronage of the church is exercised by the great and the greatest with more regard for the honour of God;—unless a state of feeling shall grow up in this nation that will consider the proposals of any princely strangers, upon their visit to this country, to use the sabbath as a day for public spectacles, as irreconcilable with our national institutions and habits;—we must confess for ourselves that we are not sanguine enough to expect any substantial reformation of the great multitude of the British people, either from an improved preventive police, or from the best possible plan of prison discipline, or from the widest and most pretending scheme of national education.

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ART. II.—*Travels in Syria and the Holy Land.* By the late John Lewis Burckhardt, published by the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa. London. Murray, 1822. 4to.

THE qualities of a traveller were most felicitously combined in the late lamented Burckhardt. Courteous and frank in his

manners, patient of fatigue, and fearless of peril, minutely versed in the dialects, costume, and usages of the rude, and in many instances savage inhabitants of the countries which he traversed, he was, moreover, animated with a generous and heroic zeal for the benevolent objects of his mission. His death is an irreparable loss to science and humanity.

Of such a man, every relique has its value; and it was with considerable expectation that we looked for the appearance of the work before us. We were aware indeed of the disadvantages incident to a posthumous publication; but these, we have great pleasure in remarking, have been to a considerable degree obviated, by its being edited by a gentleman of no vulgar acquirements in the department of science, to which Burckhardt consecrated his talents and devoted his life,—Mr. Martin Leake, the acting secretary to the African Association, the learned author of *Researches in Greece*, and the contributor of several geographical dissertations to the valuable collection of Mr. Walpole.

It might at first appear as a somewhat extraordinary circumstance, that a volume of *Travels in Asia*, should have been published under the auspices of a Society, whose professed object is the promotion of discoveries in *Africa*. But it seems, that having resolved to spare neither time nor expense in enabling Mr. Burckhardt to acquire the language and manners of an Arabian Mussulman in such a degree of perfection, as should render the detection of his real character in the interior of Africa next to impossible; it was thought that a residence at Aleppo, and occasional tours in Syria, would considerably conduce to this purpose, by affording him specimens of Arabian life and manners from the Bedouin camp to the populous city. Whilst he was thus preparing himself for his African mission, he was careful to visit only those parts of Syria, which had been the least frequented by European travellers, and he made several important additions to the geography of those interesting countries. His death at Cairo, at the moment when he was preparing for his immediate departure to Fezzan, left the Association in possession of a large collection of MSS. relative to these excursions; and the present volume contains his observations in Syria and Arabia Petraea. To these, the editor has subjoined his tour to the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, because it is immediately connected by its subject with his journey through the adjacent districts of the Holy Land. There still remain, we are told, MSS. sufficient to fill two volumes; one of these will consist of his travels in Arabia, and the Hedjaz, or Holy Land of the Mussulmans; the other will contain copious remarks on the Arabs of the Desert, and particularly the Wahabys.

The maps have been carefully constructed from Burckhardt's materials; but it is to be regretted that the bearings by the compass are not always to be relied on,—a circumstance owing probably to the haste or concealment with which this indefatigable traveller was obliged to take his observations. For this reason, the general map illustrative of his journeys in Syria and the Holy Land has been chiefly derived from his distances in time. But notwithstanding these imperfections, it is, we conceive, a sketch sufficiently accurate to enable us to pursue the narrative with little difficulty; and the part of Syria, which he seems to have investigated with especial care, the Haouran, is fortunately illustrated by a map upon a larger scale, taken from two delineations made by him in his two excursions into that interesting province. But though much has been done by Burckhardt, much is still wanting to complete this important branch of geography; and as a great part of the country which he visited has since his time been explored by a person who travelled under more favourable circumstances, and is better qualified by ancient learning to illustrate its antiquities, and to collect ancient inscriptions,—the most faithful of all geographical evidence, we may expect to see the ancient geography of the Decapolis more fully elucidated, and some of the difficulties arising from the ambiguity of the ancient authorities removed.

Mr. Burckhardt, however, has rendered ample service to this branch of science, and greatly improved our knowledge of sacred geography, by ascertaining many of the Hebrew sites in the once populous but now deserted region, formerly known by the names of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and the country of the Amorites. His chief discoveries are the country between the Dead Sea and the gulf of *Ælana*, now Akaba;—the extent, conformation, and topography of the Haouran;—the site of Apameia on the Orontes;—that of Petra, which, under the Romans, gave the name of Arabia Petræa to the surrounding district,—as well as the general structure of the peninsula of Mount Sinai, and particularly the extent of the *Ælanitic* gulf, hitherto omitted in every extant map. M. Seetzen indeed had traversed a part of the Haouran, in 1805, and had followed Burckhardt's route through Rabboth Moab, to Kerek; but he was quite unsuccessful in his inquiries for Petra; and, having taken the road which leads to Mount Sinai from Hebron, he had no suspicion of the long valley known by the names of El Ghor and El Araba. This prolonged valley, extending 300 miles from the Jordan to the Red Sea, is an important feature in sacred geography; for it indicates that the Jordan once discharged itself into that sea, and confirms the truth of the great convulsion described in Genesis, which converted into a lake the fertile plain occupied by Admah,

**Zeboim, Sodom and Gomorrah**, and changed the valley south of that district into a sandy desert. The part of the valley of the **Orontes**, in which stood **Larissa** and **Apameia**, are now examined for the first time by a scientific traveller, and the lake with the modern name of **Famia**, may henceforth be erased from the maps of **Syria**.

To those who are studious of ancient geography,—a study actually requisite to the right apprehension of ancient history,—it must be interesting to learn, that the present object of Mussulman devotion, the tomb of **Haroun**, stands upon the spot which has been always considered as the burial-place of **Aaron**;—and that there is now little doubt that the mountain west of **Petra** (the capital of the **Nabataei**) is the **Mount Hor** of the Scriptures, **Mousa** being, as **Mr. Leake** ingeniously conjectures, an Arabic corruption of **Mosera**, where **Aaron** is said to have died. But **Burckhardt** has unconsciously afforded an important commentary upon **Trachonitis** (an uneven range of country extending along the east of **Haouran** from **Damascus** to **Boszra**) by his description of the rocky wilderness of the **Ledja**, and the inscriptions which he copied at **Missema**, from which it now appears that **Missema** was the chief place of **Trachon**, of which **Strabo's** description is in exact conformity with that given us by **Burckhardt** of the **Ledja**. These are curious and important facts, and bring considerable elucidations to this hitherto perplexed part of ancient geography.

The site of **Astaroth**, the residence of **Og**, king of **Bashan**, seems, by the map prefixed to this volume, to be now for the first time determined, for **Mezareib** conforms in every respect to all the particulars of that celebrated place. But the learned editor in his preface has so clearly pointed out the most interesting of **Burckhardt's** discoveries, that we make no apology for the following extract.

“Although **Mount Sinai**, and the deserts lying between that peninsula, and **Judæa**, have not, like the latter country, preserved many of the names of Holy Scripture, the new information of **Burckhardt** contains many facts in regard to their geography and natural history, which may be useful in tracing the progress of the **Israelites** from **Egypt** into **Syria**.

“The bitter well of **Howara**, fifteen hours southward of **Ayoun Mousa**, corresponds as well in situation as in the quality of its water, with the well of **Marah**, at which the **Israelites** arrived after passing through a desert of three days, from the place near **Suez** where they had crossed the **Red Sea**.\*

The **Wady Gharendel**, two hours beyond **Howara**, where are wells among date trees, seems evidently to be the station named **Elim**, which

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\* **Exod. xiv. xv. Numb. xxxiii.**

was next to Marah, and at which the Israelites found "twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees."\* And it is remarkable, that the Wady el Sheikh, and the upper part of the Wady Feiran, the only places in the peninsula where manna is gathered from below the tamarisk trees, accord exactly with that part of the desert of Sin, in which Moses first gave his followers the sweet substance gathered in the morning, which was to serve them for bread during their long wandering; † for the route through Wady Taybe, Wady Feiran, and Wady el Sheikh, is the only open and easy passage to Mount Sinai from Wady Gharendel, and it requires the traveller to pass for some distance along the sea-shore after leaving Gharendel, as we are informed that the Israelites actually did, on leaving Elim. ‡

"The upper region of Sinai, which forms an irregular circle of thirty or forty miles in diameter, possessing numerous sources of water, a temperate climate, and a soil capable of supporting animal and vegetable nature, was the part of the peninsula best adapted to the residence of near a year, during which the Israelites were numbered and received their laws.

"About the beginning of May, in the fourteenth month from the time of their departure from Egypt, the children of Israel quitted the vicinity of Mount Horeb, and under the guidance of Hohab, the Midianite, brother-in-law of Moses, marched to Kadesh, a place on the frontiers of Canaan, of Edom, and of the desert of Paran or Zin.§ Not long after their arrival, 'at the time of the first ripe grapes,' or about the beginning of August, spies were sent into every part of the cultivated country, as far north as Hamah.|| The report which they brought back was no less favourable to the fertility of the land, than it was discouraging by its description of the warlike spirit and preparation of the inhabitants, and of the strength of the fortified places; and the Israelites having in consequence refused to follow their leaders into Canaan, were punished by that long wandering in the deserts lying between Egypt, Judæa, and Mount Sinai, of which the sacred historian has not left us any details, but the tradition of which is still preserved in the name of El Tyh, annexed to the whole country; both to the desert plains, and to the mountains lying between them and Mount Sinai.

"In the course of their residence in the neighbourhood of Kadesh, the Israelites obtained some advantages over the neighbouring Canaanites,\*\* but giving up at length all hope of penetrating by the frontier, which lies between Gaza and the Dead Sea, they turned to the eastward, with a view of making a circuit through the countries on the southern and eastern sides of the lake.†† Here, however, they found the difficulty still greater; Mount Seir of Edom, which, under the modern names of Djebel, Shera, and Hesma, forms a ridge of mountains, extending from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea to the gulph of Akaba, rises abruptly from the valleys El Ghor and El Araba, and is traversed from west to east by a few narrow wadys only, among which the Ghoeyr alone furnishes an entrance that would not be extremely dif-

\* Exod. xv. Numb. xxxiii.

† Exod. xvi.

‡ Numb. xxxiii. 10, 11.

§ Numb. x. et seq. and xxxiii. Deut. i.

|| Numb. xiii. Deut. i.

\*\* Numb. xxi.

†† Numb. xx. xxi.

fiout to a hostile force. This perhaps was the 'highway,' by which Moses, aware of the difficulty of forcing a passage, and endeavouring to obtain his object by negotiation, requested the Edomites to let him pass, on the condition of his leaving the fields and vineyards untouched, and of purchasing provisions and water from the inhabitants.\* But Edom 'refused to give Israel passage through his border,' and 'came out against him with much people, and with a strong hand.† The situation of the Israelites, therefore, was very critical. Unable to force their way in either direction, and having enemies on three sides; (the Edomites in front, and the Canaanites and Amalekites on their left flank and rear,) no alternative remained for them but to follow the valley, El Araba southwards, towards the head of the Red Sea. At Mount Hor, which rises abruptly from that valley, 'by the coast of the land of Edom,"‡ Aaron died, and was buried in the conspicuous situation, which tradition has preserved as the site of his tomb to the present day. Israel then 'journeyed from Mount Hor, by the way of the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom,'§ 'through the way of the plain from Elath, and from Ezion Geber,' until 'they turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab, and arrived at the brook Zered.'|| It may be supposed that they crossed the ridge to the southward of Ezion Geber, about the place where Burckhardt remarked, from the opposite coast, that the mountains were lower than to the northward, and it was in this part of their wandering that they suffered from the serpents, of which our traveller observed the traces of great numbers on the opposite shore of the Ælanitic gulf. The Israelites then issued into the great elevated plains which are traversed by the Egyptian and Syrian pilgrims, on the way to Mekka, after they have passed the two Akabas. Having entered these plains, Moses received the divine command, 'You have compassed this mountain long enough, turn you northward.' 'Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, and they shall be afraid of you.' \*\*

"The same people who had successfully repelled the approach of the Israelites from the strong western frontier, was alarmed now that they had come round upon the weak side of the country. But Israel was ordered 'not to meddle' with the children of Esau, but 'to pass through their coast,' and to 'buy meat and water from them for money,' in the same manner as the caravan of Mekka is now supplied by the people of the same mountains, who meet the pilgrims on the Hadj route. After traversing the wilderness on the eastern side of Moab, the Israelites at length entered that country, crossing the brook Zered in the 38th year, from their first arrival at Kadesh Barnea, 'when all the generation of the men of war were wasted out from among the host.†† After passing through the centre of Moab, they crossed the Arnon, entered Ammon, and were at length permitted to begin the overthrow of the possessors of the promised land, by the destruction of Sihon the Amorite, who dwelt at Heeshbon.‡‡ The preservation of the latter name, and of those of Diban, Medaba, Aroer, Amman, together with the other geogra-

\* Numb. xx. Deut. i.

† Numb. xx.

‡ Ibid.

§ Numb. xxi.

|| Deut. ii.

\*\* Ibid.

†† Ibid.

‡‡ Numb. xxi. Deut. ii.

phical facts derived from the journey of Burckhardt through the countries beyond the Dead Sea, furnishes a most satisfactory illustration of the sacred historians." (Preface, p. 12—16.)

In September, 1810, our enterprising traveller set out on a tour from Damascus, to the countries of the Libanus and Anti-Libanus. The chain of mountains which goes by the latter name, and called by the natives Djebel Esharki, contains a primitive calcareous rock of a fine grain, and affords in many spots good pasturage where the Turkmans feed their cattle; but the western declivity towards the district of Baalbec is quite barren. This district comprises on the east side the Anti-Libanus to its summit, and on the western the Libanus. It is abundantly watered by rivulets, and the soil is extremely fertile. Twelve years ago, it was covered with grape plantations, but the oppressions of the governors have now entirely destroyed them. The governor is of the family of Harfush, the head family of the Metaweli (the Ali sect) of Syria. He pays an annual sum to the Pasha of Damascus, and extorts double its amount from the peasant. The first object which strikes the eye is a temple on the plain, about half an hour's walk from the town, called Kubbet Duris. It is an octagon, and is supported by eight beautiful granite columns, all now standing. They resemble the Doric order, the capitals projecting over the shaft, which has no base. It is singular that neither Wood, who accompanied Dawkins to Baalbec in 1757, nor Volney, who visited the place in 1784, should have noticed these remains. Mr. Burckhardt, who a few months before had visited the ruins of Palmyra, observes, that although they are more striking when seen at a certain distance than those of Baalbec, there is not amongst them any "one spot so imposing as the interior view of the great temple at Baalbec. The temple of the sun at Tadmor is upon a grander scale than that of Baalbec, but it is choked up with Arab houses, which admit of a view of the buildings only in detail. The architecture of Baalbec is richer than that of Tadmor."

At Zahle, in the district of Anti-Libanus, Mr. Burckhardt found the Catholic bishop, to whom he had letters from Damascus, and bears a handsome attestation to the politeness of his manners, and the liberality of his sentiments.

"His diocese," continues our traveller, "comprises the whole Christian community in the Bekaa, and the adjoining villages of the mountain. He is, with five other bishops, under the orders of the Patriarch at Mekhalis, and there are, besides, seven monasteries under this diocese in Syria. The bishop's revenue arises from a yearly personal tax of half a piastre upon all the male adults in his diocese. He lives in a truly patriarchal manner, dressing in a simple black gown, and black Abbaye, and carries in his hand a long oaken stick, as an episcopal staff. He is



adored by his parishioners, though they reproach him with a want of fervour in his intercourse with other Christian sects ; by which they mean fanaticism, which is a striking feature in the character of the Christians, not only of the mountain, but also of the principal Syrian towns, and of the open country. This bigotry is not directed so much against the Mohammedans, as against their Christian brethren, whose creed at all differs from their own.

“ It need hardly be mentioned here that many of those sects which tore Europe to pieces in the earlier ages of Christianity still exist in these countries : Greeks, Catholics, Maronites, Syriacs, Chaldeans, and Jacobites, all have their respective parishes and churches. Unable to effect any thing against the religion of their haughty rulers the Turks, they turn the only weapons they possess, scandal and intrigue, with fury against each other, and each sect is mad enough to believe that its church would flourish on the ruins of those of their heretic brethren. The principal hatred subsists between the Catholics and the Greeks ; of the latter, many thousands have been converted to Catholicism, so that in the northern parts of Syria, all Catholics, the Maronites excepted, were formerly of the Greek church : this is the case in Aleppo, Damascus, and in all the intermediate country ; communities of original Latin Christians being found only around Jerusalem and Nablous. The Greeks of course see with indignation the proselytism of their brethren, which is daily gaining ground, and avenge themselves upon the apostates with the most furious hatred. Nor are the Greek and original Latin Christians backward in cherishing similar feelings ; and scenes most disgraceful to Christianity are frequently the consequence. In those parts where no Greeks live, as in the mountains of Libanus, the different sects of Catholics turn their hatred against each other, and the Maronites fight with the converted Greek Catholics, or the Latins, as they do at Aleppo with the followers of the Greek church. This system of intolerance, at which the Turkish governors smile, because they are constantly gainers by it, is carried so far, that, in many places, the passing Catholic is obliged to practise the Greek rites, in order to escape the effects of the fanaticism of the inhabitants. On my way from Zahle to Baniyas, we stopped one night at Hasbeya, and another at Rasheya el Fukhar ; at both of which places my guide went to the Greek church, and prayed according to its forms ; in passing through Zahle, as he informed me, the Greeks found it equally necessary to conform to the rites of the Latin Catholics. The intrigues carried on at Jerusalem between the Greek and Latin monks contribute to increase these disputes, which would have long ago led to a Christian civil war in these countries, did not the iron rod of the Turkish government repress their religious fury.” (P. 28, 29.)

Mr. Burckhardt, on returning from the preceding tour, was detained at Damascus, for a fortnight, by indisposition. On his recovery, he obtained a bouyouirdi (passport) from the Pasha, and from the Greek patriarch, a letter to his flock in Haouran, and having assumed the dress of the Haouran people, with a keffie, and a large sheep-skin over his shoulders, proceeded on a

journey to that district. We cannot, however, omit his description of the *viaticum* with which he set out upon this difficult expedition, inasmuch as it may suggest a few useful hints to future travellers.

“ In my saddle-bag I put one spare shirt, one pound of coffee beans, two pounds of tobacco, and a day's provender of barley for my horse. I then joined a few Felahs of Ezra, of one of whom I hired an ass, though I had nothing to load it with but my small saddle-bag ; but I knew this to be the best method of recommending myself to the protection of my fellow travellers ; as the owner of the ass necessarily becomes the companion and protector of him who hires it. Had I offered to pay him before setting out merely for his company on the way, he would have asked triple the sum I gave him, without my deriving the smallest advantage from this increase, while he would have considered my conduct as extraordinary and suspicious. In my girdle I had eighty piastres, (about four pound sterling) and a few more in my pocket, together with a watch, a compass, a journal book, a pencil, a knife, and a tobacco purse. The coffee I knew would be very acceptable in the houses where I might alight, and throughout the journey I was enabled to treat all the company present with coffee.” (P. 52.)

On reaching Ezra, Burckhardt agreed with a Greek priest who had been the conductor of M. Seetzen, to attend him on his expedition. Ezra, now one of the principal villages of the Haouran, and containing about 150 Turkish and Druse families, and about 50 of Greek Christians, was once a flourishing city, and its ruins are between three and four miles in circumference. Such are the strength and solidity of the stone that they still remain in complete preservation. The present inhabitants live in the ancient buildings.

“ In general, each dwelling has a small entrance leading into a courtyard, round which are the apartments ; of these the doors are usually very low. The interior of the rooms is constructed of large square stones ; across the centre is a single arch, generally between two and three feet in breadth, which supports the roof ; this arch springs from very low pilasters on each side of the room, and in some instances rises immediately from the floor : upon the arch is laid the roof, consisting of stone slabs one foot broad, two inches thick, and about half the length of the room, one end resting upon short projecting stones in the walls, and the other upon the top of the arch. The slabs are in general laid close to each other ; but in some houses, I observed that the roof was formed of two layers, the one next the arch having small intervals between each slab, and a second layer of similar dimensions was laid close together at right angles with the first. The rooms are seldom higher than nine or ten feet, and have no other opening, than a low door with sometimes a small window over it. In many places, I saw two or three of these arched chambers one above the other, forming so many stories. This substantial mode of building prevails also in most of the ancient public edifices remaining in the Haouran, except that in the latter the arch, in-

stead of springing from the walls or floor, rests upon two short columns. During the whole of my tour, I saw but one or two arches whose curve was lofty; the generality of them, including those in the public buildings, are oppressively low. To complete the durability of these structures, most of the doors were anciently of stone, and of these, many are still remaining; sometimes they are of one piece, and sometimes they are folding doors; they turn upon hinges worked out of the stone, and are about four inches thick, and seldom higher than about four feet, though I met with some upwards of nine feet in height." (P. 58, 59.)

Although the tour to the Haouran contains many valuable notices, chiefly geographical, and several curious inscriptions copied on the whole with laudable accuracy; it is, for the most, an itinerary, and without the aid of the map, yields but little to engage the attention, or fix the curiosity of a general reader. We forbear therefore to pursue Mr. Burckhardt any further in this expedition, referring those who are desirous of making themselves better acquainted with his route to the volume itself, and the excellent delineation of the Haouran and its adjoining districts which accompany it.

Nor is the journal of the tour from Aleppo to Damascus through the valley of the Orontes and Mount Libanus, in February, 1812, in truth at all more fertile of the species of amusement, which is generally expected in a book of travels. The mountain of Rieha is full of the ruins of cities, which flourished in the times of the lower empire; and our traveller having frequently heard the people of the country mention those of El Bara, made a circuitous route to visit them, but he found no building worth notice, except three tombs surmounted with pyramidal summits. Their interior is about six paces square, and contains three stone coffins, one of which had a cross carved in the side. But Mr. Burckhardt offers no solution of these singular structures.

The valley of the Orontes, bordered on the east side by the district called Djebel Shaehksabore, and on the west side by the mountains of the Anzeyry, is called El Ghab. It is watered by the Orontes, which flows near the foot of the western mountain. The inhabitants are a mongrel race of Arabs and Fellahs. Howash is the chief village of the Ghab. It consists of about 140 mud huts, of which the roofs are formed of the reeds of the Orontes. Half an hour from Howash they observed several fragments of shafts or columns on the side of an ancient paved causeway, which Mr. Burckhardt with reason conjectures to have been a Roman road, of which the columns were the milliaria. Hamah is situated on both sides of the Orontes. It is of great extent, and must contain at least 30,000 inhabitants, of whom the Greek families are about 300. Its trade is principally with

the Arabs, who buy here their tent furniture and clothes. It is a part of the province of Damascus, and is the residence of many opulent Turkish gentlemen, who find themselves there in some degree removed from the extortions of the government. Nazyf Pasha, who has an annual income of 8,000*l.* sterling, has built a handsome house there. He is well known for his travels in Europe and Barbary, and his brave defence of Cairo after the defeat of the Grand Vizir, by General Kleber, near Heliopolis. Maszyad, or as it is written in the books of the Miri, Meszyaf is chiefly remarkable from being the seat of the religious sect called Ismayly. As Burckhardt's is the only account of this extraordinary people with which we are at present acquainted, we extract it without hesitation.

“Enquiries have often been made concerning the religious doctrines of this sect, as well as those of the Anzeyrys and Druses. Not only European travellers, and Europeans resident in Syria, but many natives of influence, have endeavoured to penetrate the mysteries of these idolaters, without success, and several causes combine to make it probable, that their doctrines will long remain unknown. The principal reason is, that few individuals among them become acquainted with the most important and secret tenets of their faith, the generality contenting themselves with the observance of some exterior practices, while the arcana are possessed by the select few. It will be asked, perhaps, whether their religious books would not unveil the mystery? It is true that all the different sects possess books, which they regard as sacred, but they are intelligible only to the initiated. A sacred book of the Anzeyrys fell into the hands of a chief of the army of Youssef Pasha, which plundered the castles of that sect in 1808; it came afterwards into the possession of my friend Selym of Hamah who had destined it as a present to me; but he was prevailed upon to part with it to a travelling physician, and the book is now in the possession of M. Rousseau, the French Consul at Aleppo, who has had it translated into French, and means to publish it, but it will probably throw little light upon the question. Another difficulty arises from the extreme caution of the Ismaylys upon this subject; whenever they are obliged to visit any part of the country under the Turkish government, they assume the character of Mussulmans; being well aware that if they should be detected in the practice of any rite contrary to the Turkish religion, their hypocrisy, in affecting to follow the latter, would no longer be tolerated; and their being once clearly known to be pagans, which they are only suspected to be at present, would expose them to the heaviest exactions, and might even be followed by their total expulsion or extirpation. Christians and Jews are tolerated because Mohammed and his immediate successors granted them protection, and because the Turks acknowledge Christ and the prophets; but there is no instance whatever of pagans being tolerated.

“The Ismaylys, when they go to Hamah, pray in the mosque, which they never do at Kalaat Maszyad. This castle has been from ancient times their chief seat. One of them asserted that his religion descended

from Ismayl, the son of Abraham, and that the Ismaylys had been possessed of the castle since the time of El Melek el Dhaber, as acknowledged by the Firmahns of the Porte. A few years since they were driven out of it by the Anzeyrys, in consequence of a most daring act of treachery. The Anzeyrys and Ismaylys have always been at enmity; the consequence, perhaps, of some religious differences. In 1807, a tribe of the former having quarrelled with their chief, quitted their abode in the mountains, and applied to the Emir of Maszyad for an asylum. The latter, glad of an opportunity to divide the strength of his enemies, readily granted the request, and about three hundred, with their Sheikh Mahmoud, settled at Maszyad, the Emir carrying his hospitality so far as to order several families to quit the place, for the purpose of affording room for the new settlers. For several months all was tranquil, till one day, when the greater part of the people were at work in the fields, the Anzeyrys, at a given signal, killed the Emir and his son in the castle, and then fell upon the Ismaylys who had remained in their houses, sparing no one they could find, and plundering at the same time the whole town. On the following day, the Anzeyrys were joined by great numbers of their countrymen, which proved that their pretended emigration had been a deep-laid plot; and the circumstance of its being kept secret for three months by so great a number of them, serves to show the character of the people. About three hundred Ismaylys perished on this occasion: the families who had escaped in the sack of the town, fled to Hamah, Homs, and Tripoli, and their treacherous enemies successfully attacked three other Ismayly castles in the mountain. The Ismaylys then implored the protection of Youssef Pasha, at that time governor of Damascus, who marched with four or five thousand men against the Anzeyrys, retook the castles which had belonged to the Ismaylys, but kept the whole of the plunder of the Anzeyrys to himself. This castle of Maszyad, with a garrison of forty men, resisted his whole army for three months.

"In 1810, after Youssef Pasha had been exiled by the Porte, the Ismaylys, who had fled to Hamah, Homs, and Tripoli, returned, and Maszyad is now inhabited by about two hundred and fifty Ismayly families, and by thirty of Christians. The chief, who resides in the castle, is styled Emir; his name is Zogheby, of the family of Soleiman; he informed me that his family had been possessors of the Emirate from remote times; and that they are recognised as such by express Firmahns from the Porte; Zogherby is a nephew of Mustafa, the Emir who was slain by the Anzeyrys. Some of his relations command in the Ismayly castles of El Kadmous, El Kohf, El Aleyka, and El Merkab, in the mountains towards Ladakie. After what has lately taken place, it may be presumed that the hatred between the two nations is extreme: they are, apparently, at peace, but many secret murders are committed: "Do you suppose," said an handsome young man to me, while his eyes flashed with anger, "that these whiskers shall turn gray, before I shall have taken my revenge for a slaughtered wife and two infant children?" But the Ismaylys are weak; I do not think that they can muster eight hundred firelocks, while the Anzeyrys are triple that number.

"The principal produce of the neighbourhood of the Maszyad is silk. They have large plantations of mulberry-trees, which are watered by numerous rivulets, descending on all sides from the mountain into the valley; and, as few of them dry up in summer, this must be a delightful residence during the hot season. There are three or four Ismayly villages in the neighbourhood of Maszyad." (P. 151—154.)

The Syrian Tripoli, as it is called by the Greeks, Tarabalos by the Arabs, built on the lowest hills of the Libanus, bears many marks of the crusades, among which are several high arcades of Gothic architecture, under which the streets run. It stands in one of the most favoured spots in Syria, as the mountains and the sea give it every variety of climate. The inhabitants are estimated, by Burckhardt, at about 15,000, of whom one third are Christians. The commerce of Tripoli has lately decreased. The few Franks who remain there are in the greatest misery. M. Guys, the French consul, resides there. He is an able antiquary, and has an interesting collection of medals. Silk is the chief commerce of the place. The next article of exportation is sponges; they are procured on the sea-shore. Their price is about 40,000 piastres a thousand. It is a curious fact, that soap, which is one of the articles exported from, should also be imported into, Tripoli from Candia. The Cretan soap contains very little alkali; here one-fourth of its alkali is added to it, and in this state it is sold with a profit.

At Beteddein, the Emir Beshir, to whom our traveller had letters of recommendation, received him very politely at his house. This potentate is now master of the whole mountain, from Belad Akkar down to near Akka (Acre), including the valley of Bekaa, and part of the Anti-Libanus. His power, however, is a mere shadow, the real government being in the hands of the Druse, chief Sheikh Beshir. Of the singular sect of the Druses, Mr. Burckhardt has subjoined a few notes, and they have the air of unquestionable authenticity.

"With respect to the true religion of the Druses, none but a learned Druse can satisfy the inquirer's curiosity. What I have already said of the Anzeyrys is equally applicable to the Druses; their religious opinions will remain for ever a secret, unless revealed by a Druse. Their customs, however, may be described; and, as far as they can tend to elucidate the mystery, the veil may be drawn aside by the researches of the traveller. It seems to be a maxim with them to adopt the religious practices of the country in which they reside, and to profess the creed of the strongest. Hence they all profess Islamism in Syria; and even those who have been baptised, on account of their alliance with the Shehab family, still practise the exterior forms of the Mohammedan faith. There is no truth in the assertion, that the Druses go one day to the mosque, and the next to the church. They all profess Islamism, and whenever they mix with the Mohammedans they perform the rites

prescribed by their religion. In private, however, they break the fast of Ramadhan, curse Mohammed, indulge in wine, and eat food forbidden by the Koran. They bear an inveterate hatred to all religions except their own, but more particularly to that of the Franks, chiefly in consequence of a tradition current among them, that the Europeans will one day overthrow their commonwealth. This hatred has been increased since the invasion of the French; and the most unpardonable insult which one Druse can offer to another, is to say to him, 'May God put a hat on you.'

"Nothing is more sacred with a Druse than his *public* reputation: he will overlook an insult, if known only to him who has offered it; and will put up with blows, where his interest is concerned, provided *nobody* is a witness; but the slightest abuse given in public he revenges with the greatest fury. This is the most remarkable feature of the national character: in public a Druse may appear honourable; but he is easily tempted to a contrary behaviour, when he has reason to think that his conduct will remain undiscovered. The ties of blood and friendship have no power amongst them; the son no sooner attains the years of maturity, than he begins to plot against his father. Examples are not wanting of their assailing the chastity of their mothers, and towards their sisters such conduct is so frequent, that a father never allows a full grown son to remain alone with any of the females of his family. Their own religion allows them to take their sisters in marriage; but they are restrained from indulging in this connexion, on account of its repugnance to the Mohammedan laws. A Druse seldom has more than one wife, but he divorces her under the slightest pretext; and it is a custom among them, that if a wife asks her husband's permission to go out, and he says to her "Go;" without adding "and come back," she is thereby divorced; nor can her husband recover her, even though it should be their mutual wish, till she is married again according to the Turkish forms, and divorced from her second husband. It is known that the Druses, like all Levantines, are very jealous of their wives; adultery, however, is rarely punished with death: if a wife is detected in it, she is divorced; but the husband is afraid to kill her seducer, because his death would be revenged, for the Druses are inexorable with respect to the law of retaliation of blood; they know too that if the affair were to become public, the governor would ruin both parties by his extortions. Unnatural propensities are very common amongst them.

"The Akal are those who are supposed to know the doctrines of the Druse religion; they superintend divine worship in the chapels, or, as they are called, Khaloue, and they instruct the children in a kind of catechism. They are obliged to abstain from swearing, and all abusive language, and dare not wear any article of gold or silk in their dress. Many of them make it a rule never to eat of any food, nor to receive any money, which they suspect to have been improperly acquired. For this reason, whenever they have to receive considerable sums of money, they take care that it shall be first exchanged for other coin. The Sheikh El Nedjem, who generally accompanies the Sheikh Beshir, in his visits to the Emir, never tastes food in the palace of the latter, nor even smokes a pipe there, always asserting that whatever the Emir possesses has been unlawfully obtained. There are different degrees of

Akal, and women are also admitted into the order, a privilege which many avail themselves of, from parsimony, as they are thus exempted from wearing the expensive head-dress and rich silks fashionable among them.

"A father cannot entirely disinherit his son; in that case his will would be set aside; but he may leave him a single mulberry-tree for his portion. There is a Druse Kadhi at Deir el Kammar, who judges according to the Turkish laws, and the customs of the Druses; his office is hereditary in a Druse family; but he is held in little repute, as all causes of importance are carried before the Emir or the Sheikh Beshir.

"The Druses do not circumcise their children; circumcision is practised only in the mountain by those members of the Shehab family, who continue to be Mohammedans.

"The best feature in the Druse character is that peculiar law of hospitality, which forbids them ever to betray a guest. I made particular enquiries on this subject, and I am satisfied that no consideration of interest or dread of power will induce a Druse to give up a person who has once placed himself under his protection. Persons from all parts of Syria are in the constant practice of taking refuge in the mountain, where they are in perfect security from the moment they enter upon the Emir's territory: should the prince ever be tempted by large offers to consent to give up a refugee, the whole country would rise to prevent such a stain upon their national reputation. The mighty Djezzar, who had invested his own creatures with the government of the mountain, never could force them to give up a single individual of all those who fled thither from his tyranny. Whenever he became very urgent in his demands, the Emir informed the fugitive of his danger, and advised him to conceal himself for a time in some more distant part of his territory; an answer was then returned to Djezzar, that the object of his resentment had fled. The asylum which is thus afforded by the mountain is one of the greatest advantages that the inhabitants of Syria enjoy over those of the other parts of the Turkish dominions.

"The Druses are extremely fond of raw meat; whenever a sheep is killed, the raw liver, heart, &c., are considered dainties; the Christians follow their example, but with the addition of a glass of brandy with every slice of meat. In many parts of Syria I have seen the common people eat raw meat in their favourite dish the Kobbes; the women especially indulge in this luxury.

"Mr. Barker told me that during his two years' residence at Harissa and in the mountain, he never heard any kind of music. The Christians are too devout to occupy themselves with such worldly pleasures, and the Druses have no sort of musical instruments.

"The Druses have a few historical books which mention their nation; Ibn Shebat, for instance, as I was told, gives in his history of the Califes, that of the Druses also, and of the family of Shehab. Emir Haidar, a relation of the Emir Beshir, has lately begun to compile a history of the Shehabs, which already forms a thick quarto volume.

"I believe that the greatest amount of the military forces of the Druses is between ten and fifteen thousand firelocks, the Christians of



the mountain may, perhaps, be double that number ; but I conceive that the most potent Pasha or Emir would never be able to collect more than twenty thousand men from the mountain." (P. 200—204.)

On his return to Damascus, Mr. Burckhardt resolved to obtain still more information concerning the Haouran, and, by crossing the mountains south of Damascus, to visit the ruins of Djerash (Gerasu) and of Amman (Philadelphia) which M. Seetzen had discovered. On the 21st of April, 1812, he left Damascus and took the road of El Koussoue, Deir Ali, and El Merdjian, with strong letters of recommendation to all the authorities of the country from Soleiman Pasha. The name of this potentate Burckhardt found of the greatest use to him. The Druses were ill-disposed to him in many places, and it being generally reported that he had discovered in his former journey a treasure at Shohba, and had now returned to carry it off, he was most rudely received at Om Ezzeiton, where he escaped only by assuming an imposing air, and threatening with many oaths, that if he lost a single hair of his beard, the Pasha would levy an *avania* of many purses on the village. Boszra (the last inhabited place in the south east of the Haouran) and its extensive ruins are minutely described, but the details are too dull and uninviting to be extracted. At a village called Naeme, our traveller saw, for the first time, a swarm of locusts, so numerous, that his horse killed numbers of them at every step. They are called in Syria, Djerad Nedjdyat, the flying locusts ; they have a yellow body, a gray breast, and wings of a dirty white ; they feed upon the leaves of trees and vegetables, sparing very fortunately the wheat and the barley. They are an article of food to the Bedouins, who collect them in April, when the sexes cohabit, and they are easily caught. Having been roasted a little on the iron plate on which they bake their bread, they are dried in the sun, salted, and put into sacks.

El Mezareib is the first castle on the Hadj road from Damascus, and was built by the great Sultan Selym, 308 years ago. It is the usual residence of the Aga of the Haouran. There are no houses beyond its precincts. It contains a small mosque and ranges of warehouses, where provisions for the Hadj are deposited.

" The pilgrim caravan to Mekka collects at the Mezareib, where the Pasha, or Emir el Hadj, remains encamped for ten days, in order to collect the stragglers, and to pay to the different Arab tribes the accustomed tribute for the passage of the caravan through the desert. The warehouses of the castle are annually well stocked with wheat, barley, miscuit, rice, tobacco, tent and horse equipage, camel saddles, ropes, ammunition, &c., each of which has its particular warehouse. These stores are exclusively for the Pasha's suite, and for the army which accompanies the Hadj ; and are chiefly consumed on their return. It is only in cases

of great abundance, and by particular favour, that the Pasha permits any articles to be sold to the pilgrims. At every station as far as Medina, is a castle, but generally smaller than this, filled with similar stores. The Haouran alone is required to deliver every year into the storehouses of the Mezareib, two thousand Gharara of barley, or about twenty or twenty-five thousand cwt. English. The town of Damascus has been fed for the last three months with the biscuit stored in the Mezareib for the Hadj.

“ As far as the Pasha was concerned, the affairs of the great caravan were generally well managed ; but there still reigned a great want of economy, and the expenses of the Hadjis increased every year. Of late years, the hire of a single camel from Damascus to Mekka has been seven hundred and fifty piastres ; as much, and often more, was to be paid on coming back ; and the expenses on the road, and at Mekka, amounted at least to one thousand piastres, so that, in the most humble way, the journey could not be performed at less than two thousand five hundred piastres, or 125 pounds sterling. A camel with a litter cost fifteen hundred in going, and as much in coming back. Of the whole caravan, not above one-tenth part were real pilgrims, the rest consisted of soldiers, the servants of soldiers, people attached to the Pasha's suite, merchants, pedlars, camel-drivers, coffee and pipe waiters, a swarm of Bedouins, together with several tents of public women from Damascus, who were so far encouraged, that, whenever they were unable to obtain from their lovers the daily food for their horses or mules, they obtained a supply from the Pasha's stores.

“ The greater part of the pilgrims usually contract for the journey with one of the great undertakers, or Mekouam, as they are called ; this agreement is only for a beast of transport and for water ; as to eating, the pilgrims generally mess together at their own expense, in bodies of about half a dozen. The Mekouam, on agreeing to furnish a beast of burthen, are bound to replace whatever may die on the road, and are therefore obliged to carry with them at least one unloaded camel for every loaded one. It is a general practice with the Mekouam to obtain as large sums as possible on account from the pilgrims who engage with them for the journey ; they generally agree among each other upon the sum to be demanded, as well as the moment at which it is to be called for : so that if the pilgrims resist the imposition, the Hadj sometimes remains encamped on the same spot for several days, the Mekouam all refusing to proceed, and feeing the Pasha for his connivance at their injustice. On their return to Damascus, if they have already extorted from the pilgrims in the course of the journey more than the amount of their contract, as often happens, they generally declare themselves to be bankrupts, and then the value of a few camels is all that remains to pay their debts to the pilgrims.

“ Those pilgrims who do not engage with the Mekouam, as is generally the case with those who come from Armenia and the borders of the Black Sea, perform the journey somewhat cheaper upon their own beasts ; but they are ill-treated on the road by the Mekouam, are obliged to march the last in the caravan, to encamp on the worst ground, to fill their water-skins the last, and are often even *avanized* by the Pasha. It

is difficult to conceive the wretched condition of the greater part of the Hadjis, and the bad conduct of the troops and Arabs. Thieving and robbery have become general among them; and it is more the want of sleep from fear of being plundered, which causes the death of so many pilgrims, than the fatigues of the journey. The Pasha's troops, particularly those called Howara, which bring up the rear of the caravan, are frequently known to kill the stragglers during the night, in order to strip them of their property. The Pasha, it is true, often punishes such delinquents, and scarcely a day passes without some one being empaled alive; the caravan moves on, and the malefactor is left to be devoured by the birds of prey. The Bedouins are particularly dexterous in pilfering; at night they sometimes assume the dress of the Pasha's infantry, and thus introduce themselves unnoticed amongst the camels of the rich Hadjis, when they throw the sleeping owner from his mule or camel, and in the confusion occasioned by the cries of the fallen rider, drive off the beast.

"The caravan marches daily from Asser, or about three hours after mid-day, during the whole of the night, and till the following morning, when the tents are pitched. It never stops but during prayers. The Arabs of Sokhne, Tedmor, and Haouran, together with the Bedouins, who let out their camels, precede or follow the caravan at the distance of one day's march. They transport the provisions for the Pasha's troops, of which they steal, and publicly sell at least two-thirds. They march during the day, and encamp in the evening. Their caravan is called El Selma. It passes the great caravan once every two or three days, and then encamps till the latter comes up, when they supply the Pasha's suite with provisions. The cheapest mode of performing the pilgrimage is to agree for a camel with one of those Arabs; but the fatigue is much greater in following the Selma.

"The last year in which the Hadj quitted Damascus, the pilgrims reached the gates of Medina, but they were not permitted to enter the town, nor to proceed to Mekka; and after an unsuccessful negotiation of seven days, they were obliged to return to Damascus. About two hundred Persian Hadjis only, who were with the caravan, were allowed to pass on paying a large sum of money. Ibn Saoud, the Wahabi chief, had one interview with Abdullah Pasha, accompanied by the whole of his retinue, at Djebel Arafat, near Mekka; they exchanged presents, and parted as friends.

"Of the seven different pilgrim caravans which unite at Mekka, two only bear the Mahmal, the Egyptian and Syrian; the latter is the first in rank." (P. 242—245.)

Djerash, though our traveller was enabled to devote only three hours to the survey of its ruins, is minutely described, and a plan of it annexed to the description. Omkeis, the last western village in the district of Kefarat, and situated near the west of the mountains which bound the valley of the lake of Taberia and Jordan on the east, contains several remains of antiquity. But Burckhardt is in doubt to what ancient city they are to be ascribed. The editor conjectures that it was probably Gamala.

which Josephus describes as standing upon a mountain bordered by precipices. But the grounds of the conjecture are not intimated. We turned to D'Anville, who places it at many miles' distance from the mountains.

We are inclined to point out Mr. Burckhardt's remarks on the inhabitants of the Haouran as the most valuable part of the work. That district is inhabited by Turks, Druses, Christians, and Arabs; and is under the Pasha of Damascus, who sends a governor called Agat el Haouran to Mezareib. He computes its population at 50 or 60,000 of whom 8 or 7000 are Druses, and 3000 Christians.

"The Turks and Christians have exactly the same modes of life: but the Druses are distinguished from them in many respects. The two former very nearly resemble the Arabs in their customs; their ordinary dress is precisely that of the Arabs; a coarse white cotton stuff forms their Kombaz, or gown, the Keffie round the head is tied with a rope of camel's hair, they wear the Abba over the shoulder, and have the breast and feet naked; they have also adopted, for the greater part, the Bedouin dialect, gestures, and phraseology; according to which most articles of household furniture have names different from those in the towns; it requires little experience, however, to distinguish the adults of the two nations from one another. The Arabs are generally of short stature, with thin visage, scanty beard, and brilliant black eyes; while the Fellahs are taller and stouter, with a strong beard, and a less piercing look; but the difference seems chiefly to arise from their mode of life. for the youth of both nations to the age of 16, have precisely the same appearance. The Turks and Christians live and dress alike. When quarrels happen, the Christian fears not to strike the Turk, or to execrate his religion, which would in every town of Syria expose the Christian to death or a fine. The Druses shew equal respect to both religions. Of the Christians, four-fifths are Greeks, and the only religious animosities, which I witnessed, were between them and the Catholics."

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"The most common dishes of these people are Burgoul and Keshk; in summer they supply the place of the latter by milk, Leben, and fresh butter. Of the Burgoul I have spoken on other occasions; there are two kinds of Keshk; Keshk-hammer and Keshk-leben; the first is prepared by putting leaven into the Burgoul, and pouring water over it; it is then left until almost putrid, and afterwards spread out in the sun to dry; after which it is pounded, and when called for, served up mixed with oil or butter. The Keshk-leben is prepared by putting leben into the Burgoul instead of leaven; in other respects the process is the same. Keshk and bread are the common breakfast; and, towards sunset, a plate of Burgoul or some Arab dish, forms the dinner; in honour of strangers it is usual to serve up at breakfast melted butter, and bread, or fried eggs, and in the evening a fowl boiled in Burgoul, or a kid or lamb, but this does not very often happen. The women and children eat up whatever the men have left on their plates. The women dress in the Bedouin manner, they have a veil over their head, but seldom veil their faces.

"Hospitality to strangers is another characteristic common to the Arabs, and to the people of Haouran. A traveller may alight at any house he pleases; a mat will be immediately spread for him, coffee made, and a breakfast or dinner set before him. In entering a village it has often happened to me, that several persons presented themselves, each begging that I would lodge at his house; and this hospitality is not confined to the traveller himself, his horse or his camel is also fed, the first with half or three quarters of a moud of barley, the second with straw: with this part of their hospitality, however, I had often reason to be dissatisfied, less than a moud being insufficient upon a journey for a horse, which is fed only in the evening, according to the custom of those countries. As it would be considered an affront to buy any corn, the horse must remain ill-fed, unless the traveller has the precaution to carry a little barley in his saddle-bag, to make up the deficiency in the host's allowance. On returning to Aaere, to the house of the Sheikh, after my tour through the desert, one of my Druse guides insisted upon my taking my horse to his stables, instead of the Sheikh's. When I was about to depart, the Druse brought my horse to the door, and when I complained that he had fallen off greatly in the few days I had remained in the village, the Sheikh said to me in the presence of several persons, "You are ignorant of the ways of this country; if you see that your host does not feed your horse, insist upon his giving him a moud of barley daily: he dares not refuse it." It is a point of honour with the host never to accept of the smallest return from a guest. I once only ventured to give a few piastres to the child of a very poor family at Zahouet, by whom we had been most hospitably treated, and rode off without attending to the cries of the mother, who insisted upon my taking back the money." (P. 291—295.)

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"The oppressions of the government on one side and those of the Bedouins on the other, have reduced the Fellah of the Haouran to a state little better than that of the wandering Arab. Few individuals, either among the Druses or Christians die in the same village in which they were born. Families are continually moving from one place to another. In the first year of their new settlement the Sheikh acts with moderation towards them; but his vexations becoming in a few years unsupportable, they fly to some other place, where they have heard that their brethren are better treated, but they soon find that the same system prevails over the whole country. Sometimes it is not merely the pecuniary extortion, but the personal enmity of the Sheikh, or of some of the head men of the village, which drives a family from their home, for they are always permitted to depart. This continued wandering is one of the principal reasons why no village in the Haouran has either orchards or fruit-trees, or gardens for the growth of vegetables. "Shall we sow for strangers?" was the answer of a Fellah to whom I once spoke on the subject, and who by the word "strangers," mean both the succeeding inhabitants and the Arabs who visit the Haouran, in the spring and summer." (P. 299.)

The taxes paid by the Fellahs of the Haouran are, the Miri, the expense of feeding soldiers on their march; the tribute to

the Arabs, and extraordinary contributions. The Miri is the most vexatious though not the heaviest of these imposts. It is raised from each village in the same proportion, notwithstanding the loss or diminution of its inhabitants, though frequently raised on a supposed increase of population. But the heaviest of the contributions is the tribute to the Arabs, who levy upon every village in the Haouran what is called the Khone (brotherhood). In return, the Arabs leave their harvests, and cattle and camels unmolested. The amount of this Khone is always increasing; for the Arab Sheikh is not always contented with the quantity of the preceding year, but exacts something by way of present, which soon becomes a part of his established dues. The fate of these misgoverned countries is truly deplorable. Sound policy would dictate to the Pasha of Damascus the expediency of keeping a few thousand men, well paid, in the chief places of the Haourans, to put an end to the exactions of the Arabs. But his object is to make the Khone an immediate source of profit to himself. The Sheikhs receive from him an annual present of a peltisse; this entitles them to the tribute of the villages, out of which they pay a certain number of purses into the Pasha's treasury. But the poor Fellah is fortunate if these contributions form the whole of his sufferings. He is liable to the rapacity of the Pasha, who by his mere volition, frequently levies 3 or 400 piastres on the village. On these occasions the women are obliged to sell their ear-rings and bracelets, and the men their cattle, trusting that a rich harvest in the next year will make them amends. The receipt of the Miri is in the hands of the Jew bankers or Serafs, who have  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on this revenue. They repair like locusts to the villages at the time of their harvests to receive the Miri, and generally squeeze from this wretched peasantry something for themselves.

We must pass by without the slightest notice the journey from Damascus through the mountains of Arabia Petræa, and the desert El Ty to Cairo, in the summer of 1812. In the beginning of April 1816, our indefatigable traveller determined to leave Cairo, which was then visited by the plague, and pass his time during the prevalence of the disease among the Bedouins of Mount Sinai. In crossing the desert from Cairo to Suez, he pursued a route called Derb el Ankabye, lying midway between the great Hadj route, and the more southern one close along the mountains. At the distance of five hours from Cairo, he met with great quantities of petrified wood, consisting of large pieces of the trunks of trees lying upon the plain. It seems that several travellers have expressed doubts of their being really petrified wood; but Burckhardt observes, that there can be no reason to doubt it, the texture and fibres of the

wood being clearly distinguishable, and perfectly resembling those of the date tree. He thinks it not improbable, that before Nechos cut the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, the communication between Arsinoe or Clysmæ and Memphis, may have been carried on along this way; that stations may have been established on the spots now covered by these petrified trees, and the canal being completed, that the route was afterwards neglected; and the trees being left without a regular supply of water, having dried up and fallen, the sands with the winter rains and torrents, gradually petrified them. In the bed of a torrent called Wady Hafeiry, at the foot of a chain of hills, the camels found abundance of pasture on the odoriferous herb *Obeitheran*, *Santolina fragrantissima* of Forskal. Rains, Mr. Burckhardt observes, are more frequent in this desert than in the valley of Egypt. It is visited by regular rains in the winter, whereas in the valley of the Nile rain seldom falls even in winter.

Suez was not inclosed in the time of Niehbuhr, who travelled in 1762. There is now a wall on the W. and S.W. which is rapidly falling to decay. The town is in a ruinous and depopulated state. The trade in coffee and India goods to Cairo still passes through Suez. A caravan of 5 or 600 camels travels from Suez to Cairo on the 10th of each month; smaller ones depart every five days, and so formidable is the name of Mohammed Ali (the Pasha of Cairo) that they are seldom plundered. The air of Suez is bad, owing to the saline quality of the soil, and the extent of low ground on the N. and N.E. sides, which are filled with stagnant waters. Fevers of a malignant kind prevail during the spring and summer.

Our traveller seems to have pursued nearly the same route as Niehbuhr, who does not mention the well of Howara, which Burckhardt passed on the 27th April. From Ayoun Mousa, at the wells of which he had halted on the 25th, to the well of Howara, they had travelled 15½ hours.

“ Referring to this distance,” he remarks, “ it appears probable that this is the desert of three days mentioned in the Scriptures to have been crossed by the Israelites immediately after their passing the Red Sea, and at the end of which they arrived at Marah. In moving with a whole nation, the march may well be supposed to have occupied three days; and the bitter well at Marah, which was sweetened by Moses, corresponds exactly with that of Howara. This is the usual route to Mount Sinai, and was probably, therefore, that which the Israelites took on their escape from Egypt, provided it be admitted that they crossed the sea near Suez, as Niebuhr, with good reason, conjectures. There is no other road of three days’ march in the way from Suez towards Sinai, nor is there any other well absolutely bitter on the whole of this coast, as far as Ras Mohammed. The complaints of the bitter-

new of the water by the children of Israel, who had been accustomed to the sweet water of the Nile, are such as may daily be heard from the Egyptian servants and peasants who travel in Arabia. Accustomed from their youth to the excellent water of the Nile, there is nothing which they so much regret in countries distant from Egypt; nor is there any eastern people who feel so keenly the want of good water as the present natives of Egypt. With respect to the means employed by Moses to render the waters of the well sweet, I have frequently enquired among the Bedouins in different parts of Arabia, whether they possessed any means of effecting such a change, by throwing wood into it, or by any other process; but I never could learn that such an art was known.

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"If we admit Bir Howara to be the Marah\* of Exodus xv. 23, then Wady Gharendel is probably Elim, with its wells and date trees, an opinion entertained by Niebuhr, who, however, did not see the bitter well of Howara on the road to Gharendel. The non-existence, at present, of twelve wells at Gharendel must not be considered as evidence against the just-stated conjecture; for Niebuhr says, that his companions obtained water here by digging to a very small depth, and there was a great plenty of it when I passed; water, in fact, is readily found by digging, in every fertile valley in Arabia, and wells are thus easily formed, which are quickly filled up again by the sands." (P. 472—474.)

There are several interesting portraits of the domestic life of the Bedouins interspersed in the journal of this tour. At Wady Osh, our travellers alighted at an encampment of Bedouins, belonging to the Oulad Said, (a branch of Szwowaleha tribe,) and entered the tent of one of their Sheikhs. The Arabs had a fierce dispute amongst themselves (the Sheikh being absent) to decide who should have the honour of furnishing them a supper and a breakfast the next morning. He who first sees the stranger at a distance and exclaims "There comes my guest," has the right of entertaining him.

Approaching the central summits of Mount Sinai, they came to a thick wood of tamarisk or tarfa, on the thorns of which the camel browses. It is only in this part of the Peninsula that it grows in abundance, and from this evergreen tamarisk the manna is collected. Sinai is a name applied to the elevated platform of the mountain, the avenues to which are surrounded by abrupt cliffs of granite from 6 to 800 feet high. These cliffs form a narrow defile about forty feet in breadth. In a broader part of this pass, an insulated rock five feet high, with a sort of naturally formed seat, is shewn as a place upon which Moses once reposed, and the Bedouins pay it the highest reverence. They met with many layers of porphyry, running perpendicularly

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\* Mo:ra in Arabic means "bitter." Marah in Hebrew is "bitterness."



from the summit of the mountain to the base in a band twelve feet wide. It was usually of a red indurated argillaceous substance, and sometimes had the appearance of red feldspath. In the argil were imbedded small crystals of hornblende or of mica, and thin pieces of quartz.

From Boszeyra, they followed the coast in a direction N.N.E. and in three hours halted close by the sea. Before them was a small bay.

"The sands of the shore," Mr. Burckhardt observes, "every where bore the impression of the passage of serpents, crossing each other in many directions, and some of them appeared to be made by animals whose bodies could not be less than two inches in diameter. Ayd told me that serpents were very common in these parts; that the fishermen were much afraid of them, and extinguished their fires in the evening before they went to sleep, because the light was known to attract them. As serpents are so numerous on this side, they are probably not deficient towards the head of the gulf on its opposite shore, where it appears that the Israelites passed, when they journeyed from Mount Hor, by the way of the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom, and when the 'Lord sent fiery serpents among the people.'"<sup>\*</sup>

We cannot refuse admission to the following Bedouin anecdote which Burckhardt relates with his characteristic simplicity.

"The Ras Om Haye forms the western extremity of the mountain of Tyh, whose straight and regular ridge runs quite across the Peninsula, and is easily distinguished from the surrounding mountains. We halted at the end of five hours in a rocky valley at the foot of Ras Om Haye, where acacia trees and some grass grow. Ayd assured us, that in the mountain at some distance, was a reservoir of rain water, called Om Hadjydjein, but he could not answer for its containing water at this time. He described to Hamd its situation, and the way to it, with a view of persuading him to go and fetch some water for us; but his description was so confused, and I thought contradictory in several circumstances, and withal so pompous, that I concluded it all to be a story, and told him he was a babbler. 'A babbler,' he exclaimed; 'min Allah, no body in my whole life ever called me thus before. A babbler! I shall presently show you which of us two deserves that name.' He then seized one of the large water skins, and barefooted as he was, began ascending the mountain, which was covered with loose and sharp stones. We soon lost sight of him, but saw him again, farther on, climbing up an almost perpendicular path. An hour and a half after,

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<sup>\*</sup> "Numbers xxi. 46. The following passage of Deuteronomy (viii. 15,) in giving a general description of this country, alludes to the serpents: 'Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness wherein were fiery serpents, and scorpions, and drought, where there was no water? Who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint? Who fed thee in the wilderness with manna?' &c. Scorpions are numerous in all the adjacent parts of Palestine and the Desert. The author observes in a note in another place, that the Arabic translation of the Pentateuch has 'serpents of burning bites,' instead of 'fiery serpents.' (*Edit.*)"

he returned by the same path, carrying on his bent back the skin full of water, which could not weigh less than one hundred pounds, and, putting it down before us, said, 'There! take it from the babbler!' I was so overcome with shame, that I knew not how to apologize for my inconsiderate language; but when he saw that I really felt myself in the wrong, he was easily pacified, and said nothing more about it till night, when seeing me take a hearty draught of the water, and hearing me praise its sweetness, compared with the brackish water of the coast, he stopped me, and said, 'Young man, for the future never call an old Bedouin a babbler.' " (P. 502, 503.)

Having been disappointed in obtaining the Pasha's firmahn, which would have ensured them guides of the Heywat or Omran tribe, who would have been answerable for their safety, (those tribes being masters of the district of Akaba, intrepid robbers and allies,) Burckhardt was obliged to desist from his project of proceeding from Akaba, as he well knew from what he had heard during his former journey from Kerek to Cairo, that the Omran Arabs through whom he must pass, not only rob but murder passengers. Akaba, however, was not far distant from the spot whence they returned, and he thinks that it could not have been more than five or six hours distant. He conjectures that it is probably the Akabet Aila of the Arabian geographers, (Akaba in Arabic signifying a cliff or declivity,) and hints that the "ascent of Akrabbim" mentioned in Numbers xxxiv. 4, accurately corresponds to the ascent of the western mountain from the plain of Akaba. The passage which we are about to extract will give our readers some notion of the perils to which a traveller is exposed in this inhospitable desert.

"After retiring to sleep, we were awakened by the barking of Ayd's dog, upon which Ayd, springing up, said he was sure that some people were in the neighbourhood. We therefore got our guns ready, and sat by the fire the whole night, for whatever may be the heat of the season, the Bedouin must have his fire at night. Szaleh gave evident signs of fear, but happily the morning came without realizing his apprehensions.

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"We now returned across the plain to the basal cliffs, passed the different small bays, and turned up into Wady Mezeiryk. We had descended from our camels which Szaleh was driving before him, about fifty paces in advance; I followed, and about same distance behind me walked Hamd and Ayd. As we had seen nobody during the whole journey, and were now returning into the friendly districts of the Towara, we had ceased to entertain any fears from enemies, and were laughing at Ayd for recommending us to cross the valleys as quickly as possible. My gun was upon my camel, and I had just turned leisurely round an angle of the valley, when I heard Ayd cry out with all his might, 'Get your arms! Here they are!' I immediately ran up to the camels, to take my gun, but the cowardly Szaleh, instead of stopping to assist his companions, made the camels gallop off at full speed up the

valley. I however overtook them, and seized my gun, but before I could return to Hamd, I heard two shots fired, and Ayd's war-hoop. 'Have at him! are we not Towara?' Immediately afterwards I saw Hamd spring round the angle, his eyes flashing with rage, his shirt sprinkled with blood, his gun in one hand, and in the other his knife covered with blood, his foot was bleeding, he had lost his turban, and his long black hair hung down over his shoulders. 'I have done for him!' he exclaimed, as he wiped his knife; 'but let us fly.' 'Not without Ayd,' said I: 'no indeed,' he replied, 'without him we should all be lost.' We returned round the corner, and saw Ayd exerting his utmost agility to come up with us. At forty paces distance an Arab lay on the ground, and three others were standing over him. We took hold of Ayd's arm and hastened to our camels, though we knew not where to find them. Szaléh had frightened them so greatly by striking them with his gun, that they went off at full gallop, and it was half an hour before we reached them; one of them had burst its girths, and thrown off its saddle and load. We replaced the load, mounted Ayd, and hastened to pass the rocks of Djebel Sherafe. We then found ourselves in a more open country, less liable to be waylaid amongst rocks, and better able to defend ourselves. Hamd now told me that Ayd had first seen four Bedouins running down upon us; they had evidently intended to waylay us from behind the corner, but came a little too late. When he heard Ayd cry out, he had just time to strike fire and to light the match of his gun, when the boldest of the assailants approached within twenty paces of him and fired; the ball passed through his shirt; he returned the fire, but missed his aim, while his opponent was coolly reloading his piece, before his companions had joined him. Ayd cried out to Hamd, to attack the robber with his knife, and advanced to his support with a short spear which he carried; Hamd drew his knife, rushed upon the adversary, and after receiving a wound in the foot, brought him to the ground, but left him immediately, on seeing his companions hastening to his relief. Ayd now said, that if the man was killed, we should certainly be pursued, but that if he was only wounded the others would remain with him, and give up the pursuit. We travelled with all possible haste, not knowing whether more enemies might not be behind, or whether the encampment of the wounded man might not be in the vicinity, from whence his friends might collect to revenge his blood.

"Ayd had certainly not been mistaken last night; these robbers had no doubt seen our fire, and had approached us, but were frightened by the barking of the dog. Uncertain whether we were proceeding northward or southward, they had waited till they saw us set out, and then by a circuitous route in the mountains had endeavoured, unseen, to get the start of us in order to waylay us in the passes of the Wady Mezeiryk. If they had reached the spot where we were attacked, two or three minutes sooner, and had been able to take aim at us from behind the rock, we must all have inevitably perished. That they intended to murder us, contrary to the usual practice of Bedouins, is easily accounted for: they knew from the situation of the place, where they discovered us, as well as from the dress and appearance of my guides, that they

were Towara Bedouins; but though I was poorly dressed, they must have recognized me to be a townsman, and a townsman is always supposed by Bedouins to carry money with him. To rob us without resistance was impossible, their number being too small; or supposing this had succeeded, and any of the guides had escaped, they knew that they would sooner or later be obliged to restore the property taken, and to pay the fine of blood and wounds, because the Towara were then at peace with all their neighbours. For these reasons they had no doubt resolved to kill the whole party, as the only effectual mode of avoiding all disclosures as to the real perpetrators of the murder. I do not believe that such atrocities often occur in the eastern desert, among the great Aeneze tribe; at least I never heard of any; but these Heywat Arabs are notorious for their bad faith, and never hesitate to kill those who do not travel under the protection of their own people, or their well known friends. Scarcely any other Bedouin robbers would have fired till they had summoned us to give up our baggage, and had received a shot for answer. (P. 512—516.)

The foregoing extracts have already extended our article so far as to leave us no space even for an abstract of the interesting and minute account of one of the most singular religious establishments in the East—the convent of Mount Sinai; where our traveller was so hospitably and liberally received. We are aware that it has been mentioned by Shaw, Clarke, and other travellers; but Burckhardt's is the best summary of its history, its discipline, and usages, with which we are acquainted. We regret still more that a similar reason prevents us from communicating any portion of the valuable information concerning the Ryhauul Turkmans, and the statistical notices of Aleppo and Syria in general, which are contained in the appendix.

We have thus endeavoured to render some justice, however imperfect, to the valuable labours of the departed Sheikh Ibrahim, by the insertion of some of the leading topics of the work before us. No language can render justice to the purity and meekness of his spirit; the disinterested zeal with which he executed the benevolent commission entrusted to him, and his unextinguishable ardour in a cause, to which the perils and toils of the various journeys related in this volume were only experimental and subsidiary—the cause of Africa. Nor does it reflect a slight credit on the enlarged views or the liberal discernment of the Association to have selected such a man for the execution and furtherance of their noble and sublime projects. But we trust that neither the almost irreparable loss which the unredressed cause of Africa has sustained by his untimely death, nor the other discouragements incident to every great and generous enterprise, will induce those who have hitherto been its patrons and supporters, to faint in the race of humanity, and to remit their efforts in the grand task of alleviating the miseries and pro-

moting the improvement of that despised and injured race. Let us, in spite of every obstacle which the lukewarmness of some, the mercenary and unfeeling avarice of others, and the nature of the undertaking itself may interpose in the way, still exclaim with the poet, ΕΣΣΕΤΑΙ 'ΗΜΑΡ !

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ART. III.—*Julia Severa, ou l'an quatre cent quatre-vingt douze* par J. C. Simonde de Sismondi. 3 Tom. Paris, 1822.

A VETERAN in literature, at the close of a long and industrious life, straying from his habitual studies to amuse with fictitious narrative, and dedicating his intervals of leisure to the good-humoured purpose of beguiling the heavy hours of those who have nothing to do, is not an unamiable picture. It is the dalliance of old age with infancy;—wisdom laying aside its austerity to prattle with the light and unthinking,—philosophy stooping from its elevation, to weave mysteries, adventures, and fables, for fascinating those who can be instructed only so long as they are amused.

M. Sismondi is sufficiently known on the Continent as a member of several learned institutions, and as the author of a history of the Italian Republics, and of the literature of the South, besides several ingenious tracts on finance and political economy. He is a native of Switzerland, though descended from one of the most distinguished families of the republic of Pisa; the liberality of his opinions, and the soundness of his criticism, have assigned him also a high rank in the general common-wealth of letters. But though we are far from being insensible to the merits, or unmindful of the reputation, of the venerable Professor of Geneva, we sincerely doubt, whether that reputation will gain any thing from the present publication, or whether that numerous class of readers, to whom this sort of production is the daily aliment, will have much reason to congratulate themselves upon this septuagenary excursion into the fields of romance and fiction.

Julia Severa is professedly of that spurious breed, the historical novel; and, when we urge this as one of the sources of our dissatisfaction, we are aware that we are treading upon delicate ground;—for the intermingled agency of fictitious persons with the actors of authentic history is one of the instrumentalities, by which the founder of the Waverley school has achieved the

great miracles of his art. It may be so; and the fact will not render the objection less legitimate. The triumphs of a mind peculiarly gifted for the undertaking over the difficulties in his way do not impose it as a duty on minds of another mould to throw themselves in the way of those difficulties, nor encourage the presumption that they will vanish at their bidding. Inconveniences, which are mere straws in the path of one mind, may be absolutely bounds to the career of another; and when we promulgate rules and principles of criticism, we legislate not for the distinguished few,

——— Quibus arte benignâ,  
Et meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan ;

—not for the highly-privileged order of faculty, of which the elements are so combined as to fall within no ordinary or assignable category;—not for that irrepressible genius, which repealing antecedent rules, and becoming its own legislator and example, it is so much easier to extinguish than to restrain;—but for the every-day race of writers, to whom conventional proprieties are beauties, to whom rules are aids, and to whom, therefore, it is forbidden to snatch their graces beyond the reach of art.

So obvious are the disadvantages of confounding real and imaginary persons, or real and imaginary incidents, of thus neutralizing as it were the effect of history, by blending it with fable, and restraining the fancy by confining it within the circle of known and familiar facts, that it would be echoing a trite and worn out argument, to repeat the general objections. Happily we are absolved from the task, for M. Sismondi in his preface has done it more satisfactorily for us.

“C’est un roman,” says he, “et j’aurais voulu que ce fut complètement un roman, et par l’intérêt, et par la vérité des tableaux de la vie domestique. Cependant, l’intérêt se reporte difficilement treize siècles en arrière; les tableaux domestiques manquent toujours ou de vérité ou de vivacité, quand on les place à une époque aussi imparfaitement connue; les personnages se perdent dans l’ombre, quand au lieu de développer leur sentimens, on s’attache à peindre les lieux, les temps et les mœurs publiques.

“Ces défauts, il est vrai, tiennent au but même que je m’étais proposé, celui de faire connaître la condition des peuples, les rapports des habitans, les opinions dominantes et les habitudes domestiques dans les Gaules, aux diverses époques de leur histoires. Tandis que, dans un ouvrage d’une forme plus sérieuse, je me suis efforcé de montrer, sous un jour plus vrai qu’on n’a pu le faire jusqu’ici, l’enchaînement des événemens publics, les grands caractères historiques, les victoires et les désastres, les hautes vertus et les forfaits des peuples et des rois de la France; je voudrais, à chaque grande révolution, tout au moins pouvoir montrer aussi à mes lecteurs la vie commune dans un cadre

d'imagination, et par des personnages fabuleux, mais en étant toujours guidé par des recherches historiques, et en me conformant scrupuleusement pour la peinture des opinions, comme pour celle des caractères nationaux, aux écrivains contemporains.

“ Le roman que je présente aujourd'hui au public est donc destiné à peindre l'état des Gaules à l'époque de l'invasion de Clovis. Il est le fruit des recherches et des travaux que j'avais consacrés à écrire les premiers volumes de l'Histoire des Français. L'historien est forcé de vivre, en quelque sorte, dans le siècle qu'il se propose de faire connaître ; on ne saurait exiger des travaux aussi soutenus du romancier. Si je n'avais eu d'autre but que de décrire l'an quatre cent quatre-vingt douze, je n'aurais sans doute pas lu trois fois de suite Grégoire de Tours, ou pali sur toutes les chroniques, sur tous les codes de lois, sur toutes les vies de saints de cette époque. Un historien seul a occasion d'acquérir cette connaissance des temps anciens, qui lui permet de placer un roman à une époque reculée, avec une observation sévère des mœurs du temps. Ces mœurs, ces opinions, telles que je les ai représentées, sont celles qu'un antiquaire de bonne foi doit reconnaître avoir appartenus à cette époque. Il n'y a dans la peinture de ces caractères aucune intention de représenter, sous des couleurs odieuses, un ordre de la société plutôt qu'un autre ; de prêcher ou de décrier un système de religion ou de politique. J'ai voulu rendre l'état ancien de la société tel qu'il était, ou du moins tel que nous pouvons encore le connaître, avec ses vertus et ses vices. Je ne demande point qu'on en tire de certaines conclusions, je demande seulement qu'on le voie.

“ Les épigraphes que j'ai attachées à chaque chapitre, d'après l'exemple de l'auteur de ces admirables romans écossais, auxquels j'aurais voulu que le mien ressemblât davantage, sont toutes tirées d'auteurs contemporains ; elles sont destinées à indiquer, combien les scènes que j'ai présentées d'imagination se rapprochent des réalités de ce siècle.

“ Les héros du roman, Felix, Julia, Severus, sont de pure invention ; l'action de Volusianus, qui forme le nœud en quelque sorte de tout le drame, et l'expédition de Theoderic, sont également imaginaires. Ce sont des choses qui pouvaient être, mais nous ne savons pas qu'elles aient été. Les autres événemens publics sont en général fondés sur l'histoire ; je ne me suis, je crois, écarté de la chronologie, qu'à l'égard de saint Senoch, dont la retraite dans la tour de Loches fut postérieure, peut-être d'un demi-siècle, à l'époque où je l'ai mis en scène.” (Pref. ii—viii.)

But if the romances to which M. Sismondi alludes, suggested to him, as they seem to have done, an historical subject at all, it is to be lamented that the unfortunate choice of that subject should have thrown him to a great distance from his prototype. There is a species of history, which approaches in respect of interesting and fearful vicissitude, of eager and impatient expectation, the utmost that can be demanded from inventive fiction. The story of Prince Charles is a piece of the wildest romance, and Robertson's escape, in the Heart of

Mid-Lothian, the murder of Porteous, and the trial of Effie Deans, contain sufficient of the marvellous to satisfy the keenest appetite of the novel reader. The local traditions also, and provincial manners of a country so nearly connected with our own by political and social union, are in themselves objects of distinct and peculiar interest, and heighten the charm of a skilful combination of fictitious incident. Can this be said of a picture of the Gauls at the end of the fifth century? What authentic records are subsisting of the manners, the social and domestic lives of these tribes? Where is the link of association that interests us about the Merovingian chieftain, or a horde of warlike but unlettered barbarians, or how can we feel the passing sympathy of a moment in the concerns of those illustrious Visigoths, Euric, Chilperic, and Gondebaud? It is true, that in order to complete our course of historical reading, we are compelled, in despite of all taste and feeling, to toil through the monotonous pages occupied by the barbarous invaders of the Roman empire, and to trace the migrations and incursions of tribes whose names we can scarcely pronounce, and from whom the moral eye, wearied with undiversified rapine, cruelty, and violence, turns with alienation and disgust. When we have escaped that "obscure sojourn," our progress is gladdened, and we sooth ourselves with the hope of dwelling upon fairer prospects of man, and brighter conditions of society. Those passages therefore of general history contain little of that which is truly romantic, little that can steal us away from ourselves, by presenting historical or imaginary pictures in those pleasing or enchanting colours that attract our curiosity or excite our admiration. There is nothing of the fearful uncertainty that hangs about other stories. The issues of things are too clearly foreseen, and ruffian strength and lawless tyranny, prompt in act, and inexorable in resolve, leave nothing as it were to hope or fear, nor any thing to the play of those gentler affections, which are nursed under the shade of settled institutions, but without which real life can furnish nothing to romance. In those unattractive periods, the threads upon which human incidents are suspended are not unravell'd but broken; too narrow a space is allowed to fortune; the sword of the Goth, and the battle-axe of the Frank, operate like the destinies of the Greek tragedies, to terminate the vicissitudes of the story by an irreversible force, and to destroy all interest or curiosity concerning it by the almost instantaneous anticipation of what must inevitably happen. We might enlarge still more upon the inconveniences of selecting such an æra for a fictitious narrative; but they are summed up in the following sentence by M. Sismondi himself:



“ Il y avait six ans que Clovis, roi d’une petite tribu des Francs, après avoir vaincu Syagrius, s’était emparé de Soissons ; et dès cette époque les redoutables aventuriers, qui marchaient sous ses ordres, ou ceux qui, sans le reconnaître pour leur roi, le regardaient cependant comme le plus habile et le plus heureux de capitaines de sa nation, avaient porté chaque année le ravage et la terreur dans quelque’un des districts du voisinage.”

Nevertheless, it would be great injustice to deny considerable merit to the execution, little as we approve of the plan of *Julia Severa*. It is true, indeed, that Mrs. Radcliffe’s machinery is too frequently at hand to unravel a perplexity ; and, lest the reader should be led to attribute the agencies to supernatural causes, he is some times unnecessarily, as we think, jogged by the elbow, and reminded, that he must not be frightened, and that every thing will be accounted for in due season ; whilst the unhappy hero and heroine, who are of course lovers, are tortured and plagued beyond the limits of human endurance, and of the lawful sovereignty of authors over the creature of their own fancy ; and long after we have begun to find out how matters will terminate. With these imperfections, however, there is much to admire in M. Sismondi’s novel. The first praise is due to the purity of its sentiments. He does not undermine, through the heart and the warmer affections of our nature, the moral principles, nor deck the sophistry of vice, as some works of this description have manifestly done, with all the trickery of a vicious rhetoric. He does not, indeed, describe the pangs and hopes, the terrors and uncertainties, the alternations of despair and rapture, which Rousseau imagined for St. Preux, amid the rocks of Meillerie, with the powerful eloquence of that extraordinary writer. But on the other hand, he does not subvert by the false sympathies of a corrupt heart, and the diseased sentiment of a vitiated understanding, those safe-guards of domestic trust and fidelity, which form the discipline of human societies, and render private life safe and respectable. No inconsiderable merit is included in these negatives. Love is a passion of such universal influence, it makes so much of the entertainment, and, indeed, of the serious business of that part of life which is most interested by fictitious narrative, a part of life by which the colour of every other age is decided, and the entire character of the man moulded, that it becomes of the most vital importance to the morals and manners of society, by what mode, and through the medium of what associations, the sympathy of youthful minds is engaged, and the imaginations of inexperienced readers fascinated. M. Sismondi’s lovers love after the fashion of human beings, who feel them-

selves bound by those laws, and subject to those obligations, which the good and the virtuous feel rather to be protections than restraints. The parent or the guardian may place it, without solicitude in the reach of those whose moral education is entrusted to them. It would, indeed, be hyperbolic praise to extol his romance as original in its plan, true in its fundamental elements, and symmetrical in all its parts, or to predicate concerning it, that we arise from it with a conviction that our intellectual and moral existence is enlarged by its developement of character, or its display of the capacities of our nature. It is a book of humbler pretensions. If it teaches us nothing that is new, it leaves nothing that ought to be unlearned; and the lessons that it inculcates are not those of an unsound and paradoxical morality; of that class which reason disowns and experience refutes.

It is time, however, that we should close these general observations, and proceed to a slight sketch of the novel. Our analysis, or rather our outline, must be necessarily short, and leave some space for a few extracts, as specimens of the style and taste of M. Sismondi in this department of letters.

Felix Florentius the hero, in his twenty-third year, and, according to the statutes of all romances in these cases made and provided, endued with every mental and corporeal grace, resides with his mother, Sylvia Numantia, at a villa called Noviliacum, the mansion-house of a large estate, or rather province, which the emperor Majorian had conferred upon his father. A short time after his return to his hereditary possessions, he observed, on the opposite side of the Loire, upon whose banks Noviliacum was built, an unusual movement of herdsmen driving their flocks towards the river, horses laden with moveables, men, women, and children on foot, running with disorder and precipitation, as if fearful of a pursuing enemy. They were refugees from the neighbourhood of Chartres, the Franks having burnt and pillaged that city, and amongst them was Julia Severa, daughter of Julius Severus, senator and count of Chartres, who was then absent, having resided some time at Soissons, the court of Clovis, where he was carrying on some political negotiations, amongst which was the marriage of his daughter to that chieftain, an honour to which he was chiefly induced to aspire by the supposed influence which such an event would have upon the fortunes of the old pagan superstition of Rome, to which he was secretly attached.

The fugitives are saved by the heroism of Felix, and succoured at Noviliacum, whilst Julia is solaced with the more than maternal tenderness of Sylvia Numantia.

"Julia leva son voile pour embrasser la matrone, qui l'accueillait avec tant de prévenance, et Felix put voir et admirer les traits qui

jusqu'alors lui avaient été cachés. Julia n'avait pas vingt ans; ses cheveux étaient noirs, ses yeux étaient noirs aussi; mais une douceur extrême se joignait dans son regard à la vivacité et à la fierté. La blancheur et la pureté de son teint étaient rendues plus remarquables par leur contraste avec l'ébène de ses cheveux. L'agitation de la journée, les émotions diverses par lesquelles elle venait de passer, animaient ses joues de couleurs plus vives; et tandis qu'elle parlait, tour à tour ces couleurs augmentaient d'éclat ou s'évanouissaient." (Vol. i. p. 49.)

Of course this alabaster complexion, and these dark eyes and ebony tresses did their usual execution, and Felix Florentius is over head and ears before the fiftieth page. But the current of true love never runs smooth in novels. Animated with love and patriotism, and anxious to avert, from the Roman provinces of Gaul, the desolating tide of conquest and of rapine, he resolved to join the Count of Chartres at Soissons, in order that he might give greater weight to the negotiations which that nobleman was carrying on with the Merovingian monarch.

"Mais alors même qu'il lui semblait n'être occupé que d'un intérêt public, sa pensée errait sans cesse autour de Julia Severa. C'était à son père qu'il rendrait un service important; il montrerait aux Francs tous les Gaulois unis d'intérêt avec le Comte de Chartres; il aiderait à conserver son rang, à recouvrer sa fortune, et quand, de concert avec lui, il aurait obtenu quelques garanties pour la province Romaine des Gaules, ne pourrait-il pas lui demander aussi quelques garanties pour son propre bonheur? Son mariage avec Julia Severa ne devait-il pas satisfaire l'ambition du Comte de Chartres, celle de sa mère, et répondre à tous les souhaits que lui-même pouvait former?" (Vol. i. p. 91.)

The immense estates of Felix Florentius were at an almost equal distance from Orleans and Tours, and it was necessary to consult with the governors of those cities concerning the measures to be adopted for the common defence. Numerianus was then Count of Orleans, a light, unthinking sort of personage, too much occupied in his own amusements to think of the danger impending over his province. The mission of Felix had little effect upon him. He determined, therefore, to repair to Volusianus, the archbishop of Tours, who had united the ecclesiastical and civil supremacy of the province. But, on his return from Orleans, he was detained for want of relays at the cave of Pan, the remains of a pagan temple, inhabited by one solitary and grotesque being, a sort of Meg Merrilies, whom Felix found sitting before the door of a hut, formed by the broken fragments of the building. This aged Sybil was the priestess of the ancient worship, the open practice of which was liable to the severest punishment. From her he learned, that the rites of Pan were still performed in secret by the votarists of the ancient religion.

and that Julius Severus had lately been at the same place to burn incense before the statue of the god, and to consult the oracle; an intimation which threatened no slight obstacle to our hero's projects of an alliance with his daughter. The old hag did not reply to the urgent inquiries of Felix, whether Severus had educated Julia in the same faith, and this dreadful uncertainty gave him the most agonizing inquietude.

An interval of four days, passed with Julia Severa at Noviliacum, had its usual effect upon the heart of that fair heroine.

“ Ils causaient, et leur opinions, leurs goûts, se trouvaient d'accord sur presque tous les sujets. . . . Ils lisaient les poésies le plus renommées des écrivains du siècle d'Auguste, et à la voix de Felix, Julia était baignée de larmes délicieuses.”

This is as it should be—and Felix proceeded to Tours. As the following sketch seems to have the exactness of historical portraiture, we cannot forbear extracting it.

“ En arrivant à Tours, Félix fut frappé de l'apparence d'une ville tout entière occupée de pratiques de dévotion. Quelques soldats avaient été rassemblés à la porte, mais ce n'était pas sur eux que les bourgeois comptaient pour leur défense; c'était sur une chapelle élevée en face du corps-de-garde. Un nombre infini de cierges, brûlaient devant l'image qu'on disait miraculeuse; des prêtres officiaient à l'autel, et au moment où Félix traversait la porte, tous les soldats étaient à genoux. Dans la plupart des boutiques ouvertes sur la grande rue, on voyait étalés seulement des agnus Dei, des crucifix, des croix, des images de Saint Martin, destinées à être bénies sur son autel, des habits de prêtres, des ornemens d'église et des livres de dévotion. Dans chaque rue on voyait des églises, des chapelles, ou des oratoires; de tous côtés retentissait le chant des prêtres occupés à réciter des litanies.

“ Enfin, en avançant vers la basilique où se trouve le tombeau de Saint Martin, Felix recontra Volusianus, successeur de cet archevêque, dans toute la pompe des habits sacerdotaux, précédé de la croix, d'images miraculeuses, d'étendards, et d'une bande de musiciens; entouré de prêtres qui chantaient, et suivie de plusieurs milliers d'hommes, de femmes, et d'enfans portant de cierges, marchant deux à deux, et répétant les prières de l'église. Felix entra dans la basilique, jugeant qu'il y apprendrait mieux qu'ailleurs quand les fonctions sacrées seraient finies, et quand il pourrait obtenir une audience de Volusianus. L'absence de tous les prêtres qui suivaient la procession se faisait à peine remarquer dans la cathédrale. Le chant perpétuel, qu'on nommait le *Psallentium*, et qui devait se continuer la nuit comme le jour, par des chœurs de moines destiné à se reveler, n'avait pas été interrompu un instant.

“ Saint Martin, évêque métropolitain de Tours, mort quatre-vingt-dix ans auparavant, était considéré comme l'apôtre de la Gaule, et son siège comme la capitale de la religion catholique dans cette province. Son tombeau était orné de pieuses offrandes qu'y apportaient chaque

jour les fidèles ; et sa vaste basilique, comme un asile inviolable, était peuplée de victimes de la tyrannie, d'esclaves fugitifs ou de malfaiteurs, qui s'y dérobaient également à l'oppression du despotisme ou à la surveillance de la justice. Cependant le mouvement de dévotion, que Felix avait remarqué dans les rues comme dans l'église, n'était pas habituel ; il apprit bientôt que des prières publiques de plusieurs jours avaient été ordonnées par Volusianus, à son retour, à l'occasion de la dernière invasion des Francs à Chartres, comme mesure de précaution ou de défiance contre une attaque sur les provinces du midi de la Loire. Il apprit aussi que la procession était sur le point de rentrer, et en moins de deux heures, il put obtenir de Volusianus une audience.

" L'aspect de Volusianus était vénérable, mais il inspirait au moins autant de crainte que de respect. Sa taille était élevée, et son corps, quoique épuisé par les jeûnes et les veilles, était droit et comme inflexible ; son teint était jaune, ses joues creuses ; sa tête était ombragée d'une abondance de cheveux noirs et courts ; l'âge, qui avait marqué ses traces sur tout le reste de sa figure, ne les avait point blanchis, et ce contraste donnait une dureté singulière à sa physionomie. Ses regards perçans annonçaient dans le successeur de Saint Martin, un juge des pénitens plutôt qu'un père, un champion inébranlable de l'autorité des infidèles ; un persécuteur redoutable des païens et des hérétiques ; un homme enfin qui saurait employer toutes les ressources de la politique mondaine pour servir ce qu'il regardait comme les intérêts du Ciel." (Vol. i. p. 150—154.)

In this interview, Felix learned with very little satisfaction, that a treaty of marriage was on foot between Clovis and the daughter of Julius Severus ;—a marriage, which the proud and ambitious prelate of Tours dreaded as fatal to the interests of the church. But he was not for that reason disposed to favour the projects of Felix, because he was fearful that the power of Julius Severus, seconded by the credit and wealth of the senator Florentius, would disconcert and check his schemes of policy and ambition : nor was Julia herself ignorant of the aspiring hopes of her father, and of the policy of which she was to be the victim. But our hero was soon relieved from one part of his inquietude. Julia was not a pagan, and the chief obstacle to the warmest vows of his heart was now removed. Letters arrived at length from Julius Severus, acknowledging his gratitude for the affectionate and hospitable asylum which had protected his daughter, but announcing his intention of sending for her as soon as a convenient opportunity should arrive. Florentius soon afterwards proceeded to Soissons, an accredited deputy on behalf of all the cities betwixt the Seine and the Loire, and was received by Severus with the studied ease and elaborate politeness of an old courtier. This is a well-drawn character.

“ Une élégance soutenue dans son langage, une finesse, une justesse extrême dans toutes ses expressions, un art de prévoir la pensée et le sentiment de ceux à qui il s'adressait, et de s'y conformer d'avance ; une connaissance parfaite des hommes : qui donnait autant de nouveauté que de vérité à ses remarques, rendaient sa conversation singulièrement agréable. Toutefois la franchise qui semblait empreinte sur sa figure, l'abandon qu'on croyait reconnoître quelquefois dans le son de sa voix, ne lui faisaient jamais rien exprimer qu'il n'eût prévu, et pesé d'avance ; sa politesse n'avait que l'écorce de la cordialité, son éloquence n'était jamais animée par la conviction. Il devait à la première entrevue imposer, flatter, et dominer peut-être ; cet empire une fois acquis, lui demeurait toujours avec la plupart des hommes, mais ceux qui avaient une franchise réelle, une loyauté réelle dans le caractère, ne tardaient pas à sentir confusément qu'ils ne parvenaient jamais avec lui jusqu'à l'homme caché sous l'enveloppe du courtisan. \* \* \* \* Ce ne fut qu'en repassant ensuite tous ses souvenirs, qu'il s'aperçut que Julius Severus ne lui avait dit absolument que ce que Felix savait déjà. Tout ce qui lui avait paru si nouveau n'était point des faits, mais de la philosophie appliquée à la politique. Sévérus avait le talent de généraliser ses idées, et remontant des faits aux principes, pour redescendre des principes aux individus, il présentait à l'esprit un exercice constant, un jeu d'idées toujours riches, toujours ingénieux ; mais il ne révélait rien sur les circonstances actuelles, dont il se réservait à lui seul la connoissance.” (Vol. i. p. 183—185.)

A lengthened description follows of the court of Clovis. The Merovingian style of making love is not of the softest kind.

Clovis arrêta Julius Severus comme il allait sortir. “ Cet ambassadeur des Gaulois,” lui dit-il en regardant Felix “ a-t-il amené ici votre fille ?” “ Très excellent roi, il n'a pas été possible qu'elle aille au plutôt à Soissons.”

The intolerant ecclesiastic St. Reme, who was present at this conversation, now penetrated the designs of Severus, and it became the primary object of ecclesiastical intrigue and policy to prevent so inauspicious an union. In the meanwhile, Felix communicated to that subtle politician the affection with which Julia had inspired him ; but though the communication was courteously received, and the senator was apparently repugnant to the marriage of his daughter to the Merovingian barbarian, Felix saw but too plainly that he had embarked all his hopes of recovering his fortune, and repairing the disasters which he had undergone, upon the alliance ; and, having succeeded in the political part of his negociation, he returned to Noviliacum, with a heart depressed by the probable extinction of its best hopes, and throbbing with terror for the fate of Julia.

Upon the romantic banks of the Cher, was a ruined villa,

called from its former proprietor, the castle of Rutilianus. It was a part of the extensive possessions of Florentius. M. Simondi has lavished much description upon this desolate place, and those who are fond of horrors will find an ample supply served up to them. It abounded with subterraneous cavities, and at the hour of midnight supernatural lights were seen moving along its deserted walls in every direction. There was a chapel there, at which the monks of St. Martin of Tours officiated at certain seasons, and celebrated masses to exorcise the demons who were almost the only inhabitants of the place. During the absence of Florentius, Julia and Numantia, with the greater part of their household, had made a short excursion to this place, and on their return had found letters from Felix, as well as from Severus. The latter announced to his daughter the splendid union that awaited her, and the peremptory mandate of Clovis that she should accompany the matron Sulpitia, who would shortly afterwards arrive from Chartres at Noviliacum, and take charge of his intended bride, whilst a corps of Franks would be in attendance to protect them on their journey. The agonies of Felix may be easily imagined: he conjured his mother not to permit the departure of Julia till he had seen her, urging her, in the event of the matron Sulpitia's arrival, to find some pretext for removing Julia to another place, and intimating that he would use every effort to arrive at Noviliacum immediately, to take his last adieu of her.

It was determined that Numantia and Julia should proceed by water to the castle of Rutilianus, or rather the ruins of Hésodunum, the appellation by which that desolate place was called, there meet Felix Florentius on his road to Noviliacum, and thus obtain a little delay to the dreaded journey to Soissons.

“ Le soleil était déjà assez élevé sur l'horizon, lorsque Sylvia et Julia entrèrent avec Eudoxe dans le bateau qui devait les transporter à Hésodunum. La descente, en suivant la Loire, devait être facile; mais comme il faudrait, au retour, remonter le courant, huit forts rameurs avaient été choisis pour les accompagner. La journée était ravissante; les eaux de la Loire, si pures et en même temps si abondantes, ne roulaient point tumultueusement; elles glissaient sans résistance sur un sable fin, et leur surface était à peine troublée par la rapidité de leur mouvement; aussi réfléchissaient-elles, comme une glace mouvante, tous les objets distribués sur leur bords rians et les délicieux promontoires que le bateau doublait tour à tour. Quelques habitations s'élevaient encore de loin en loin sur les deux rives du fleuve; la culture y était moins abandonnée que dans l'intérieur du pays; surtout on commençait à distinguer, sur la rive gauche, les maisons blanches et régulièrement bâties du camp des légionnaires, qui donnaient à ce coteau une apparence de prospérité; mais les ruines nombreuses qui couronnaient les hauteurs, annonçaient que, dans un

autre siècle, une brillante population avait participé, dans les mêmes lieux, au festin de la nature, et joui de tous les avantages qu'un sol fertile, un climat heureux, une navigation facile offraient aux riverains de la Loire.

“ Entre toutes les ruines se distinguaient celles d'Hésodunum, par leur masse imposante, l'étendue de l'espace qu'elles couvraient, et la hauteur du monticule escarpé que les travaux des Carnutes avaient changé en forteresse. Souvent, de ces murailles, ils avaient bravé les efforts des Turons et des Cenomanes ; souvent, autour de leur enceinte consacrée, les druides avaient conduit en procession les victimes humaines, dont le sang devait couler sur l'autel du farouche Hésus, dieu des Gaulois, dont la ville portait le nom. Aujourd'hui, ces mêmes murailles étaient ornées par un heureux mélange de verdure que produisaient les ronces sortant de leur crevasses, et suspendues au-dessus des précipices ou les groupes d'arbres serrés dans les antiques demeures de l'homme, et couronnant quelque-fois les tours qui tombaient en ruine.

“ Cependant, lorsque les voyageurs approchèrent, lorsqu'ils débarquèrent sur le port de cette antique ville, des impressions plus tristes se mêlèrent à leur admiration pour un site si pittoresque. Une longue suite de générations avait passée sur cette terre ; mais la dernière même y avait fini, et désormais la mort y régnait seule. Les murailles, qui, du haut de la colline descendaient jusqu'à la rivière, et qui liaient les tours massives de la citadelle avec son post sur la Loire, étaient composées d'énormes fragmens de rocher artistement superposés les uns aux autres, sans aucun ciment ; elles avaient ensuite résisté, par leur propre masse, à de nombreux assaillans ; cependant elles étaient entr'ouvertes dans plus d'un endroit, et elles laissaient découvrir, dans la campagne voisine, les monumens de l'ancienne superstition des druides, dont la destination était déjà oubliée. On y voyait des cercles de pierres colossales, qui semblaient les sièges de géans rassemblés pour tenir conseil, avec une pierre plus élevée que les autres pour leur président ; des autels où un énorme rocher se trouvait placé en potence au-dessus de deux autres, avec une attention si scrupuleuse à le mettre en équilibre, que la main seule suffisait pour l'ébranler, quoiqu'il eût déjà passé des siècles, et qu'il fût destiné à passer d'autres siècles encore à la même place.” (Vol. ii. p. 77—81.)

We must now prepare to sup full with horrors. Here the lovers meet. But fate, or rather the author, ordains them soon to be torn from each other. An ecclesiastical intrigue to prevent the union of Clovis and Julia Severa, and the almost equally dreaded alliance of Felix and Julia, having been set on foot by the archbishop of Tours, they are surprised in a subterraneous passage as they were preparing to return ; and whilst the real agency is skilfully concealed, the adventure is clothed with sufficient of the marvellous and supernatural to excite a vivid interest and a restless curiosity in the reader.

“ Sylvia donnait le bras à Eudoxe, Julia marchait lentement der-



rière avec Felix. Tous deux avaient le sentiment secret, que c'était peut-être leur dernier tête-à-tête; qu'ils seraient bientôt observés, surveillés avec défiance, et peut-être séparés pour toujours. Ils s'arrêtaient involontairement, il ne leur semblait jamais avoir dit tout ce qu'ils avaient à se dire; ils retenaient avec force ces derniers instans de bonheur qui allaient leur échapper. Sylvia, quoiqu'elle marchait lentement elle-même, avait déjà pris beaucoup d'avance sur eux. A plusieurs reprises elle s'était retournée pour les engager à hâter. Arrivée à l'ouverture du souterrain, elle se retourna une dernière fois pour les appeler; quel fut son étonnement et son effroi de voir cette caverne fermée derrière." (Vol. ii. p. 103, 104.)

Leaving Sylvia and her attendants to their affright, and the agonies of a fruitless and disappointed search, we will make one extract more from the description of this strange adventure.

"Tout-à-coup la lumière qui partait de l'ouverture du souterrain et vers laquelle tous deux se dirigeaient, disparut à leurs yeux, et la faible lueur qu'ils laissaient derrière eux, et qui venait de l'escalier par lequel ils étaient descendus, disparut presque au même instant. Il ne restait plus dans la caverne un seul rayon de lumière, et les deux amans ne reconnaissaient plus même dans quel sens ils devaient diriger leurs pas."

\* \* \* \*

"Julia n'était point sujette à de vaines terreurs; jamais surtout elle ne s'était sentie moins disposée à s'alarmer, que lorsque Felix lui donnait le bras. Tous deux marchaient à tâtons, mais en riant dans cette obscurité profonde; ils suivaient les parois du rocher, dont les aspérités les faisaient dévier quelquefois de la ligne droit, et douter s'ils ne s'égarèrent point. Ils arrivèrent enfin à l'extrémité de la caverne, où ils comptaient trouver une porte, mais quel fut leur étonnement de rencontrer en face d'eux, un rocher qui leur barrait le passage; ils cherchaient vainement avec les mains une obstacle en bois, qu'ils purent supposer mobile; ils ne trouvaient de tous côtés que la pierre qui s'élevait autour d'eux comme une muraille inébranlable."

\* \* \* \*

"Ils retournèrent en effet sur leurs pas, appuyant toujours les mains sur le rocher, et s'efforçant d'estimer en même temps s'ils suivaient toujours une ligne droit. Felix continuait cependant à affirmer à Julia, qu'il ne pouvait avoir pour eux aucun sujet de crainte; que sa mère en ne les voyant pas paraître, ne tarderait pas à leur faire ouvrir le souterrain, à les y faire chercher avec des flambeaux s'ils s'étaient égarés."

\* \* \* \*

"Ils avançaient cependant en se donnant toujours le bras, et appuyant toujours la main sur la paroi; mais ils avançaient en s'écartant de l'ouverture de la caverne vers laquelle ils étaient parvenus. Tout-à-coup Julia se sent saisie par le bras et secouée violemment, pour l'arracher à Felix et l'entraîner; elle pousse un cri perçant: Felix, averti par ce cri et l'effort qu'elle fait pour se retenir à lui, s'élance du côté où il sent qu'on l'entraîne. Ses mains rencontrent un homme; il

Pébranle, le soulève dans ses bras, le renverse et tombe avec lui. Son adversaire était vigoureux cependant, et ils se débattaient encore par terre, lorsque un nouveau cri de Julia lui fit connaître que d'autres ennemis s'étaient emparés d'elle, et s'efforçaient de l'enlever. ' Qui que tu sois,' dit-il, aussitôt à son adversaire en le serrant à la gorge : ' Tu es mort si tu n'ordonne pas à tes camarades de s'arrêter, et de laisser cette femme en liberté.' "

Julia soon learns her fate.

" ' Où nous conduisez-vous ?

' A Tours ?

' Au mains de qui serons-nous livrés ?

' Vous, aux religieuses, Felix aux moines de St. Martin.

' Il n'y aura donc,' dit Felix, ' aucun moyen de nous revoir ? '

' Non, sans doute.'

' Pourrons-nous de moins,' dit Julia, ' rassurer nos familles sur notre disparution ? ' "

\* \* \* \*

" Mes ordres sont précis de ne vous laisser communiquer avec personne au monde. Le sort de l'église des Gaules tient peut-être à ce que la retraite de la fille de Severus ne soit soupçonnée par personne. Tranquillisez votre mère, c'est lui faire comprendre que vous n'êtes pas entre les mains des brigands ; c'est donc l'aider à deviner que vous êtes dans les notes."

\* \* \* \*

" Felix retomba sur son siège, confondu de ce mélange de compassion et d'inflexibilité qui ne lui laissait aucune espérance. ' Quoi, ma malheureuse mère devra se figurer que nous avons péri dans ces souterrains ! ' dit-il avec l'accent du désespoir.

" ' Non, à notre départ,' dit le pretre, ' nous laisserons ces souterrains ouverts, et elle pourra s'assurer que vous n'y êtes plus. D'ailleurs, ce que je n'ai pas le droit de faire, mon supérieur le fera sans doute. Il ne voudra pas avoir à rendre compte devant Dieu de la vie de votre mère.

" Apres avoir dit ces mots, le prêtre se leva de table et fit quelque tours en se promenant dans la salle souterraine, avec l'apparence d'une vive agitation ; il se mit ensuite a genoux, cherchant sans doute a se fortifier, par la prière, pour l'exécution de ce qu'il considerait comme son devoir.

" Felix se retourna vers Julia, et entama avec elle une conversation à voix basse, que le prêtre ou aucun des assistans ne cherchèrent ni à entendre, ni à interrompre. Tous deux voyaient approcher avec douleur le moment où ils allaient être séparés ; mais tous deux aussi se répétaient l'un à l'autre que l'épreuve actuelle ne pouvait être que momentanée, et qu'elle les dérobaient peut-être à un malheur sans fin. Aussi cherchaient-ils à se prémunir contre les dangers auxquels ils pourraient être exposés séparément, et surtout contre les faux rapports qu'on pourrait tenter de leur faire l'un sur l'autre. Ils juraient que jamais ils ne prononceraient des vœux dans les deux couvens où on allait les enfermer, que jamais ils n'abandonneraient l'espoir de se

réunir. Ils avaient appris qu'ils devaient renoncer à l'espérance de se voir tant qu'ils seraient entre les mains des religieux ; mais il n'était pas sûr qu'on ne les laissât point correspondre ensemble, ou s'envoyer tout au moins des présens ou des messages symboliques, auxquels ils s'efforçaient d'attacher un sens par avance.

“ Le temps s'écoulait pour eux plus rapidement que pour la malheureuse Sylvia, et il y avait déjà plusieurs heures qu'ils étaient dans le caveau, lorsqu'un de leurs gardiens, qui depuis quelque temps s'était éloigné, s'approcha du prêtre, et lui dit quelque mots à voix basse. ‘ Le moment est venu,’ dit celui-ci à ses captifs, ‘ partons, Felix ! il vaut mieux, pour vous comme pour moi, que je vous rende la parole que vous m'avez donnée, et que vous ne cédiez qu'à la force. Vous pourriez vous figurer, en sortant du souterrain, qu'un moment d'audace ou d'adresse suffirait pour recouvrer votre liberté. Je ne veux pas vous exposer à une tentation qui ne ferait qu'aggraver votre souffrance. Qu'on lie de nouveau les captifs !’ Et lorsqu'ils furent liés ! ‘ Qu'on couvre leur bouche d'un bandeau, qu'on les revête de l'habit de notre ordre ; qu'on abaisse le capuchon sur leurs yeux, et partons !’

“ Lorsque le froc fut présenté à Julia, elle éprouva un frémissement universel : ses larmes commencèrent à rouler sur ses joues ; mais sa bouche était fermée par un bandeau de toile ; un capuchon était abaissé sur son visage ; elle ne pouvait ni être vue, ni se faire entendre ; et quoiqu'elle fût à côté de Felix, toute communication entre eux avait cessée. Deux hommes avaient pris ses deux bras, et la conduisaient en silence ; deux autres conduisaient de même Felix. L'homme qui portait une torche, dont la lueur se distinguait au travers de leurs capuchons, marchait devant eux. Après avoir cheminé quelque temps dans ces souterrains, ils entendirent un bruit comme d'une porte tournante sur ses gonds ; ils passèrent, et ils s'aperçurent qu'un vent frais frappait leurs habits. Ils étaient hors de ces cavernes. Tous deux en même temps s'efforcèrent de crier ; mais quoique leur voix ne fût pas entièrement arrêtée par le bandeau qui couvrait leur bouche, leur guides n'y donnèrent aucune attention. Ils les soulevèrent en même temps par les bras, puis les déposèrent l'un à côté de l'autre dans un bateau. Bientôt le bruit du courant et celui des rames leur apprirent qu'ils descendaient la Loire.” (Vol. ii. p. 150—172.)

Having made these selections, we must now desist from pursuing the details of M. Sismondi's romance. The catastrophe may indeed be conjectured without any severe effort of imagination. After a variety of adventures, and a long and cruel imprisonment of the hero in a convent, and the heroine in an adjacent nunnery, during which, every artifice is practised, and every cruelty inflicted to extort from them their respective vows of dedication to the church, they are at length brought together in the tower of Senoch, by means as marvellous as those which produced their separation ; and after the author has exercised them with the usual interval of suspense, and the usual quantum

of suffering, the two lovers are at last united, and all parties live very happily afterwards.

To the few critical remarks with which we began our article, we have little to add. We shall observe, however, that in his first Sketches of Lamia, the pagan priestess, the author's fancy seemed to swell with wider conceptions of her character than he afterwards found it convenient to fill up; and probably he originally destined her to a more important agency, and to a more powerful influence over the fortunes and vicissitudes of the romance, than he has actually assigned her. This is a great blemish.

—————Amphora cœpit  
Institui—currente rotâ cur urceus exit?

ART. IV.—1. *The Martyr of Antioch, a Dramatic Poem.* By the Rev. H. H. Milman, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. London, 1822. pp. 168.

2. *Belshazzar, a Dramatic Poem.* By the same Author. 1822. pp. 162.

It is usually a dangerous experiment for the professors of an art to exhibit a public specimen of their own powers of execution; since they are not only sure to meet with a severely critical reception proportioned to the opinion which the world have been led to conceive of their professional skill, but because the qualifications which may be sufficient to form an excellent instructor of others, are not always of the kind necessary to qualify an individual to illustrate his own lessons. The talents requisite for a modern professor of poetry in the University of Oxford, are rather those which qualify him to judge well of the poetical merit of others, and to convey in his lectures the critical principles of his art, than those which would necessarily render him an eminent poet himself. But the recently elected academical laureate is not content with the honour of being the cause of poetry in other men, but comes forward in his own person to claim the wreath with which it is his office to adorn others. In his *Martyr of Antioch* he issued forth with his chaplet scarcely settled upon his brow, and just escaped from the dust and toil of a successful election, to vindicate to the world at large the suffrages which his academical fame has obtained for him from his learned constituents. We trembled for *his*, and we may add, for *our* Alma Mater, when we read on his title-page, "Professor of

Poetry in the University of Oxford." We had almost wished him to have "bridled in his struggling muse," with whatever "pain," for the statutable ten years of his appointment. These dangers, however, existed only in the imagination. The taste of the university, in the selection of Mr. Milman, is justified before the great public by Mr. Milman himself.

The subject both of the Martyr of Antioch and of his more recent poem of Belshazzar, is such as became well the author's sacred profession and academical station; and the manner in which he has worked up these poems is singularly elegant and classical; too elegant and classical we almost fear for the popular taste. Mr. Milman's poems are rather for solitary perusal in academic groves, or in the cool retirement of a shady hamlet, than for the rapid glance of busy civic readers, or unfortunate periodical critics, who read the products of the silent hour and academical shade, in the din and clatter of far other scenes than those of Pindus, or "of Siloa's brook," and at a distance equally remote from Helicon and from Zion. In truth some of Mr. Milman's poems, especially the Martyr of Antioch, are too pure, and flowing, and polished, too closely modelled on the great masters of antiquity, and too little conversant with the modern artifices of the poet's trade, to suit any but those who can relish the composed and finished beauties of a truly Grecian production.

The subject and intention of the Martyr of Antioch are thus explained by the author:

"This poem is founded on the following part of the History of Saint Margaret. She was the daughter of a heathen priest, and beloved by Olybius, the Prefect of the East, who wished to marry her. The rest of the legend I have thought myself at liberty to discard, and to fill up the outline as my own imagination suggested. Gibbon has so well condensed all the information which remains to us from Strabo, Chrysostom, Sozomen, and the writings of Julian the Apostate, relative to Antioch, the Temple and sacred grove of Daphne, that the reader will be able to comprehend from his florid, and too glowing description, most of the allusions to these subjects contained in the poem. The passage occurs in his twenty-third chapter.

"The martyrologists have dwelt almost exclusively on the outward and bodily sufferings of the early Christians. They have described with almost anatomical precision the various methods of torture. The consequence has been, the neglect of their writings; in perusing which a mind of the least sensibility shrinks with such loathing and abhorrence from the tedious detail of suffering, as to become insensible to the calm resignation, the simple devotion, the exulting hope of the sufferer. But these writers have rarely and briefly noticed the internal and mental agonies to which the same circumstances inevitably exposed the converts. The surrender of life, when it appeared most highly gifted with the blessings of Providence; the literal abandon-

ment of this world, when all its pleasures, its riches, and its glories were in their power; the violent severing of those ties, which the gentle spirit of Christianity had the more endeared; the self-denial not of the ungodly lusts, but of the most innocent affections; that last and most awful conflict, when "brother delivered brother unto death, and the father the child," when "a man's foes were those of his own household,"—it was from such trials, not those of the fire and the stake alone, that the meek religion of Christ came forth triumphant. In such a situation it has been my object to represent the mind of a young and tender female; and I have opposed to Christianity the most beautiful and the most natural of Heathen superstitions—the worship of the Sun. The reader, it is to be hoped, will recollect that although the following poem is in most part a work of imagination, there were multitudes who really laid down their lives for the faith of Christ, under circumstances equally appalling and afflictive; for that faith, to the truth or falsehood of which they had demonstrative evidence in their power and in their possession," (Intr. p. 5—7.)

The poem opens with a chorus to Apollo in the most finished style of chaste classical verse.

CHORUS OF YOUTHS.

LORD of the golden day!  
That hold'st thy fiery way,  
Out-dazzling from the heavens each waning star;  
What time Aurora fair  
Whose loose dew-dropping hair,  
And the swift Hours have yoked thy radiant car.  
Thou mountest Heaven's blue steep,  
And the universal sleep  
From the wide world withdraws its misty veil;  
The silent cities wake,  
Th' encamped armies shake  
Their unfurl'd banners in the freshening gale.  
The basking earth displays  
Her green breast in the blaze;  
And all the Gods upon Olympus' head,  
In haughty joy behold  
Thy trampling coursers bold  
Obey thy sovereign rein with stately tread.

CHORUS OF MAIDENS.

Lord of the speaking lyre!  
That with a touch of fire  
Strik'st music, which delays the charmed spheres;  
And with a soft control  
Dost steal away the soul,  
And draw from melting eyes delicious tears—  
Thou the dead hero's name  
Dost sanctify to fame,

Embalm'd in rich and ever-fragrant verse ;  
     In every sunlit clime,  
     Through all eternal time  
 Assenting lands his deathless deeds rehearse.  
     The lovesick damsel, laid  
     Beneath the myrtle shade,  
 Drinks from thy cup of song with raptured ear,  
     And, dead to all around,  
     Save the sweet bliss of sound,  
 Sits heedless that her soul's beloved is near.

## CHORUS OF YOUTHS.

Lord of the unerring bow,  
     Whose fateful arrows go  
 Like shafts of lightning from the quivering string :  
     Pierced through each scaly fold,  
     Enormous Python roll'd  
 While thou triumphant to the sky didst spring ;  
     And scorn and beauteous ire  
     Steep'd with ennobling fire :  
 Thy quivering lips and all thy beardless face ;  
     Loose flew thy clustering hair,  
     While thou the trackless air  
 Didst walk in all thine own celestial grace.

## CHORUS OF MAIDENS.

Lord of the holy spring,  
     Where the Nine Sisters sing,  
 Their dearest haunt, our Syrian Castaly :  
     There oft the entranced maid,  
     By the cool waters laid,  
 Feels all her labouring bosom full of thee :  
     The kings of earth stand near  
     In pale religious fear ;  
 The purple Sovereign of imperial Rome  
     In solemn awe hath heard  
     The wild prophetic word,  
 That spake the cloud-wrapt mystery of his doom.

## CHORUS OF YOUTHS.

Lord of the gorgeous shrine,  
     Where to thy form divine  
 The snow-white line of lessening pillars leads :  
     And all the frontispiece,  
     And every sculptured frieze,  
 Is rich and breathing with thy godlike deeds. •  
     Here by the lulling deep  
     Thy mother seems to sleep

On the wild margin of the floating isle;  
 Her new-born infants, thou,  
 And she the wood-Nymph now,  
 Lie slumbering on her breast, and slumbering smile.  
 Here in her pride we see  
 The impious Niobe,  
 Mid all her boasted race in slaughter piled,  
 Folding in vain her vest,  
 And cowering with fond breast  
 Over her last, her youngest, loveliest child.

CHORUS OF MAIDENS.

Lord of the cypress grove,  
 That here in baffled love  
 The soft Thessalian maid didst still pursue;  
 Until her snowy foot  
 In the green earth took root,  
 And in thine arms a verdant laurel grew.  
 And still thy tenderest beams  
 Over our falling streams  
 At shadowy eve delight to hover long;  
 They to Orontes' tide  
 In liquid music glide  
 Through banks that blossom their sweet course along.  
 And still in Daphne's bower  
 Thou wanderest many an hour,  
 Kissing the turf by her light footsteps trod;  
 And Nymphs at noontide deep  
 Start from their dreaming sleep,  
 And in his glory see the bright-hair'd God.

CHORUS OF YOUTHS AND MAIDENS.

Phœbus Apollo, hear!  
 Great Lycian king appear,  
 Come from thy Cynthian steep or Xanthus' shore,  
 Here to thy Syrian home  
 In visible godhead come,  
 And o'er our land thy choicest influence pour. (P. 5—11.)

The heroine, Margarita, the converted daughter of the heathen priest Callias, is thus exquisitely described:

*Macer.* What, then, is wanting?

*Second Priest.* What, but the crown and palm-like grace of all,  
 The sacred virgin, on whose footsteps Beauty  
 Waits like a handmaid; whose most peerless form,  
 Light as embodied air, and pure as ivory  
 Thrice polish'd by the skilful statuary,  
 Moves in the priestess' long and flowing robes,  
 While our scarce-erring worship doth adore  
 The servant rather than the God.



*Third Priest.*                                      The maid  
Whose living lyre so eloquently speaks,  
From the deserted grove the silent birds  
Hang hovering o'er her ; and we human hearers  
Stand breathless as the marbles on the walls,  
That even themselves seem touch'd to listening life,  
All animate with the inspiring ecstasy.

**First Roman.** Thou mean'st the daughter of the holy Callias ;  
I once beheld her, when the thronging people  
Prest round, yet parted still to give her way,  
Even as the blue enamour'd waves, when first  
The sea-born Goddess in her rosy shell  
Sail'd the calm ocean.

*Second Priest.* Margarita, come,  
Come in thy zoneless grace, thy flowing locks  
Crown'd with the laurel of the God ; the lyre  
Accordant to thy slow and musical steps,  
As grateful 'twould return the harmony,  
That from thy touch it wins.

**Third Priest.** Come, Margarita.  
This long, this bashful, timorous delay  
Beseeems thee well, and thou wilt come the lovelier,  
Even like a late long-look'd-for flower in spring.

**Second Priest.** Still silent! some one of the sacred priests  
Enter, and in Apollo's name call forth  
The tardy maiden. (P. 12—14.)

Our readers have thus seen the almost angelic vision; they shall now catch a few accents from her lips, as they burst from her in her lonely musings in the grove of Daphne, in the sweet tranquillity of a summer's evening.

Oh, thou polluted, yet most lovely grove !  
Hath the Almighty breathed o'er all thy bowers  
An everlasting spring, and paved thy walks  
With amaranthine flowers—are but the winds,  
Whose breath is gentle, suffer'd to entangle  
Their light wings, not unwilling prisoners,  
In thy thick branches, there to make sweet murmurs  
With the bees' hum, and melodies of birds,  
And all the voices of the hundred fountains,  
That drop translucent from the mountain's side,  
And lull themselves along their level course  
To slumber with their own soft-sliding sounds ;  
And all for foul idolatry, or worse,  
To make itself an home and sanctuary ?

Oh, second Eden, like the first, defiled  
With sin! even like thy human habitants,  
Thy winds and flowers and waters have forgot  
The gracious hand that made them, ministers  
Voluptuous to man's transgressions—all.

We wish we could afford to introduce our readers to a scene of yet deeper pathos; the scene in which the fond but bigoted Callias first becomes acquainted with the conversion of his daughter to the Christian faith; but it is impossible to omit the following part of the dialogue.

**Look there!—**

*Callias.* Dost not behold him,  
Thy God! thy father's God! the God of Antioch!  
And feel'st thou not the cold and silent awe,  
That emanates from his immortal presence  
O'er all the breathless temple? Dar'st thou see  
The terrible brightness of the wrath that burns  
On his arch'd brow? Lo, how the indignation  
Swells in each strong dilated limb! his stature  
Grows loftier; and the roof, the quaking pavement,  
The shadowy pillars, all the temple feels  
The offended God!—I dare not look again,  
Dar'st thou?

*Callias.* Ha! look again, then,  
There in the East. Mark how the purple clouds  
Throng to pavilion him: the officious winds  
Pant forth to purify his azure path  
From night's dun vapours and fast-scattering mists.  
The glad earth wakes in adoration; all  
The voices of all animate things lift up  
Tumultuous orisons; the spacious world  
Lives but in him, that is its life. But he,  
Disdainful of the universal homage,  
Holds his calm way, and vindicates for his own  
Th' illimitable heavens, in solitude  
Of peerless glory unapproachable.

What means thy proud undazzled look, to adore  
Or mock, ungracious?

*Margarita.* On you burning orb  
I gaze, and say,—Thou mightiest work of him  
That launch'd thee forth, a golden-crowned bridegroom,  
To hang thy everlasting nuptial lamp  
In the exulting heavens. In thee the light,  
Creation's eldest born, was tabernacled.  
To thee was given to quicken slumbering nature,  
And lead the seasons' slow vicissitude  
Over the fertile breast of mother earth;  
Till men began to stoop their groveling prayers  
From the Almighty Sire of all to thee.  
And I will add,—Thou universal emblem,  
Hung in the forehead of the all-seen heavens,  
Of him, that with the light of righteousness  
Dawn'd on our latter days; the visitant dayspring  
Of the benighted world. Enduring splendour!  
Giant refresh'd! that evermore renew'st  
Thy flaming strength; nor ever shalt thou cease,  
With time coeval, even till Time itself  
Hath perish'd in eternity. Then thou  
Shalt own, from thy apparent deity  
Debased, thy mortal nature, from the sky  
Withering before the all-enlightening Lamb,  
Whose radiant throne shall quench all other fires. (P. 47—50.)

Margarita's account of her conversion to Christianity, with the evening song of the maidens heard at a distance from her dun-geon, are too beautiful to be passed by.

*Callias.* Hard heart!  
Credulous of all but thy fond father's sorrows,  
Thou wilt believe each wild and monstrous tale  
Of this fond faith.

*Margarita.* I dare not disbelieve  
What the dark grave hath cast the buried forth  
To utter: to whose visible form on earth  
After the cross expiring men have written  
Their witness in their blood.

*Callias.* Whence learnt thou this?  
Tell me, my child; for sorrow's weariness  
Is now so heavy on me, I can listen  
Nor rave. Come, sit we down on this coarse straw,  
Thy only couch—thine, that wert wont to lie  
On the soft plumage of the swan, that shamed not  
Thy spotless limbs.—Come.

*Margarita.* Dost thou not remember  
When Decius was the Emperor, how he came  
To Antioch, and when holy Babylas  
Withstood his entrance to the Christian church,

Frantic with wrath, he bade them drag him forth  
 To cruel death? Serene the old man walk'd  
 The crowded streets; at every pause the yell  
 Of the mad people made, his voice was heard  
 Blessing God's bounty, or imploring pardon  
 Upon the barbarous hosts that smote him on.  
 Then didst thou hold me up, a laughing child,  
 To gaze on that sad spectacle. He pass'd,  
 And look'd on me with such a gentle sorrow;  
 The pallid patience of his brow toward me  
 Seem'd softening to a smile of deepest love.  
 When all around me mock'd, and howl'd, and laugh'd,  
 God gave me grace to weep. In after time  
 That face would on my noontide dreams return;  
 And in the silence of the night I heard  
 The murmur of that voice remote, and touch'd  
 To an aerial sweetness, like soft music  
 Over a tract of waters. My young soul  
 Lay wrapt in wonder, how that meek old man  
 Could suffer with such unrepining calmness,  
 Till late I learnt the faith for which he suffer'd,  
 And wonder'd then no more. Thou'rt weeping, too—  
 Oh Jesus, hast thou moved his heart?

*Callias.*

Away!

Insatiate of thy father's misery,  
 Wouldst have the torturers wring the few chill drops  
 Of blood that linger in these wither'd veins?

*Margarita.* I'd have thee with me in the changeless heavens,  
 Where we should part no more; reclined together  
 Far from the violence of this wretched world;  
 Emparadised in bliss, to which the Elysium  
 Dream'd by fond poets were a barren waste.

*Callias.* Would we were there, or any where but here,  
 Where the cold damps are oozing from the walls,  
 And the thick darkness presses like a weight  
 Upon the eyelids. Daughter, when thou served'st  
 Thy father's Gods, thou wert not thus: the sun  
 Was brightest where thou wert—beneath thy feet  
 Flowers grew. Thou sat'st like some unclouded star,  
 Insphered in thine own light and joy, and mad'st  
 The world around thee beauteous; now, cold earth  
 Must be thy couch to-night, to-morrow morn—  
 —What means that music?—Oh, I used to love  
 Those evening harpings once, my child!

*Margarita.* I hear  
 The maids; beneath the twilight they are thronging  
 To Daphne, and they carol as they pass.

*Callias.* Thou canst not go.

*Margarita.* Lament not that, my father.

*Callias.* Thou must breathe here the damp and stifling air.

*Margarita.* Nay, listen not.

*Callias.* They call us hence.—Ah me,  
My gentle child, in vain wouldst thou distract  
My rapt attention from each well-known note,  
Once hallow'd to mine ear by thine own voice,  
Which erst made Antioch vacant, drawing after thee  
The thronging youth, which cluster'd all around thee  
Like bees around their queen, the happiest they  
That were the nearest. Oh, my child! my child!  
Thou canst not yet be blotted from their memory.  
And I'll go forth, and kneel at every foot,  
To the stern Prefect show my hoary hair,  
And sue for mercy on myself, not thee.

*Margarita.* Go not, my father.

*Callias.* Cling not round me thus;  
There, there, even there repose upon the straw,  
Nay, let me go, or I'll—but I've no power,  
Thou heed'st not now my anger or my love;  
So, so farewell, then, and our Gods or thine,  
Or all that have the power to bless, be with thee! [*Departs.*]

In every part of the poem the author has thrown around *Margarita* an almost unearthly loveliness. She would form a delightful study for a painter, and we could almost fancy while we read, that we see before us those ideal forms of sainted maidens which the artists of Italy beheld in their golden slumbers, and transferred uninjured to their imperishable canvass. Let the reader listen to the following prayer of the meek victim, and to the glowing chorus that follows it, and deny, if he can, to our author a very high and dignified station amongst the purest, the tenderest, and the most Christian of living poets.

#### THE PRISON.

*Margarita.* Oh Lord! thou oft hast sent thy plumed angels,  
And with their silent presence they have awed  
The Heathen's violence to a placid peace.  
The ravening beasts have laid their fawning heads  
In love upon the lap of him, whom man  
Had cast them for their prey: and fires have burn'd,  
Unharming, like the glory of a star,  
Round the pale brows of maidens; and the chains  
Have dropt, like wither'd flax, from galled limbs;  
And whom the infuriate people led to death,  
They have fallen down, and worshipp'd as a deity.

But thou hast sent a kindlier boon to me,  
A soft prophetic peace, that soothes my soul,  
Like music, to an heavenly harmony.  
For in my slumber a bright being came,  
And with faint steps my father follow'd him,  
Up through the argent fields, and there we met

And felt the joy of tears without the pain.

What's here? the bridal vestments, and the veil  
Of saffron, and the garden flowers. Olybius,  
Dost think to tempt me now, when all my thoughts,  
Like the soft dews of evening, are drawn up  
To heaven, but not to fall and taint themselves  
With earth again? My inmost soul last night  
Was wrung to think of our eternal parting;  
But now my voice may tremble, while I say,  
"God's will be done!" yet I have strength to say it.

But thou, oh morn! the last that e'er shall dawn  
Through earthly mists on my sad eyes—Oh blue,  
And beautiful even here, and fragrant morn,  
Mother of gentle airs and blushing hues!  
That bearest, too, in thy fair hand the key  
To which the harmonious gates of Paradise  
Unfold;—bright opening of immortal day!  
That ne'er shalt know a setting, but shalt shine  
Round me for ever on the crystal floors  
Where Blessed Spirits tread. My bridal morn,  
In which my soul is wedded to its Lord,  
I may not hail thee in a mourner's garb:  
Mine earthly limbs shall wear their nuptial robes,  
And my locks bloom once more with flowers that fade.  
But I must haste, I hear the trumpet's voice.  
Acclaiming thousands answer—yet I fear not.  
Oh Lord! support me, and I shall not fear.  
But hark! the maidens are abroad to hail  
Their God; we answer through our prison grates.  
Hark!

CHORUS OF HEATHEN MAIDENS.

Now glory to the God, who breaks,  
The monarch of the realms on high;  
And with his trampling chariot shakes  
The azure pavement of the sky.  
The steeds, for human eyes too bright,  
Before the yoke of chrysolite  
Pant, while he springs upon his way,  
The beardless youth divine, who bathes the world in day.

CHORUS OF CHRISTIANS (*from the prison*).

Now glory to the God, whose throne,  
Far from this world obscure and dim,  
Holds its eternal state alone  
Beyond the flight of Seraphim:  
The God, whose one omnific word  
Yon orb of flame obedient heard,  
And from the abyss in fulness sprang,  
While all the blazing heavens with shouts of triumph rang

*Heathens.* Now glory to the God, that still  
 Through the pale Signs his car hath roll'd,  
 Nor ought but his imperious will  
 E'er those rebellious steeds controll'd.  
 Nor ever from the birth of time  
 Ceased he from forth the Eastern clime,  
 Heaven's loftiest steep his way to make  
 To where his flaming wheels the Hesperian waters slake.

*Christians.* Now glory to the God, that laid  
 His mandate on yon king of day;  
 The master-call the Sun obey'd,  
 And forced his headlong steeds to stay,  
 To pour a long unbroken noon  
 O'er the red vale of Ajalon:  
 By night uncheck'd fierce Joshua's sword  
 A double harvest reap'd of vengeance for the Lord.

*Heathens.* Now glory to the God, whose blaze  
 The scatter'd hosts of darkness fly;  
 The stars before his conquering rays  
 Yield the dominion of the sky;  
 Nor e'er doth ancient Night presume  
 Her gloomy state to re-assume;  
 While he the wide world rules alone,  
 And high o'er men and Gods drives on his fire-wheel'd throne.

*Christians.* Now glory to the Lord, whose Cross  
 Consenting Nature shrinking saw;  
 Mourning the dark world's heavier loss,  
 The conscious Sun in silent awe  
 Withdrew into the depths of gloom;  
 The horror of that awful doom  
 Quench'd for three hours the noontide light,  
 And wrapt the guilt-shak'n earth in deep untimely night.

*Heathens.* Now glory to the God, that wakes  
 With vengeance in his fiery speed,  
 To wreak his wrath impatient breaks  
 On every guilty godless head;  
 Hasty he mounts his early road,  
 And pours his brightest beams abroad:  
 And looks down fierce with jocund light  
 To see his fane avenged, his vindicated rite.

*Christians.* Now glory to the Christ, whose love  
 Even now prepares our seats of rest,  
 And in his golden courts above  
 Enrolls us mid his chosen Blest;  
 Even now our martyr robes of light  
 Are weaving of heaven's purest white;  
 And we, before thy course is done,  
 Shall shine more bright than thou, oh vainly-worshipp'd Sun!  
 (P. 117—123.)

We must trespass, if it be a trespass, with another passage of the richest and most lofty character.

*Margarita.* What means yon blaze on high?

The empyrean sky

Like the rich veil of some proud fane is rending.

I see the star-pav'd land,

Where all the angels stand,

Even to the highest height in burning-rows ascending.

Some with their wings dispread,

And bow'd the stately head,

As on some mission of God's love departing,

Like flames from midnight conflagration starting;

Behold! the appointed messengers are they,

And nearest earth they wait to waft our souls away.

Higher and higher still

More lofty statures fill

The jasper courts of the everlasting dwelling.

Cherub and Seraph pace

The illimitable space,

While sleep the folded plumes from their white shoulders swelling.

From all the harping throng

Bursts the tumultuous song,

Like the unceasing sounds of cataracts pouring,

Hosanna o'er Hosanna louder soaring;

That faintly echoing down to earthly ears,

Hath seem'd the consort sweet of the harmonious spheres.

Still my rapt spirit mounts,

And lo! beside the founts

Of flowing light Christ's chosen Saint reclining;

Distinct amid the blaze

Their palm-crown'd heads they raise,

Their white robes even through that o'erpowering lustre shining.

Each in his place of state,

Long the bright Twelve have sate,

O'er the celestial Sion high uplifted;

While those with deep prophetic raptures gifted,

Where Life's glad river rolls its tideless streams,

Enjoy the full completion of their heavenly dreams.

Again—I see again

The great victorious train,

The Martyr Army from their toils reposing:

The blood-red robes they wear

Empurpling all the air,

Even their immortal limbs, the signs of wounds disclosing.

Oh, holy Stephen! thou

Art there, and on thy brow

Hast still the placid smile it wore in dying,

When under the heap'd stones in anguish lying

Thy clasping hands were fondly spread to heaven,

And thy last accents pray'd thy foes might be forgiven.



Beyond ! ah, who is there  
 With the white snowy hair?  
 'Tis he—'tis he, the Son of Man appearing!  
 At the right hand of One,  
 The darkness of whose throne  
 That sun-eyed seraph Host behold with awe and fearing.  
 O'er him the rainbow springs,  
 And spreads its emerald wings,  
 Down to the glassy sea his loftiest seat o'erarching.  
 Hark—thunders from his throne, like steel-clad armies marching—  
 The Christ! the Christ commands us to his home!  
 Jesus, Redeemer, Lord, we come, we come, we come!  
 (P. 146—149.)

The catastrophe is conducted with considerable skill. The reader, indeed, knows before hand that the sainted heroine is to fall a sacrifice to the fury of her heathen persecutors, but the circumstances are so artfully managed, that the interest is kept up to the last; at least till the account of her martyrdom, at which point the piece ought to have concluded. The subsequent popular suffrage to Christianity in consequence of the affecting death of Margarita, with the "Christian Hymn" that follows, however pleasing in themselves, are extrinsic to the catastrophe, and ought not, if introduced at all, to have occupied more than a simple notice after it is known. Addison blames Milton for admitting the two concluding lines of the *Paradise Lost*; the poem, he thinks, should have ended with,

"The world was all before them where to choose  
 Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

The addition of

"They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow  
 Through Eden took their solitary way,"

he objects to, chiefly from its renewing in the mind of the reader that anguish which had been pretty well laid aside by the consideration that the primæval pair were under the protection of a kind and unerring Providence. We are not quite persuaded of the justness of the criticism; but, if it be correct, Mr. Milman may plead the very same reason for lengthening his poem *beyond* the catastrophe, which Addison alleges for curtailing Milton's,—the repose and satisfaction of the reader; which certainly are much augmented by the conversion, though by the way, not a very reasonable one, of Callias and the multitude, and the hymn with which the poem concludes. We have space for but one citation, namely, the part which narrates the circumstances of the martyrdom, which the poet has classically kept out of sight.

"Non tamen, intus  
 Digna geri, promas in scenam; multaque tolles

Ex oculis, quæ mox narret facundia præsens;  
Nec pueros coram populo Medea trucidet,  
Aut humana palam coquet exta nefarius Atreus."

The passage is as follows :

—Speak to me, I charge you,  
Nor let mine own voice, like an evil omen,  
Load the hot air, unanswer'd.

*Callias.*

Hark!

*Vopiscus.*

Didst hear it?

That shriek, as though some barbarous foe had scaled  
The city walls.

*Olybius.*

Is't horror or compassion?

Or both?

*The above.* FOURTH OFFICER.

*Olybius.* What means thy hurried look? Speak—speak!  
Though thy words blast like lightning.

*Officer.*

Mighty Prefect,

The apostate Priestess Margarita—

*Olybius.*

How?

Where's Macer?

*Officer.*

By the dead.

*Olybius.*

What dead?

*Officer.*

Remove

Thy sword, which thou dost brandish at my throat,  
And I shall answer.

*Olybius.*

Speak, and instantly,

Or I will dash thee down, and trample from thee  
Thy hideous secret.

*Officer.*

It is nothing hideous—

'Tis but the enemy of our faith—She died

Nobly, in truth—but—

*Callias.*

Dead! she is not dead!

Thou liest! I have his oath, the Prefect's oath;

I had forgot it in my fears, but now

I well remember, that she should not die.

Faugh! who will trust in Gods and men like these?

*Olybius.* Slave! Slave! dost mock me? Better 'twere for thee  
That this be false, than if thou'dst found a treasure  
To purchase kingdoms.

*Officer.*

Hear me but a while.

She had beheld each sad and cruel death,

And if she shudder'd, 'twas as one that strives

With nature's soft infirmity of pity,

One look to heaven restoring all her calmness;

Save when that dastard did renounce his faith,

And she shed tears for him. Then led they forth

Old Fabius. When a quick and sudden cry

Of Callias, and a parting in the throng,

Proclaim'd her father's coming. Forth she sprang,

And clasp'd the frowning headsman's knees, and said—  
 "Thou know'st me, when thou laid'st on thy sick bed  
 "Christ sent me there to wipe thy burning brow.  
 "There was an infant play'd about thy chamber,  
 "And thy pale cheek would smile and weep at once,  
 "Gazing upon that almost orphan'd child—  
 "Oh! by its dear and precious memory,  
 "I do beseech thee, slay me first and quickly:  
 "'Tis that my father may not see my death."

*Callias.* Oh cruel kindness! and I would have closed  
 Thine eyes with such a fond and gentle pressure;  
 I would have smooth'd thy beauteous limbs, and laid  
 My head upon thy breast, and died with thee.

*Olybius.* Good father! once I thought to call thee so,  
 How do I envy thee this her last fondness;  
 She had no dying thought of me.—Go on.

*Officer.* With that the headsman wiped from his swarth cheeks  
 A moisture like to tears. But she, meanwhile,  
 On the cold block composed her head, and cross'd  
 Her hands upon her bosom, that scarce heaved,  
 She was so tranquil; cautious, lest her garments  
 Should play the traitors to her modest care.  
 And as the cold wind touch'd her naked neck,  
 And fann'd away the few unbraided hairs,  
 Blushes o'erspread her face, and she look'd up  
 As softly to reproach his tardiness:  
 And some fell down upon their knees, some clasp'd  
 Their hands, enamour'd even to adoration  
 Of that half-smiling face and bending form.

*Callias.* But he—but he—the savage executioner——

*Officer.* He trembled.

*Callias.* Ha! God's blessing on his head!  
 And the axe slid from out his palsied hand?

*Officer.* He gave it to another.

*Callias.*

And——

*Officer*

It fell.

*Callias.*

I see it,

I see it like the lightning flash—I see it,  
 And the blood bursts—my blood!—my daughter's blood!  
 Off—let me loose.

*Officer.*

Where goest thou?

*Callias.*

To the Christian,

To learn the faith in which my daughter died,

And follow her as quickly as I may.

(P. 157—162.)

In this day of "rebuken and blasphemy," when so many writers, in poetry and prose, are sapping the faith and morals of the people by their productions, we cannot forbear thanking the writer of this poem for displaying Christianity in so beautiful a light, as contrasted with the fairest forms of heathenism. It

is something gained to the cause of truth, to have our associations and feelings engaged on the right, rather than the wrong side, as respects the Gospel even as a system; though incomparably happier are those who, allured by the exquisite proportions of the exterior of the temple, are persuaded to enter its hallowed walls, and to fix their abode within the precincts of the spiritual "Beauty of Holiness."

We wish we had as much space left to bestow upon Belshazzar, as we have devoted to the Martyr of Antioch. It is a dramatic poem of great interest, and possesses so much fire and spirit, in addition to its rich classical polish and gorgeous descriptions, as in no small measure to redeem it from the usual charges urged against our author's muse. The story is familiar to us from childhood; the poet's additions to it are simple and in accordance with the facts of the sacred narrative. The most affecting episode, if indeed it be not a principal part of the main plot, is the peril of Benina, a beautiful Israelitish captive, who is seized as a victim for the loathsome rites of the Babylonish idol Bel, but is rescued, during the destruction of the city, by her lover Adonijah. She is thus introduced in the hateful procession of the heathen priests.

THE FRONT OF THE TEMPLE.

*Priests within.* Hark! what dancing footsteps fall  
Light before the Temple wall?  
Who are ye that seek to pass  
Through the burnished gates of brass?  
Come ye with the gifts of Kings,  
With the peacock's bright-eyed wings?  
With the myrrh and fragrant spice?  
With the spotless sacrifice?  
With the spoils of conquered lands?  
With the work of maidens' hands,  
O'er the glittering loom that run,  
Underneath the orient sun?  
Bring ye pearl, or choicest gem,  
From a plundered diadem?  
Ivory wand, or ebony  
From the sable Indian tree?  
Purple from the Tyrian shore;  
Amber cup or coral store,  
From the branching trees that grow  
Under the salt sea-water's flow?

*Priests, with Benina.* With a fairer gift we come  
To the God's majestic home  
Than the pearls the rich shells weep  
In the Erythrean deep.  
All our store of ebony  
Sparkles in her radiant eye.

Whiter far her spotless skin  
 Than the gauzy vestures thin  
 Bleached upon the shores of Nile;  
 Grows around no palmy isle  
 Coral like her swelling lips,  
 Whence the gale its sweetness sips,  
 That upon the spice-tree blown  
 Seems a fragrance all its own;  
 Never yet so fair a maid  
 On the bridal couch was laid;  
 Never form beseeemed so well  
 The immortal arms of Bel.

*Priests leading her in.* Mid the dashing fountains cool,  
 In the marble vestibule,  
 Where the orange branches play,  
 Freshened by the silver spray,  
 Heaven-led virgin, take thy rest,  
 While we bear the silken vest  
 And the purple robe of pride  
 Meet for Bel's expected bride.

*All the Priests.* Bride-like now she stands array'd!  
 Welcome, welcome, dark-hair'd maid!  
 Lead her in with dancing feet,  
 Lead her in with music sweet,  
 With the cymbals glancing round,  
 And the hautboy's silver sound.  
 See the golden gates expand,  
 And the Priests, on either hand,  
 On their faces prone they fall  
 Entering the refulgent Hall.  
 With the tread that suits thy state,  
 Glowing cheek, and look elate,  
 With thine high unbending brow,  
 Sacred maiden, enter thou. (*Belshazzar*, pp. 69—72.)

Benina is then conducted to the secret pavilion of the ido. at the top of the temple, through a succession of magnificent apartments. First she passes the jasper hall, where stood the statues of Chaldea's kings; and among others the golden statue of Nabonassar, which

“in the plain of Dura, to the sound  
 Of harp, and lute, and dulcimer, received  
 The homage of the world;—  
 And the high sun at noonday saw no face  
 Of all mankind turn'd upward from the dust,  
 Save the imperial brow of Nabonassar.” (P. 73.)

Next she passes the chamber of tribute, where lay heaped the wealth of provinces and empires.

"If all mankind were kings, enough to crown  
Each brow with an imperial diadem."

Ascending higher and higher, Benina arrives at the chamber of captives, where among the many statues of fallen monarchs she beholds the sightless king of Judah. Next she passes the chamber of the captive gods; the images of idols from every conquered country; but fears to look around lest she should behold shapes "which the blind Gentiles" had designed "to enclose the Illimitable," or perhaps among them the sacred cherubim taken from the temple of Jerusalem, but behind whose overshadowing wings the supreme glory no longer dwelt.

Thus is half her journey performed. She then passes the silent chamber of "the gifted dreamers;" then "the astrologers," till at length she arrives at the cloud-capt altitudes of the temple, where she is left alone to receive the god of Babylonish idolatry, who, as might be anticipated, appears in the form of his dissolute high priest Kalasan. The whole of the foregoing scenes are wrought out with an almost magical splendour; we are introduced to an enchanted land, where we can neither think nor breathe for wonder, till we arrive at the clear blue expanse of the lofty battlements, where Benina thus soliloquizes.

*Benina.* Alone! alone upon this giddy height!  
Yet, better thus than by that frantic rout  
Encircled: yet a while, and I shall breathe  
With freedom. Oh! thou cool, delicious silence,  
How grateful art thou to the ears that ring  
With that wild music's turbulent dissonance!  
By slow degrees the starlight face of things  
Grows clear around my misty, swimming eyes.  
Oh, Babylon! how art thou spread beneath me!  
Like some wide plain, with rich pavilions set  
Mid the dark umbrage of a summer grove.  
Like a small rivulet, that from bank to bank  
Is ruffled by the sailing cygnet's breast,  
Euphrates seems to wind. Oh! thou vast city,  
Thus dwindled to our human sight, what art thou  
To Him that from his throne, above the skies,  
Beyond the circuit of the golden sun,  
Views all the subject world!

The parting day  
To twilight and the few faint early stars  
Hath left the city. On yon western lake  
A momentary gleam is lingering still.  
Thou'rt purpling now, oh Sun the vines of Canaan,  
And crowning, with rich light, the cedar top,  
Of Lebanon, where—but oh! without their daughter—  
Soon my sad parents shall return. Where are ye,

Beloved ! I seek in vain the lowly light  
 Of our dear cabin on Euphrates' side,  
 Amid yon kindling fires. And have ye quenched it,  
 That all your dwelling be as darkly sad  
 As are your childless hearts ?—And thou—mine own,  
 I thought this morn, and called thee—Adonijah,  
 Art thou, too, thinking of that hour like this,  
 The balmy, tranquil and scarce starlight hour,  
 When the soft moon had sent her harbinger,  
 Pale Silence, to foreshow her coming presence ;  
 To hush the winds, and smooth the clouds before her ?  
 That hour, that, with delicious treachery, stole  
 The secret from Benina's lips she long'd,  
 From her full heart, t' unburthen ? Better, now,  
 Had it been buried in eternal darkness,  
 Than thus have kindled hopes that shone so softly—  
 Were quenched so soon, so utterly.

Fond heart,

These soft, desponding, yet delightful thoughts,  
 Must not dissolve thee to mistrust in him  
 That filled thee as with fire, and touch'd my lips  
 With holy scorn of all the wealth and pride  
 That blazed around my path. Even now I feel  
 My trembling foot more firm ; and, like the eagle's  
 Mine eyes familiar with their cloudy height—  
 What's here ?—an hurried tread—

What art thou ?—speak !

*Kalassan.* The honour'd of the God that honours thee.

(*Belshazzar*, pp. 83—86.)

The succeeding scenes with Kalassan, who, as we have already remarked, appears in the feigned insignia of his god, are not at all to our taste, and go far towards disqualifying the book for family reading. The poem would lose nothing worth retaining by throwing the whole of these scenes into decent generalities. We fear, however, that there is something radically polluting to the imagination in the whole story of Benina's capture and detention ; the effect of which is not wholly counteracted, even by the disgusting characters in which the vice and baseness of Kalassan are made to appear, or by the spotless sanctity of the high-minded Benina, who is rescued from her danger by the imperative summons of Belshazzar for Kalassan to hasten to the palace, to interpret the mystic characters upon the wall of the banquet chamber. Before he can return, the city is taken by the victorious army ; and Benina escapes, and finds her way to her parents and her lover. Belshazzar expires in the flames of his city, and Kalassan falls beneath the hand of Adonijah.

Yet even the tyrant Belshazzar had that best and most affectionate of earthly friends, a mother, whose character, full of

haughty loftiness, and overbearing towards all others, breathes only melting tenderness towards her "imperial boy." We must present our readers with one exquisitely wrought scene in which she appears, near the close of the poem, with Imlah, the father of Benina, who had not yet learned his daughter's deliverance.

NITOCRIS, IMLAH.

*Nitocris.* My son! my son! I heard the cries—I saw  
The flames; I rushed through all the shrieking palace  
To seek him—and I found him not; and sprang  
To find him, where I thought not, where I knew not.  
One moment do I plunge into the gloom  
Of some dark court, to shun the foe—the next,  
I bless the angry and destroying light,  
Because I think it may disclose the face,  
The beauteous face of mine Imperial Boy.  
I've passed by widows, and by frantic mothers,  
That howl and tear their hair o'er their dead children:  
I cannot find my child, even to perform  
That last sad duty of my love—to mourn him.  
I've cried aloud, and told them I'm their queen;  
They gaze on me, and mock me with their pity,  
Showing that queens can be as desolate  
As slaves: and sometimes have I paused and stoop'd  
O'er dying faces, with a hideous hope  
Of seeing my son! I dare not cry Belshazzar,  
Lest he should hear me, and come forth and meet  
The slaughtering sword. Ye Gods! his very beauty  
And majesty will mark him out for slaughter:  
And the fierce Persian, that in weary pride  
May scorn to flesh his sword on meaner heads,  
Will win himself an everlasting glory,  
By slaying th' unarmed, the succourless Belshazzar.  
Here's one—hast seen him? Slave, I'll give thee gold,  
I'll give thee kingdoms—ah! what gold or kingdoms  
Hath the sad queen of captive Babylon  
To give? But thou hast haply known the love  
That parents bear to those who have been a part  
Of their own selves; whose lives are twined with theirs.  
So subtly, that 'twere worse than death to part them.  
Hast seen the king—my son—the pride of kings—  
My peerless son?

*Imlah.* I had a child this morn,  
Beautiful as the doe upon the mountains,  
Pure as the crystal of the brook she drinks;  
And when they rent her from her father's heart,  
To death—oh no!—to deeper woe than death,  
The queen of Babylon swept proudly by,  
Nor stoop'd to waste her pity on the childless.

*Nitocris.* Oh ye just Gods! but cruel in your justice!  
And never met ye more?



*Imlah.*

No more !

*Nitocris.*

Great heaven !

I own your equal hand : the bitterchalice  
 That we have given to others' lips, our own  
 Must to the dregs drink out. So never more  
 Shall I behold thee—not to wind thy corpse—  
 To pour sweet ointments on thy clay cold limbs.  
 Alas ! And what did Nabonassar's daughter  
 In the dark streets alone ? when there were men  
 To sally, arms to array—my voice, my look,  
 The hereditary terror that is said  
 To dwell on mine imperial brow, had pour'd  
 Dismay and flight upon the conquering Mede.  
 Semiramis, for empire, cast away  
 The woman, and went forth in brazen arms.  
 I could not for my son !

My naked feet

Bleed where I move ; and on my crownless head  
 (For what have I to do with crowns ?) beat cold  
 The chilling elements ; till but now I felt not  
 My loose, and thin, and insufficient raiment.  
 Well, there's enough to shroud the dead ; and thee  
 To colder nakedness, my son ! my son !  
 The spoiler will have stripp'd—

*Imlah.*

God pardon me

For taunting her distress ! Rest here, oh queen !  
 Under this low and wretched roof thou art safe ;  
 The plunderer wars upon the gilded palace,  
 Not the base hovel. There's a mother there  
 As sad as thou, and sleep may be as merciful  
 To thee as her.

*Nitocris.*

Sleep ! sleep ! with Babylon

In flames around me ; Nabonassar's realm,  
 The city of earth's sovereign's rushing down,  
 The pride of countless ages, and the glory,  
 By generations of triumphant kings.  
 Rear'd up—my sire's, my husband's, and my son's,  
 And mine own stately birth place perishing :  
 The summer gardens of my joy cut down ;  
 The ivory chambers of my luxury,  
 Where I was wed, and bore my beauteous son,  
 Howl'd through by strangers ! No I'll on, and find  
 Death, or my son, or both ! My glorious city !  
 My old ancestral throne ! thou'd still afford  
 A burial fire. I've lived a queen, the daughter  
 Of kings, the wife, the mother—and will die  
 Queen-like, with Babylon for my funeral pile.

(Belshazzar, pp. 133—138.)

We shall close our extracts with the following passage. It is one among the many examples in these poems of the author's

love of soliloquy and tranquil description, in which his genius delights far more than in the delineation of strong passion, or in scenes of crowded action and rapid dialogue. Benina speaks after her escape :

BEFORE THE TEMPLE.

*Benina.* Oh thou dread night! what new and awful signs  
Crowd thy portentous hours, so calm in heav'n  
With all thy stars and full-orb'd moon serene  
Sleeping on crystal and pellucid clouds!  
How terrible on earth! as I rush'd down  
The vacant stair, nor heard a living sound,  
Save mine own bounding footstep, all at once  
Methought Euphrates' rolling waters sank  
Into the earth; the gilded gallies rock'd,  
And plunged and settled in the sandy depths;  
And the tall bridge upon its lengthening pier  
Seem'd to bestride a dark unfathom'd gulf.  
Then, where blue waters and the ivory decks  
Of royal vessels, and their silver prows,  
Reflected the bright lights of heav'n, they shone  
Upon the glancing armour, helms, and spears  
Of a vast army: then the stone-paved walls  
Rang with the weight of chariots, and the gates  
Of brass fell down with ponderous clang: then sank  
O'er the vast city one sepulchral silence;  
As though the wondering conqueror scarce believed  
His easy triumph, But, ye revellers,  
That lay at rest upon your festal garments,  
The pleasant weariness of wine and joy,  
And the sweet dreams of your scarce-ended pleasures,  
Still hanging o'er your silken couches! ye  
Woke only, if ye woke indeed, to see  
The Median scymitar that, red with blood,  
Flashed o'er you, or the blaze of fire that wrapt  
In sulphurous folds the chambers of your rest.  
Oh Lord of Hosts! in thine avenging hour  
How dreadful art thou! Pardon if I weep  
When all my grateful heart should beat with joy  
For my deliverance. (Belshazzar, pp. 139, 140.)

If our readers think as highly as ourselves of Mr. Milman's poetry, they will not regret the length of our extracts from these two productions. There is indeed a frequent feebleness in his pages; the "linked sweetness" is often too much "drawn out;" the sentiments expire in their own mellifluousness; the intellectual banquet which he sets before us is too uniformly luscious; they "die in aromatic pain." The poet should write in a hair shirt, or with a sharp rowel at his sides, or with any thing that would rouse his Asiatic muse from her state of luxurious enjoyment. We

long for an earthquake that would tear up the ever verdant banks of his Mæander, and afford us the abrupt sublimity of a Niagara, dashing wildly over its precipitous summits, amid the rocks and crags, and interminable forests of untamed nature. Yet, taking him as he is, few poets have a stronger hold on the milder affections, or know better how to allure the finished taste of a classical reader formed amid the tranquil groves of his own Isis. Nor is it the least of his claims—though perhaps some of his scenes may have somewhat more of human softness than comports with such a wish—that it is his highest wish (we use the language of his preface to *Belshazzar*) that his works “may tend to the advancement of those interests, in subservience to which alone our time and talents can be worthily employed—those of piety and religion.”

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ART. V.—*Hulsean Lectures for 1820. Twenty Discourses preached before the University of Cambridge, in the Year 1820, at the Lecture founded by the Rev. John Hulse. By the Rev. C. Benson, M. A. Second Edition, 8vo. London. pp. 487.*

It is not a part of our plan, indeed it is not within our limits, to notice all the courses of lectures which are periodically added to the list of British theological publications. The chief of these, for many years, have been the Bampton lectures at Oxford, and the Boyle lectures in London; the former published annually, and the latter occasionally at the option of the lecturer. In the numerous volumes which compose these celebrated collections, among many unavoidable repetitions of old remarks and arguments, and much that is uninteresting, or which for other reasons might be well spared, are to be found some of the best treatises extant on the evidences of Christianity, and the principal heresies and objections which have assailed its sacred bulwarks. The Boyle lectures have continued to be preached and occasionally published ever since the time of their illustrious founder; the Bampton lectures were instituted in the year 1780; but the University of Cambridge, so able doubtless to add to the rich stores of sound theological argument and instruction, was long destitute of a convenient repository similar to that of London or Oxford, for storing up the annual accumulations of her biblical treasures. This defect is at length supplied by Mr. Hulse's endowment, and we have before us the first volume of a series of lectures, which we trust will for many centuries continue a vehicle for much piety, erudition, and valuable information.

Mr. Hulse was a member of St. John's College, Cambridge,

where he graduated as a Bachelor of Arts in 1728. Of his parentage or previous life no particulars appear to be known. He afterwards entered the church, and spent many years in a small country curacy, till, upon the death of his father, he retired to his patrimonial inheritance in Cheshire, where he is stated to have lived in habits of devotion and charity till the year 1789, when he expired, aged 70 years. By his last will, he bequeathed, according to a plan he had for many years cherished, a considerable portion of his estates for the purposes following:—1st, for an annual prize dissertation on the direct or collateral evidences of Christianity, to be contended for by members of the University of Cambridge under the degree of Master of Arts: 2d, for the institution of an appointment under the title of “The Christian Advocate,” whose office it should be to obviate, by annual or more frequent answers, such popular objections as might be raised against either natural or revealed religion, were they new or old, original or revived; and also to satisfy privately the doubts of any candid inquirer who might be anxious for instruction: 3d, for the establishment of twenty annual lectures on the evidences of Christianity, or the difficulties of Holy Scripture. The preacher was to confine himself chiefly to “notorious infidels, whether Atheists or Deists, not descending to any particular sects or controversies, so much to be lamented, amongst Christians themselves, except some new or dangerous error, either of superstition or enthusiasm, as of popery or methodism, should arise; in which case only it might be necessary, for that time, to write and preach against the same.” The “Christian Preacher,” or as he will probably always be called, the Hulsean Lecturer, is to be a Master of Arts under forty years of age, and must print his sermons. The same preacher may hold the lectureship five or six years in succession; though we should hope it will generally be the wish of the trustees to make the office annual, unless where the first year’s course or other peculiar circumstances give promise of a longer term being desirable. The wisdom of providing for so large a number as twenty sermons annually on the prescribed topics of Mr. Hulse’s endowment, has been justly doubted, and by no person more strongly than by Mr. Benson, the first lecturer, who reasonably considers that this stipulation will call forth a larger mass of authorship than is likely to be honourable to the successive preachers, or useful to the world. Possibly some arrangement could be made in law or equity to obviate this inconvenience. Though Mr. Hulse died in 1789, it was not till the year 1820 that the proceeds of his estates had amounted to a sum sufficient to pay the expenses of printing, much less to remunerate the lecturer for his exertions.

Mr. Benson's volume, which we have thought it right to notice as the first of a series which may probably in the course of years become celebrated, without however pledging ourselves to review every or any successive course of these intended voluminous lectures—is devoted chiefly to a discussion of the general evidences in favour of the Gospel. In future we would recommend that, at least, three or four years' notice should be given to every succeeding Hulsean lecturer, in order that he may have ample leisure before him for thoroughly maturing his plan, and digesting the contents of his reading and meditation. The course before us would have been more interesting and instructive, and have enabled the hearers to treasure up with greater ease each successive portion of the argument, if the preacher had thus enunciated the outline of his plan at the commencement, and summed it up at the conclusion.

The first two discourses are introductory, relating chiefly to the duties of the new appointment; the next ten are on the evidences of Christianity; and the last eight, though highly useful in themselves, are unconnected, and are almost wholly of a parochial kind.

The topics which belong to the series from the third to the twelfth, both inclusive, are the credibility of the evangelists as mere human witnesses, and *un*-inspired historians of the words and works of JESUS; the credibility of historical testimony to miraculous facts; the works and words of JESUS as related by the evangelists, shown to be proofs of his being a divine prophet; the credibility and authority of the sacred writers as *inspired* historians, teachers, and interpreters; the divine prophet JESUS proved to be THE CHRIST, by the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies in his character and life; objections to the preceding course of argument answered; the above system of evidence shown to be conformable to our Lord's answer to John the Baptist; recommendations of the system; and lastly, a statement of the force of the argument derived from the fulfilment of our Lord's own predictions.

The following passage from the fourth discourse will exhibit our author's powers of argumentation on a very important and interesting subject in theology,—the question of the possibility of miracles, and the evidence afforded by them of the truth of the Gospel.

"To the whole of this reasoning I deem it sufficient to reply by denying that experience is in *all* cases the measure of the intrinsic credibility of facts, and more especially by denying that any presumption can be formed against the reality of the Christian miracles, because miracles have never been known to be wrought upon any other occasion. It appears to me that this proposition of Hume is of too

general a nature, and that he was only authorized to assume, that 'the intrinsic credibility of facts is to be measured by their analogy to our past experience of the same or similar facts having occurred *under the same or similar circumstances.*' Hence, though we should allow that a firm and invariable experience is against the occurrence of miracles in all other religions in favour of which they have been alleged, it will not follow that the same experience is against their occurrence in favour of the Gospel, unless we can prove such a resemblance between the cases as to justify the application to the one of the rules deduced from the other. With this important limitation the principle may be adopted both as innocent and correct, and the propriety of this limitation will, I trust, appear evident to all, who will accompany me with impartiality through the following illustrations.

"It is the opinion of Hume that 'the Indian prince who refused to believe the first effects of frost reasoned justly,' because those effects 'arose from a state of nature with which he was unacquainted;' but those who reflect with attention upon his conduct, will rather, I should think, be inclined to imagine that he reasoned weakly and concluded hastily. That in a subject upon which he was ignorant he should withhold the fulness of his assent, until he had examined into every thing connected with the evidence, was reasonable and right; and if after due investigation he had found that the circumstances under which the novel fact was stated to have occurred, were altogether and in every respect the same with those in which he had uniformly observed a different result, he would doubtless have been authorized in continuing his suspense, however powerful and unequivocal might be the testimony by which the reality of the fact was supported. But that he should *refuse* his assent to any fact, merely because 'it arose from a state of nature with which he was unacquainted,' and in which it was therefore impossible for him to say whether the circumstances were or were not the same with those in which he had observed a different effect, was least of all like the conduct of a correct and inductive philosopher, who always presumes that when the results are different, there must have been some difference also in the nature of the experiments under which they were produced.—It was, in reality, neither more nor less than turning his own ignorance into the infallible standard of credibility. It was drawing an inference against a fact, which had all the evidence which mere testimony could give it, when even by his own confession he must have perceived that he was uninformed of the premises by which alone such an inference could be justified. I dwell upon the points in which the conclusion of this Indian philosopher was false and unsound, because his reasoning was precisely similar to that of those sceptical philosophers who, in the present day, would reject the Christian miracles upon the ground of their being contradictory to experience. Be it that we are assured by universal experience that no miracles have ever been wrought for any other purpose, there is still no incredibility in their having been wrought in defence of the Jewish and Christian revelations, because they differ so entirely from every other purpose. In miracles pretended to have been wrought in favour of any particular sect of the

true religion, the matter in dispute has always been either frivolous, or unessential, or unholy, or capable of being determined by the subordinate instruments of reason and authority. Again, in miracles pretended to have been wrought in favour of false religions, the whole system, as in Mahometism, has been impure, or, as in Idolatry, repugnant to the first principles of reason, and the fundamental attributes of the Deity. In all and every of these cases, I should therefore indeed doubt the reality of the best attested miracles, and say that their intrinsic incredibility was sufficient to counterbalance the weight of the strongest testimony, because the voice of a constant and uniform experience is against the operation of divine miracles in defence of any object which is either frivolous or unrighteous, irrational or unnecessary. Upon this we may boldly pronounce, because we have had plentiful opportunities of remarking what usually happens in such circumstances. But how can this affect the credibility of miracles in any instance in which the object is altogether of a different character, and where we have had no opportunity whatever of observing what is the usual method of God's proceeding? Where, as in the systems of the Gospel and the Law, the internal evidence is so strong, the morality so pure, the doctrines so holy, the end so important, the means so wise, and whole tissue so blessed and so worthy of God, as to stand forth without a parallel in the annals of mankind, there the argument from the past cannot possibly apply. We cannot here assume that miracles are contradictory to experience, or even different from our observation, because the fact is simply this, that we are altogether destitute of experience and without observation upon the subject. The voice of experience must therefore be content to be silent upon the proper or probable mode of establishing such a religion as that of the Bible, for nothing like it has ever been seen in the records of human history. The consequence is, that we must throw experience out of consideration whenever we would estimate the natural credibility of the mode in which Christianity is said to have been actually propagated, and measure the extent of our belief in its miracles, by the only remaining branch of evidence, the capacity and fidelity of the witnesses to the facts. Experience is neutral. Testimony is positive. We must turn away therefore from the dumbness of the first, and listen implicitly and exclusively to the latter. For it is as irrational to reject testimony, when experience is mute, in matters of religion as in matters of philosophy, and as imprudent to deny the credibility of the miracles of revelation, because they have never been observed to have been wrought upon any other occasion, as to deny the freezing of mercury under the pole, because it has never been observed under the equator. The circumstances of the two experiments and occasions being different, we cannot with propriety expect the same results in both.

"The true doctrine then with regard to evidence would appear to be, that our experience of what has already occurred, is a safe guide of reasoning and a sound rule of judgment as to the natural credibility of alleged matters of fact, only in those cases in which the circumstances are similar or the same. Where the circumstances vary, and

in proportion as they vary, in the same degree are the deductions from past experience inapplicable, and in the same degree does testimony alone become the measure of truth and the ground of belief.—And this is a rule which leaves the testimony to every fact which is recorded in the Bible, whether it be of a miraculous or of an ordinary kind, both unimpeached and unimpeachable. The declarations of the Evangelists are equally credible, so far at least as this argument is concerned, whether they record the most uncommon or the commonest occurrences of our Saviour's life; whether they merely relate his birth and his burial, or speak of his bursting the barriers of the grave and planting his footsteps on the waters of the deep. For the Gospel is a solitary and a singular religion, against which we must never presume to judge by the laws which are deduced only from our experience in the common occasions of life." (P. 94—100.)

It cannot be denied that the argument is forcibly conducted in this passage; but we fear that it would not be likely to convince those who most need conviction. Infidelity, in a majority of cases, as our author often and justly argues, has a deeper seat than the understanding. Unless evil affections be dislodged from the heart, it is usually vain to endeavour to dislodge unbelief from the head; and even if it be dislodged, a mere mental, unaccompanied by a moral, change is of little value. Mr. Benson forcibly remarks:

"Suppose that for the satisfaction of some half-wavering, half-repentant sinner, who might have the presumption to claim a particular interposition in his favour, God should be pleased to interrupt the order of his providence, and give a sensible demonstration of the indispensable necessity of Gospel obedience. Suppose that this sacred temple were to be chosen by the Almighty as the seat of his immediate presence,—that he should appear in all the terrors of his power upon the altar, and there utter, in a voice of thunder from the clouds of his glory and majesty, those awful and affecting words of Scripture, 'Jerusalem is in adversity with her children. If ye repent not, ye shall all likewise perish.' Such a scene we may think would leave an impression upon the brain, that we should carry with us through age unto the grave. All the fascinations of vice, we may imagine, and all the vanities of the world would vanish and fade away before the remembrance of its wonders; and we should all become, what we are called upon to be, devoted to the service of man and our Maker; and we should all study to reap all the benefits by fulfilling all the conditions of the Gospel scheme of salvation. Oh, my brethren, I beseech you not to form so flattering a judgment. Answer not even for your own hearts, for the heart of man is deceitful above all things; but turn ye to the Bible (I speak as to believers) and there learn the wisdom by reading the answer of experience. Such a scene has been represented before human eyes and upon the theatre of the world. God did once virtually appear in the splendour of his greatness. He spake, from the Shechinah of his glory, to the Israelites upon Mount



Sinai, and they felt all that men could and must feel upon such an occasion. They travailed in the greatness of their fear.\* They trembled before the Lord their God. They fell down before him, and besought him that he would speak to them no more in his might, but only through the mouth of his prophet Moses, to whose words they vowed an entire and an everlasting obedience. Yet how soon they forgot their promises,—how soon the traces of the scene faded from their imagination, their murmurings, and sufferings, their crimes and punishments in the wilderness too sufficiently and sadly declare. (P. 125—127.)

Mr. Benson expatiates with great earnestness, and not without reason, upon the impropriety of disparaging some of the evidences of Christianity in order to give greater prominence to the rest. When a particular argument strikes a writer forcibly, he is apt to indulge a somewhat exclusive spirit, and to aver that so long as he is in possession of his favourite proof, he would willingly resign every other. One theologian, in order to build up a system of internal evidence, gives little attention to the power and credibility of miracles; another disclaims the corroboration derived from internal testimony, and relies on the mere credibility of the writers; another dwells almost exclusively upon the fulfilment of the prophecies; and another on minute and generally unobserved coincidences and illustrations. Mr. Benson thus glances at the various evidences of which his own volume is a useful epitome.

“When the infidel shall ask you a reason of the hope that is in you, tell him that you know both in whom and in what you have trusted, and lay before him the full and connected system of your proofs. Tell him, first of all, that you believe that the things which are written in the Gospel are true. If he ask you why, tell him, that it is because these things were written by the earliest and constant followers of our Lord; and because those disciples shewed their sincerity by their sufferings; and because you never can, and never will renounce your belief in the testimony of men, whose virtue and integrity are known;

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\* We can affix no sense to this expression “they travailed in the greatness of their fear.” Is it meant, abating the misprint, as a parody on the sacred passage, “he travelleth [not travaileth] in the greatness of his strength;” or does the author use the word, as we find it used, with exquisitely bad taste, in a popular hymn,

‘All the promises do *travail*  
With a glorious day of grace.’

In either, or any other, case, it is an instance of that affected style which ought never to find its way into any pulpit; and least of all into an academical one. Why cannot plain propositions be enunciated in plain language? We would not willingly accuse our truly respectable author of conceit, yet it must be either conceit or a very ill habit which can lead divines to use a fantastical phraseology unknown to other writers, except when introduced, as by the profane hand of the author of *Waverley*, for the express purpose of merriment. Even where an expression is strictly biblical, it will seldom assort with the ordinary texture of human language.

who relate what they had heard and seen ; of whom it is impossible to suppose that they were deceived ; and who went down to the grave, through the severest agonies, maintaining with a firm and undaunted countenance, the same undeviating tale.—Then lay your Bible before him. Turn to the Gospel itself, and recount to him the works of your Saviour upon earth. Tell him they were works of wonder, and therefore prove that there was in his mind and in his arm the co-operating strength and wisdom of a power superior to that which belongs to our poor and simple humanity. If he borrow the written language of the unbeliever to aid him in his defence, and ask you, ‘ what powers, whether supreme or subaltern, mortal or immortal, wise or foolish, just or unjust, good or bad ? ’ Tell him that, with you, there is in this no mystery at all ; because the works of Jesus were works of mercy, as well as wonder ; and, therefore, prove that the Father of mercy, as well as of might, had sent him,—that he was a prophet favoured above measure by God. Then, to prove that Jesus was indeed worthy of such support, let him learn the spirit of the Gospel by precept and example too. Let him go to the Mount and hear his Saviour commanding his disciples to love *their* enemies, and then let him go to the Cross, and listen to that Saviour in prayer for the forgiveness of *his*.

“ The Gospel and its miracles and its morality having thus spoken for themselves, break to him the seal of prophecy. Lay before him the great scheme of providence, from the foundation to the end of the world. Point to our first parents, fallen, wretched, banished, and just turning their unwilling steps from the beauties and blessings of a paradise which they had lost through the disobedience of unbelief, and relieved from despair only by their confidence in the promise of a future Redeemer. Next lead him to the faith of Abraham, rewarded in the gracious declaration that in Isaac should his seed be called, and that in him should all the nations of the earth again be blessed. Carry him hence through Judah to the man after God’s own heart,—to David and to David’s line. But here the system will become too extensive for particular consideration. Fix his thoughts, therefore, upon some powerful and leading feature. Repeat to him, though it be through tears, the mournful forebodings of Isaiah, concerning him who was ‘ acquainted with grief,’ as it were with a familiar friend ; whose ‘ visage was so marred,’ with his griefs, ‘ more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men ;—’ who was despised and rejected, wounded, bruised, oppressed, cut off out of the land of the living,’ and who in that death did seem to be so utterly forsaken of his God, that men did absolutely ‘ esteem him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted.’ Ask him, whether he deems this to be a history or a prophecy ? and if he refuse or hesitate to answer, let him be assured that it is the record of an ancient age—that it was, and that it still is a prophecy, lamenting the continued infidelity of men and saying, ‘ Who hath believed our report ? ’ Then close the book, and tell him that, with you at least, it is a thing impossible that Christianity should be false ; that as Jesus by his miracles and morals is proved to be a divine prophet, so by the prophecies he may be proved to be the Christ.—Yet should he still cling to an evil heart of unbelief ; should

he flee to subtlety and the vain deceits of philosophy for his defence ; —call to his remembrance, that it is at any rate possible that Christianity may be true, and then let him think how different, even upon that ground, are the prospects of hope in him that believeth and in him that believeth not. For what, and if we Christians should lean upon a broken reed ? It is one too tender to wound the breast that leans upon it. What, and if there should be no world to come ? We know the worst. Death is an eternal sleep, the grave a place where all things are forgotten ; and so no one can ever hereafter arise from the dust to accuse us of credulity before God, or to punish us for our reliance upon a Redeemer ; or to ridicule the daily self-denial with which we have practised the graces of a Christian life. Or be it, that there is a world to come, and that the creed of the Deist should prove true. Still the Christian is safe under the armour of his integrity. The Deist boasts a merciful creed, and is confident that the Lord will never visit with his wrath the involuntary errors of the understanding, or be extreme to mark what has been done or believed amiss from motives of humility. If, then, there be a God that judgeth the earth, doubtless he will judge the Christian in pity, and according to his sincerity. And if there be verily a reward for the righteous, then will the Christian, who has been devout before his Maker, pure in himself, and bestowed charities upon men, be justified as a righteous man, and receive a righteous man's reward. But if the Gospel speaketh no lies, if Christ really and truly came into the world to save sinners, how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation ? (P. 229—233.)

Our readers will have perceived that Mr. Benson's sermons are more declamatory, or, as we have before expressed it, *parochial*, than the bulk of published academical discourses. Perhaps it is our own fastidiousness, rather than the fault of the preacher, that has made us, in reading his pages, think him sometimes a little too *homely* in his language or illustrations for the learned audiences of either of our two St. Marys. We have understood that his sermons were, as they deserved, well received by those who were best qualified to pronounce upon them ; and we think the circumstance much to the credit of the university before whom they were delivered ; for appeals and remonstrances more practical, hortatory, and faithful, cannot be conceived than those which our reverend author frequently employs in pressing home his remarks upon the hearts and consciences, as well as the mere understandings of his congregation. The volume abounds with examples ; but we select only the following, on a subject of peculiar delicacy, considering the circumstances under which the remonstrance was delivered.

“ Ye see then that there can be no such thing as the innocence of intellectual error in religion.—It is in thoughts as it is in deeds. ‘ If thou thinkest well thou shalt be accepted, but if thou thinkest not well, sin lieth at the door.’ Before we can go wrong, whether in

opinion or act, we must have turned ourselves from the means of grace, and perverted, or abused, the faculties and opportunities with which we have been blessed. Every unbeliever may not be a wicked man in the deeds of his hands, but before he can have deviated from the truth, he must have sinfully yielded to some intellectual passion of our nature,—to the lust of curiosity, or the pride of discovery, or the vanity of singularity, or the covetousness of human praise: or he must have been wanting in the meekness of true wisdom, the humility of true science, or the virtue of dependence upon God. Beware then, my brethren, lest this also happen to some of you, which is written—‘Professing themselves to be wise they became fools.’ Watch more especially, my younger brethren, over the progress of your studies with unwearied caution and with a godly jealousy, lest by any means ye fall into the snare of the devil, and grow vain in your imaginations, and your understanding become darkened to the apprehension of the excellence of God’s revealed truth. If ye so give up yourselves to the practice of rigid demonstration, that ye become disqualified for appreciating the force of moral evidence—ye sin. If ye so altogether study abstract or erudite truth that ye care not for moral and for practical; or if by any partial or exclusive pursuit of the learning of any particular age, or nation, or subject, you imbibe the prejudices of a sect or a science, and are incapacitated for just and general and impartial views—ye sin. If in an earnestness after frivolous, or unimportant, or earthly knowledge, ye lose your relish for graver and divine; if by an anxiety for the graceful accomplishments of the world that is, you neglect the preparation for that which is to come; if you forget the qualities which recommend man to his Maker, in the insignificant acquisitions of mere curiosity or elegance; if in indolence ye so dissipate and blunt your faculties, as to grow incapable of tasting the power and the wisdom of the Gospel; or if by any course of study or discipline of the mind, however excellent and useful it may be in itself, ye fall away from the truth as it is in Christ Jesus,—ye are sinful still, and shall give an account of your intellectual wickedness before the judgment seat of Christ. I say not that all unbelievers are equally guilty before God, neither do I presume to measure the several degrees of their evil and their punishment. But this I do say, in justice, that, if God be merciful and powerful enough to give wisdom liberally to them that ask it of him in faith and nothing wavering, then none who err can be without their guilt. This I say in justice, and this also I add in mercy, that the least guilty would appear to be those, who have never been instructed in the knowledge of the truth of the Gospel, nor been brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

“And, Oh, my Fathers, what a contemplation does this present to us, to whom the instruction of others is committed under God, if, because we have neglected to give them the knowledge of the rudiments of Christian wisdom, they fall into the error and condemnation of disobedience or disbelief. They indeed shall have their own burden of woe to bear, but we too shall accompany them to the shades of darkness, and have opened for ourselves a fountain of never-failing

tears. For, if the despisers themselves shall behold, and wonder, and perish, of how much sorer punishment, think you, shall not we be counted worthy, if by our neglect or folly we have made them so. Seriously and solemnly then, let us put the question to our hearts, and ask our consciences, whether we are or are not guilty as concerning this thing,—whether we have or have not directed our endeavours to promote to the utmost of our power the cause of that religion by which so many of us live here, and by which we must all of us live hereafter? If with sincerity the answer be returned, I fear that we shall scarce be able to rise up altogether unpolled with blame. As individual instructors, I trust we have little to lay to our charge as neglecting to give encouragement to the knowledge and practice of piety; and in the government of those particular Colleges over which we preside, or in which we participate, I know that much has been done to carry the mind and the heart to the studies which lead unto everlasting blessedness. But have we consented or refused to set the public seal of our University, as a body, to religious pursuits? Have we or have we not given a public testimony to the world of the attention with which we cultivate and the reverence with which we regard those spiritual things, for whose propagation and improvement our privileges were granted and our rights conferred? Is it, or is it not possible, that one most ignorant in all the necessary erudition of a Christian may yet receive uncensured the highest of the honours we bestow, whilst one most deeply imbued in the principles of sacred science may pass away unpraised from the trial? If these things be so,—if neither the rudiments of our holy faith, nor even the language in which its records are written, form any portion of our public and authorized examinations for degrees; if neither reward nor disgrace attend our knowledge or ignorance of the pages of the Gospel at that period at which our proficiency is finally tried;—be it yours to judge how far, as a public and most important body, we can be said to encourage the studies of religion, or give a pledge to our country that we are fulfilling the duties for which we exist,—the duty of raising the national character upon the basis of the national faith, and building up the rising generation upon the immutable foundation of Jesus Christ.

“I urge not these considerations in ignorance of the sacrifices which some, perhaps erroneously, may suppose that it will be necessary to make in other things, in order to introduce so essential and extensive a subject of inquiry within the sphere of our accustomed course of studies; neither do I look forward with a fanciful enthusiasm to any mighty revolution in the state of the religious world as the immediate result of the change. I urge the subject as it stands connected with your duty. I press it upon your thoughts as it affects your own eternal happiness or misery in the world to come. To treat it upon the ground of mere present expediency is a narrow and unbecoming view of its awfulness, ministering perpetual cause of sophistry, and questions which may serve for strife, but not to godly edifying. What if there be some sacrifice to be made (though it may fairly be doubted whether any sacrifice at all will attend the measure); what if

some portion of scientific glory may be lost, or some region of earthly and abstract knowledge be less cultivated? Is there nothing to make up for the sacrifice, nothing to compensate the loss? Meet the question as Christians. Meet it, as it only can and ought to be met, upon broad and Scriptural grounds,—the ground of your duty, God's glory, your country's welfare, and your own salvation. Think not only of the sacrifice to be made, but compare it also with the advantages to be had in return,—advantages as far superior to any other consideration, as the enduring blessedness of eternity is above the fading interests of time. If there be learning, it shall fail; if there be sciences, they shall cease; if there be knowledge, it shall vanish away. But the word of the Lord endureth for ever; and that word hath proclaimed the decree, that every man should 'be ready always,'—and ready he cannot be unless he be able, and able he cannot become unless he be taught, 'to give an answer to every one that asketh of him a reason of the hope that is in him.' What then shall be our reward in the great judgment of God, if we have fulfilled this decree, and what our fearful punishment if, either as a body or as individuals, it has been by us despised?" (P. 202—208.)

Since this passage was penned, indeed within the present year, a plan has been adopted in the University of Cambridge, which is likely, to a considerable extent, to roll away this reproach. It was with the utmost satisfaction we heard of the vote of the senate of this celebrated university, to add both divinity and classical literature to its list of subjects for examination. Great public benefit will, we make no doubt, result from the plan. We almost wonder that our zealous author did not touch upon some other tender subjects in Cambridge discipline. His earnest sermon on the observance of the day of sacred rest might have very fairly led him to animadvert upon the frequent desecration of that divinely appointed day, by secular acts within the precincts of his university,—a circumstance so notorious, and so little thought of, that in the late chancery suit respecting the mastership of Queen's college, it was made a prominent article in the affidavits, and strongly insisted upon as an argument by counsel, that Dr. Godfrey had not taken the oaths before the vice-chancellor on the Sunday immediately after his election, but had deferred applying to that officer till the following morning. The dignity of the Lord Chancellor's remarks on this point will not easily be forgotten by those who heard them. He professed, somewhat ironically, that being himself a graduate of Oxford, where secular business was strictly confined to secular days, he was wholly at a loss to understand Cambridge habits, which it seemed allowed of many such acts being performed on the Sunday. He declined giving an opinion (because he could decide the cause on other grounds) as to whether the postponement of any secular actions currently performed on the Sunday at Cambridge to the next morning, was to be disallowed; but as far as inference from his lordship's general state-

ments is warrantable, there can be little doubt that, had the case turned upon this point, it would have been given by this venerable judge on that side which every man who values that holy day would desire. Surely all such practices might be readily broken through without risk or injury. No custom or statute, we are persuaded, can be judicially maintained in contravention of the law of the country and the law of God, relative to the sanctity of the Christian sabbath. It would be much to the honour of Cambridge if a general regulation, or, if necessary, an act of Parliament were procured, making the Sunday a *dies non* in bestowing degrees, conducting college elections, and every other secular business of the university, all usages or statutes to the contrary notwithstanding. To various officers in the university, and particularly to the vice-chancellor, it must be a most painful and mortifying sacrifice to have the quiet and the sanctity of the sabbath entrenched upon, as at present it often is, by concerns of a secular nature, which could be just as well postponed to the succeeding day.

We must pass over the miscellaneous sermons, the character of which is rather that of plain, zealous, and useful parish discourses, than of academical lectures. Whether there may not occasionally be somewhat of egotism, dogmatism, and unnecessary familiarity, we leave the reader to decide; satisfied ourselves, and in many parts highly gratified, with their uniform potent tendency to instruct and persuade, to convert and sanctify, the minds of the hearers.

#### ART. VI.—ON THE ORIGINAL POPULATION OF IRELAND.

1. *An Inquiry concerning the primitive Inhabitants of Ireland; illustrated by Ptolemy's Map, corrected by the Aid of Bardic History.* By Thomas Wood, M.D. author of an essay "On the Mixture of Fable and Fact in the early Annals of Ireland; and on the best Mode of ascertaining what Degree of Credit these ancient Documents are justly entitled to. 8vo. pp. 310. London, 1821.
2. *Chronicles of Eri; being the History of the Gaal Sciut Iber, or the Irish People; translated from the original Manuscripts in the Phœnician Dialect of the Scythian Language.* By O'Connor. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. 944. 1822.

THE former of these works lay before us while recently investigating the original population of Britain; and our remarks upon it were postponed, only that we might connect them with

such as should be demanded by the long announced "Chronicles of Eri," which have since appeared. The latter performance having been elaborately puffed by the same periodical publication, and in the same sceptical style, as the "New Researches of Ancient History, by C. F. Volney," we had no room to doubt of its hostility to revealed religion: but we did not expect to find it, from the beginning to the end, altogether constructed for the purpose. We can only infer, that infidelity feels itself to be on its last legs: and that, as help can no longer be derived from the supposed Zodiac of Dendera (which has now been dragged forth into open day), a still more desperate attempt must be made to insist, even by dint of *Irish traditions*, that the Bible is needless and false, rather than wholly relinquish the contest.

With this notice, we should (for the present) dismiss "O'Connor Cier-rige, Head of his Race," "and chief of the prostrated people of his nation;" as his titles stand, annexed to a frontispiece which represents him with a manuscript in his left hand, and his right grasping a *Crown*; but that his title-page may be so unintelligible to our readers, as to render a brief exposition of it acceptable, before we proceed to the proper subject of this article. *Gaal* signifies merely a tribe; *Sciot* is its assumed name, whence that of Scotland originated; and *Iber* was that of some of its reputed ancestors. The Irish is the *language* intended, though certainly not recognizable by the description. Of the *Scythian* language, nothing is known, but that it had affinity to the *Sarmatian* (Herodotus, Melp. 117). Of the *Phœnician*, or Punic, also, we know little more, than, from Augustin's testimony, that it nearly resembled the *Hebrew*; which is corroborated by the ease with which the Punic scenes of Plautus have been accommodated to Hebrew phrases of similar import by Bochart and others. Irish and Bâs-breton, indeed, have been made of the same passages, but in defiance equally of meaning and etymology. With the ancient Sarmatian, the modern *Slavonic* dialects are historically connected: and these are alike remote from Irish and from Hebrew. As it is not, however, the first time that Irish has been mistaken for Hebrew, or that Scots have been identified with Scythians, such blunders might be excuseable in the author: but what can we say, when he insists that the Gothic radically differed from the German, and the Welch from the Irish languages? At the same time, he plainly does not know Welch from Irish; for he attributes to the Irish the population of Wales, Cornwall, and Bretagne. Of *Gothic*, he seems never even to have heard that Ulphilas translated the Gospels into that language. Yet he rests his argument, for the origins of the Irish and other nations, chiefly and constantly on radical distinctions of *language*: and nearly two hundred pages of a rhapsody which he strangely en-



titles "Demonstration," are filled with what he calls Etymologies! In Latin and Greek terms, alone, any real similitude of Irish appears; and this is only such as is common to all the southern languages of Europe. He might have found much stronger resemblances in the *Gothic* dialects, which he asserts to be wholly foreign to the Irish language; but these may easily be accounted for without any radical affinity. It is, notwithstanding, perfectly consistent for the author to charge those who are not versed in *Irish*, with ignorance of *all* languages; because this is evidently the only one with which he is himself acquainted. Even his *English* is such as never was written before, nor will probably ever be written again. In the orthography of proper names, we can make large allowance for errors of the *press*: but when so familiar a word as Mesopotamia, which recurs times beyond number in these volumes, is *uniformly* spelt *Messipotamia*, we cannot give the author the benefit of this shelter.

"Should any captious person," says he, "be inclined to entertain suspicion of the antiquity of these manuscripts, I beg leave to observe, that I do not presume to affirm that the very skins, whether of sheep or of goats, are of a date so old as the events recorded: but this I will assert, that they must be faithful transcripts from the most ancient records; it not being within the range of possibility, either from their style, language, or contents, that they could have been forged." (Preface, p. ix.)

The absurdity of such an assertion is manifest. If there is a book in the world, the *contents* of which demonstrate the forgery of them to be *impossible*, we certainly have never seen such a book, excepting the BIBLE: yet we are not required to believe even *that*, *merely* on this ground; because, in addition to (at least) the extreme improbability that such a book ever could have been forged, we are furnished with incomparably stronger *external* evidence of its authenticity, than of any other book that is extant. To *such* authority, it is plain that the "Chronicles of Eri" have no shadow of pretence; and as to their *internal* evidence, it is with the fullest conviction, after a complete and careful examination, that we advance the exact reverse of the author's assertion; and insist, that they *cannot but have been forged*. From first to last, marks of contrivance are prominent. Circumstances and names are usually accommodated to facts that are misunderstood, and to current opinions that are erroneous. The sacred Scriptures are *pirated* with the avowed design of subverting their claim to inspiration. Laws, customs, teachers, and kings, far excelling all historical pattern, are ascribed, for above thirteen centuries preceding our era, to the very people whom Diodorus Siculus and others, about the time of its com-

menacement, described as cannibals; and the sentiments, political, moral, and anti-christian, that were broached by French philosophers of the last century, are attributed to personages supposed to have lived 3000 years ago. Of this writer's correctness our readers may judge from his venturing to state, in three several parts of his work, that Dean Prideaux, in his well-known "*Connection of Sacred and Profane History*," *denied the credibility of the Hebrew Scriptures!* What Prideaux asserted of Rabbinical traditions, is represented by Mr. O'Connor to have been said of the Bible.\*

When the pledge of our early attention to Irish antiquities was given, we were aware that the subject of investigation differed much from the origin of our own population. Ireland having never been comprised in the Roman empire, classical information of its state can hardly be expected. Neither does it appear, that any thing like the Welch historical triads was preserved *memoriter*, from remote epochs, in the sister island. But while these advantages for research must be relinquished, it may fairly be maintained, that the balance of traditional records, in the ninth century of our era, was in favour of Ireland. Nennius, who frankly reported all the information that he received, was evidently imposed upon as to *British* traditions, by forgeries of Romanizing Britons. What he reported of *Ireland*, he avouches to have received from (*peritissimis Scottorum*) the most learned Scots. That there were such in his time, is well known. The three preceding centuries had produced many natives of Ireland that were eminent for the literature of that period. It was the effect of the rapid and extensive progress of the Gospel, after its establishment in Ireland, in the fifth century. That its population, till then, remained as uncivilized as most of the South-sea islanders now are, and as all of them were twenty years ago, is intimated by obscure vestiges of authentic history. The mere profession of Christianity could not but produce important changes in the customs of such a people; which, accordingly, is asserted by contemporary writers: but we do not assimilate these to the transformation recently effected by Christianity in the Georgian and Society islands, or among the liberated negroes at Sierra Leone. We know how destitute of *education* the English were, at Alfred's accession, soon after Nennius's time. Of the five languages in which, at the time of Bede, the gospel was

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\* If our readers deem it incredible that any man should publish so preposterous a statement, we request them to compare Prideaux's *Connection*, Part I. Book 5. (pp. 501—503, 9th ed.) with O'Connor's first vol. p. viii. That he especially relied upon this argument against the Bible, appears from his double repetition of it, pp. cx, cxxvi. Though infidel writers, in general, trust greatly to the ignorance and indolence of their readers, few would venture to quote a book so familiarly known, in direct contradiction to its uniform purport.

preached in Britain, the Latin alone seems to have been commonly written; and this, in Ireland, was likely to be studied only in the numerous monasteries, where noble and royal pupils were instructed, that they might impart Christianity to their kindred in Britain (the northern Picts), to the Angli of Northumbria, and to various northern nations of Europe. What Nennius received from such men, may reasonably be depended upon, though not as historical fact, yet as the most credible tradition of that age, and greatly to be preferred to later and less probable legends. The substance of Nennius's report is as follows.

The first ancestor of the Irish was a noble Scythian, who, with his numerous family, resided in Egypt, at the time when the Israelites removed thence to Canaan. Being expelled by the Egyptians, the Scythian conducted his people westward in Africa during forty-two years, by the lake Salinarum, to the Aræ Philenorum, on the Greater Syrtis. Thence they passed between Rusicada and the mountains Azare, situated between Tunis and Algiers; and arriving at the river Malwa (the boundary of Algiers and Fez), proceeded by sea to the strait, and landed in Spain. After remaining there many years, and greatly multiplying, they came to Ireland 1002 years after the Exodus, or nearly 600 before the Christian era.

The first Scots (or Irish) who came from Spain to Ireland, were 1,000 of both sexes, conducted by Bartholomew: but these, after having increased to 4,000, were cut off by pestilence, in one week. A second party, conducted by Nimech, is said to have been a year and half at sea, before they arrived in Ireland, where their ships were wrecked. After remaining there many years, they returned to Spain.

Afterwards came three sons of a certain warrior of Spain, with thirty ships, with the same number of men, and as many women, in each; of which only one vessel reached Ireland, where it was wrecked, but all the crew were preserved, and peopled the whole country. The other ships were reported to have encountered at sea a glassy tower (seemingly an ice-island) on which were people with whom they could not converse; and all the crews landing upon it, to attack them, it sank with all of them together. Other parties successively arrived from Spain, and occupied various parts of Ireland. The latest was conducted by Clamhoctor (Clanna-Uachtar, the Uachtarich, or Vecturiones\*) and continued to reside there: Historeth, son of Istorinús, (the Horestii) took possession of Dalrieta in Britain, at the time when Brutus founded the Roman consulate. Buile and his followers occupied

\* See *Thoughts on the Origin and Descent of the Gael*, by J. Grant, Esq. p. 276.

Eubonia (the Isle of Man); and the sons of Vethan obtained possession of the country of the Dimecti (Demetia, or South Wales), and spread to Guiber and Guely; but were expelled from all the British territories by Cuneda and his sons.

The last transaction is confirmed by British history, which dates the reign of Cuneda from 328 to 389 A. D. His eldest son died in the Isle of Man; the rest were rewarded with districts which they had recovered from the Irish in Wales. The Welch Chronicles, written during the eleventh century, in Bretagne, relate that a British king, named Gwrgant, returning from Dassia, at the Orkney Islands met thirty ships full of men and women, conducted by Barthlome, or Partholan. They were Barclenses, who had been expelled from Spain, and had been at sea a year and half seeking a place of settlement. Gwrgant directed them to Ireland, which then lay waste and uninhabited; and they went thither, peopled the country, "and their descendants are to this day in Ireland." (Roberts's Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, p. 61.)

Gwrgant was nephew of Brennus, or Brân, who is said to have joined in a Celtic invasion of Italy, when Porsanna reigned in Tuscany, about five centuries before our era. This is the same date assigned by the Irish traditions to the first settlement of the Scots in Britain, about a century later than their arrival in Ireland, if their date of the Exodus was nearly correct. It is, indeed, very improbable that the Irish knew any thing of the Jewish, or even of the Roman history, prior to their reception of Christianity; and such adjustments of dates can only imply that they computed these events of their own traditional history to be contemporary with the others. It may be observed, that the Welsh tradition bears some resemblance of all the three reports which Nennius distinguishes. The name of the leader was that of the first Irish colony; the duration of the voyage was that of the second; and the number of ships was that of the third. The permanency of settlement agrees only with the last; but the waste condition of the island corresponded with all the three Irish traditions, although that circumstance has less probability to support it than any other. It appears too much like a contrivance to attribute the entire population to the third colony. Gwrgant is the twenty-third British king named in the Welsh chronicles and ancient pedigrees; and various circumstances concur to render it probable that our island had been inhabited three or four centuries before his time. That so fertile a country, and so near to Britain, as Ireland, should so long afterwards remain wholly unoccupied, is hardly credible: but it might be very thinly peopled by straggling parties from Britain, Gaul, or Spain, hostile to each other, and merging into a savage state.

That the first Irish colony of 1,000 persons, when multiplied (perhaps within a century) to 4,000, should be wholly, or very nearly, cut off by pestilence (whether in one or in many weeks) is not impossible, though unlikely to happen in such a country. It appears less probable that the second colony, after remaining many years, should all return to the country which they had either chosen, or been compelled, to quit. Supposing *this* to be the party which Gwrgant met with, and which continued to people the island, the Welsh and Irish traditions will better harmonize. The third expedition, if only one ship was preserved, could add but little to the previous population: yet that it acquired and maintained an ascendancy, appears from the whole population being ascribed to it, and from the inferior notice that was taken of subsequent accessions; although the learned Scots of Nennius's time were likely to have adequate information of these.

The tradition of the arrival of the Picts in Britain, which Bede recorded above a century before Nennius, forms a counterpart of that which we have quoted, of the first Irish colony by later Welsh chronicles. Bede describes the Picts as arriving in Ireland from Scythia; by which he appears to have meant the north of Europe. The Irish refused to admit them into their country, but advised them to form a settlement in Britain, promising assistance, if necessary. The Picts having accordingly occupied the northernmost part of Britain, they were allowed to take wives from Ireland, on condition that descent by the female line should have precedence in claims to the throne. As Bede has distinguished the Pictish language from the Scottish, he must have meant the Caledonian Picts, whom Tacitus demonstrated to be of German affinity. These, according to the ancient British Triads, were subsequently joined by the Irish Picts, apparently the Clamhoctor (Clanna-Uachtar) of Nennius. He seats them in Dalriada (or Argyle), but distinguishes them from the Scots (who did not occupy that district of Britain till A. D. 260, nor finally settle there till A. D. 503) by dating their first arrival in Britain about five centuries before Christ. The Scots, also, as Irish, are denominated Gwyddyl in the Triads, but the earlier colony is distinguished from them by the appellation of Gwyddyl Phichti, Irish Picts, and Gwyddyl Coch, or red-haired Irish; the Vecturiones, by intermarriages with the Caledonians, having become partly assimilated to them in complexion.

Some copies of Nennius add, concerning the "*vir nobilis de Scythia*" from whom the Scots were supposed to originate, "*iste gener Pharaonis erat, i. e. mas Scotæ filiæ Pharaonis; a quâ, ut fertur, Scotia fuit appellata.*" That this was a later in-

terpolation, and was derived from a tradition that did *not* assign a *Scythian* origin to the Irish (which alone might have accounted for the denomination of *Scots*) is highly probable. If either derivation of the name could be authenticated, it would discredit the other: but both are alike destitute of probability. Herodotus, the only historian who personally knew the Scythians, assures us that they did not call themselves by that name, though it was assigned to them by the Greeks.\* (Melp. 6.) He tells us also, that no more than 1,000 years intervened from their first king to their invasion by Darius Hystaspes (ib. 7); so that they did not claim even national existence so early as the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. To oppose to such testimony the pretence of Justin, in the second century of our era, that the Scythians held a vast empire 1,500 years before Ninus founded that of Assyria, is so palpably absurd, as to disqualify it for refutation. There appears, then, no room to doubt that the Scythian origin of the Irish, as well as the marriage of their progenitor to a princess named *Scota*, was grounded merely on the resemblance of the appellation *Scot*, to *Scota*, and *Scytha*.

That the learned Scots of Nennius's time, notwithstanding, formed such a conjecture, is the more excusable from the extreme laxity with which the Scythian name was used by Roman writers in general, and by the later Greeks: but that they would invent the connection of their ancestors with Egypt, becomes only the less probable on that account; for Egypt was the last country where Scythians were likely to be found. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that there existed an ancient tradition of the residence of their ancestors in that country, at a remote distance of time. Its epoch was likely to be matter of conjecture; but the simple fact appears to us by no means improbable. All Irish tradition concurs to derive the population of Ireland from Spain: and this is confirmed by the evident affinity of the Irish to the Welsh, whose ancestors Tacitus demonstrated to be of Iberian extraction. That the Iberians passed to Spain from Africa, has never, we believe, been disputed: and not only the traditions of the Irish, in general, assert them to have done so; but the Welsh Triads and Chronicles indirectly confirm the statement. We know from Scripture, that all nations originated from Asia; and the only route from Shinar to Africa, by land, lay through Egypt. To whatever source, therefore, the Irish nation may originally be ascribed, the tradition that they came from Egypt may be admitted as authentic.

Their track westward along the northern coast of Africa, as delineated by Nennius (which was copied verbatim by the Welch

\* Mr. Graham asserts, also, that the Highlanders never applied the name of *Scots*, as a generic term, to themselves. (*Thoughts on the Gael*, p. 286.)

chroniclers, Roberts, p. 19) is objectionable only on account of its geographical accuracy. It demonstrates his informants to have had a more minute acquaintance with the country, than tradition can easily be supposed to have conveyed. It does more credit to their learning, than to their fidelity: but if we suspect the learned Scots of having revised and corrected their old traditions, it is perhaps all that we can reasonably impute to them. To this subject, however, we shall have occasion to recur in examining the several variations of this simplest and oldest legend, which have been made by bards and chroniclers of uncertain dates, and of more than doubtful authority. Of these, Dr. Wood has very properly furnished an abridgment from Keating, which we shall endeavour again to abbreviate, for the amusement, if not for the information of our readers; for we find it impracticable to divest the miniature wholly of caricature.

The bards were evidently dissatisfied that their nation had been traced from no greater distance than Egypt, and from no higher antiquity than the Exodus. Some have peopled Ireland with children of Cain and Seth; and others with the crew of a ship that escaped from the general deluge.\* Others postponed the event 312 years later, and landed Partholan in Kenmare Haven, on Tuesday the 14th of May of that year! There could not, of course, be any difficulty to ascertain Partholan's genealogy from Noah, during so short an interval; and as he was a Scythian, it could only be in the line of Japheth and Magog, from whom his generation was the sixth. It is, however, to be considered, that the Irish term rendered Japheth, is *Iat-foth*; *verbatim*, the land of Foth: and that Josephus attributes the first population of all the north of Africa to Phut, the third son of Ham; asserting that the whole country was originally called Phuté, and the inhabitants Phuteans. They evidently were so named by the Hebrew prophets. In confirmation of the fact, Josephus refers to a river of Mauritania which still retained the name of Phut, as Pliny also testifies—*mox amnem quem vocant Phut*, or (as the margin) Phthut. (Hist. Mun. v. i.) The Egyptians usually aspired the sounds of *p* and *t*, and often joined them, which exposed them to mutual substitution. According to Sanchoniatho, the inventor of alphabetic writing, whom the Greeks named Taautus, was called by the Egyptians Thoth and Thouth. We are told also, that "when Chronos (or Ham) came into the south country, he gave ail Egypt to the god Tautes." (Eus. Præp. Ev. ii. 10.) But Misor, or Mizraim, first reigned in Egypt; and although that country is called in scripture the land

\* To the tradition, that three fishermen from Spain first arrived in Ireland, we have no other objection, than, 1, its want of confirmation; and, 2, its date, from 30 to 300 years before Partholan.

of Ham, it might be only as part of northern Africa, the whole of which was peopled by his posterity. Its western (not its eastern) division, was first called by the Greeks Ammonia, and the temple of Ammon stood within the limits of Libya. That country, therefore, instead of Egypt, was probably inherited from Ham by Thouth, or Phthouth, or Phut. Of this, the Greeks made *Tautes*, as we pronounce *Phthisis*, *Tisis*. The Irish suppress such sounds as being repugnant to euphony; and not only contract *Gaoithil* to *Gael*, but *Duibhidhir* to *Dwyer*. (Dr. Wood's Inquiry, p. 52.)

The singular dissonance of written and colloquial Irish appears to us favourable to the antiquity that is so zealously claimed for the former, like the incongruities of Biblical and Masoretic Hebrew. The descendants of Ham, like those of Cain, excelled their contemporaries in arts; the Phœnicians surpassed all others in navigation and commerce; and the Egyptians excelled in science. That the Libyans long retained, or even first invented alphabetic writing, appears to us by no means incredible: but as other nations that migrated remotely from the centre of dispersion became proportionally uncivilized, and as the Irish are represented by ancient writers to have been extremely barbarous, we cannot infer, from the celebrity of the founder of their nation, if really the inventor of letters, that his posterity retained the use of them when they arrived in Ireland. We understand that their oldest manuscripts are written in the same characters as those used by the Welch and the Saxons, and these seem to have been borrowed from the Romans.

To revert to the Bardic variations of the original legend;—they fetch Partholan from Macedonia instead of Spain; diversify the duration of his colony from 30 to 642 years; and augment its increase to 9,000 instead of 4,000. They agree, however (contrary to the Welch tradition), to exterminate it by pestilence, which they limit, not indeed to one week's operation, but locally, to the hill of Howth, or somewhere else. Nimech, called (perhaps more properly) *Neimhidh*, is (of course) derived also from Magog, but came either from Greece or from the Euxine coast, with 34 ships, each containing 30 people, and arrived in Ireland 30 years after the destruction of the first settlers. There they were attacked and overcome by the *Foghmhoraice*, maritime plunderers, said to come from Africa. These greatly oppressed *Neimhidh*'s followers, some of whom fled to Scotland, others to northern parts of the continent of Europe. Some say that Ireland again lay uncultivated 200 years, some 412; but others, that the *Neimhidhians*, within 217 years from their first arrival, were succeeded by the men of Gallian, the *Fir-domhnann*, and the *Fir-bolg*, all descended from *Simon-breac*, a grandson of *Neimhidh*, who had



remained in Thrace, 5,000 of whose family being ill-treated by the Greeks, transported themselves to Ireland under numerous independent leaders. Slainge, one of these, became the first king of Ireland, and had eight successors within 80 years, if not (as is also said) within 30, of which Eochaidh, the last king, reigned ten years.

The Fir-bolg were then attacked, and defeated with immense slaughter, by Nuadha, king of the *Tuatha De Danann*, descended from a great grandson of Neimhidh. They had inhabited Greece, but being overthrown by the *Syrians*, fled to Lochlan, (which commonly denotes Denmark), thence to the north of Scotland, and seven years after, "on Monday the 1st of May," landed in the north of Ireland. They overcame also the *Foghmhoraice*, and maintained the dominion of the island 197 years. The *Neimhidhians* that escaped, took refuge in the western isles of Scotland; and when repulsed by the *Picts*, were allowed to settle in Connaught, by Oiliolla, king of that district, but were afterwards expelled from the island by an army from Ulster.

Before entering into the labyrinth constructed by the bards and annalists of the third original colony, it will be proper to compare with the simple report of Nennius the farrago already detailed. Each of his colonies came from Spain to Ireland; theirs are fetched from the Euxine and *Ægean* seas. His dates are as late as can be reasonably required; theirs are remote beyond possibility. He brought the progenitors of the Irish from Egypt, through the north of Africa, across a narrow sea into Spain; they bring them, either by a voyage (then impracticable) from the remotest parts to Ireland, without touching at Spain; or else from the same point of departure across the continent of Europe, in order to reach the same spot. All that is incredible and ridiculous in their legends, is entirely additional, and derives no colour whatever from the ancient tradition, except from its mistake of Scots for Scythians. The Irish literati of the ninth century had conceded this to a fashionable prepossession; but they had barely intimated their progenitors, who abode in Egypt, to have been of *Scythian* origin. That notion in no wise affected any other part of their traditions. Every thing else might be just the same, if their ancestors were natives of Egypt, or whence-soever they came thither. It is obvious, on the contrary, that the fabricators of later legends, scrupled at no absurdity for the sake of establishing their original connection with Scythia. In what remains to be considered of the bardic legends, this is still more preposterously exemplified; yet the whole is excusable, credible, and even rational, in comparison with the absurdities of O'Connor's "*Writings of Eolus*," and "*Chronicles of Gaelag and Eri*." The bards and former annalists, amidst all their extrava-

gance, never hazarded such an extreme of folly, as to oppose their legends to the history of the Bible. They took it, on the contrary, as the foundation of their fabrics of wood, hay, and stubble, knowing that "other foundation could no man lay but that which was already laid." Mr. O'Connor avowedly expects, by assuming the Scythian origin of the Irish, to subvert the whole evidence of divine revelation!

Particular remarks on the Neimhidhians, the Foghmhoraice, the Fir-bolg, and the Tuatha de Danann, we postpone, to preclude repetition. The warrior whose three sons conducted the next party to Ireland, is named by the bards Mileadh and Galamh, both terms of martial import; and Mr. O'Connor, who calls him Eochaid, also surnames him Golam. In each instance, loud and long preparatory notes announce his entrance on the stage of legendary history; but his exploits are diversely blazoned by the several mock kings at arms, and his pedigree is discordantly proclaimed. Dr. Keating, as abbreviated by Dr. Wood, seems to have digested into a continued narrative, two different modifications of the same story; in one of which all the introductory transactions were crowded into the biography of Galamh, and in the other were distributed among several of his ancestors. This variation we attribute to a natural reflection of later bards, that more had been attributed to Galamh than any one man was likely to accomplish; and consequently, that the burden ought to be divided with his forefathers. Of this we would enable our readers to judge, as well as whether the bards, or Mr. O'Connor, have claim to greater credit.

The biographer of Galamh calls him son of Bi-le, the son of Breoghan, the son of Bratha, who had arrived with four ships in Spain, and only 136 persons on board. With these, however, he defeated the inhabitants, who were descendants of Tubal; as Breoghan also afterwards did, though one half of his followers had been destroyed by pestilence. His grandson, Galamh, equipping thirty ships, sailed to visit their kindred in Scythia, where the king made him commander in chief, and gave his daughter to him in marriage. She died there, after bearing him two sons; and his father-in-law having become jealous of his power, Galamh put him to death, and sailed with sixty ships to Egypt, where king Nectanebus (who reigned 370 B. C.) likewise rewarded him with his daughter (*named SCOTA*), for his military services. After twelve of Galamh's followers had been instructed in all the learning of Egypt, he recollected an ancient prophecy, that Ireland was to be his place of settlement. He, therefore, sailed—first to Thrace, thence to the Baltic Sea, and through a strait which divided Europe from Asia. They next arrived at

Scotland, pillaged the country, and then proceeded to Biscay ! He there defeated the *Goths* (who first entered Spain A. D. 455) in fifty-four battles, and expelled them, notwithstanding their posterity now occupy the country. There being, however, less food than fighting in Spain, after twenty-six years of drought, Galamh again recollected the prophecy, and dispatched his uncle Ith in quest of Ireland, though it had long been well known by the Spaniards, a daughter of one of their kings having been married to the last king of the Fir-bolg. On Ith's arrival in Ireland, he was accosted in his own language by the natives, who had used it from Neimhidh's time, 630 years after the deluge. A quarrel, however, ensuing, Ith was mortally wounded. Galamh also died, in Spain. His sons sailed with a fleet, of the same force stated by Nennius, and arriving (without damage) in Wexford Harbour, 1300 years B. C. (therefore above 900 before Nectanebus, and 1700 earlier than the Spanish Goths) they encountered the Tuatha De Danann, but were compelled to retire to their ships. After other reverses, they obtained a decisive victory, with the loss of 300 men, and of *Scota* (the widow of Galamh), whose remains lie in the churchyard of Cill Eltain, a few miles from Tralee. Two of Galamh's sons, Ir and Don, also, were drowned ; and the ship commanded by the latter, with a crew of 104 persons, was sunk in attempting to land.

The motive which we have assigned probably concurred with others to stimulate some more ingenious bards to supply the deficiency of learned Scots in the ninth century, by fabricating a system of Irish origins, that should better establish their Scythian affinity. According to a manuscript that is pretended to have been written before Christianity was imparted to Ireland, Magog, son of Japheth, had three sons, from the eldest of whom, Fenius Farsuidh, King of Scythia, descended ; and from the youngest, Partholan, Neimhidh, the Fir-Bolg, and the Tuatha De Danann. Fenius, sixty years after the foundation of Babel, and 242 after the deluge, collected specimens of 72 languages that had been formed, and appointed a Scythian, named Gaodhal, son of Eathoir, to construct one of consummate excellence ; which was therefore called *Gaoidhealg*, that is, Irish. Fenius also sent his second son Niul, to acquire the learning of Egypt, where he met with Moses and Aaron, though *they* were not born till seven centuries after the deluge. Pharaoh Cingeris (Concharis, who was destroyed by the pastoral invaders, after the death of Joseph) gave his daughter *Scota* to Niul, to whom she bore a son named Gaodhal ; but Niul's services to the Israelites exciting his father-in-law's displeasure, he escaped on board

of Pharaoh's fleet (of which Moses made him a present) and (we conclude) sailed with it to Scythia, as he left a numerous posterity there.

Here are marks, not only of transposition from the biography of Galamh, but of the intermixture of other distinct fabrications. The story of Niul is evidently grounded upon the "*nobilis vir de Scythia*" of Nennius; and the interpolation of his record about *Scota*, seems to have been made from this legend. *Scota* was transferred to Niul from Galamh, apparently to enhance her antiquity. As the contrivance, however, evidently was to account for the appellation of *Scots*, the story seems either to have been originally independent of a Scythian origin, or to have been preferred to it, for the sake of greater precision. The name *Gaoithil*, which was always used by the Irish, is likewise here doubly accounted for: first, from that of a supposed inventor of the language; and secondly, from a son of Niul by *Scota*. In both these cases, the opposite fabrications annul each other's credit. The name of *Scots* admits of various explanations; but as the African origin of the Irish appears to us to be already sufficiently established, we can hardly doubt, from their uniform appellation of *Gaoithil*, that they were the *Γαιταλοι* of the Greeks, and the *Gætuli* of the Romans. The Numidians of the latter, therefore, were probably indicated by the bardic name *Neimhidh*.

Moses rewarded the services of Niul, not only by the donation of Pharaoh's fleet, but by assuring to the posterity of Gaodhal, exemption from being infested by serpents, wherever they should finally dwell. The successor of Concharis, called Pharaoh Intur (whom we never before heard of), not unnaturally resented these transactions; and persecuted the *Gaoithil* till they emigrated from Egypt, under Eibhear Scot, great grandson of Gaodhal. They embarked in four ships, each containing 30 people, and returned to Scythia; but met there with a very unfriendly reception from the other descendants of Niul, and in seven years withdrew to the Caspian sea, the first abode of the genuine Scythians. Their subsequent wanderings are *servilely* copied from the *Odyssey*. At a place called "*Gothia*, near Crete and Sicily," they remained, according to one account, 30, another, 150, and a third, 300 years. Bratha, in the 16th generation from Eibhear Scot, proceeded thence to Spain, as before related. The derivation of its earlier inhabitants from Tabal, fifth son of Japheth, arose from identifying the Iberians of Caucasus, now better known as Grusians (miscalled Georgians), with those of Spain. The Grusian language has no affinity either to the Spanish, or to the Irish; or indeed to any other language that is yet known; but ancient heathen writers, from their igno-

rance of glossology, as well as of the Bible, usually confounded together nations that had no other similarity than of name. The Irish bards may therefore readily be excused for such a blunder. Their conveyance of Eibhear Scot to Scythia, precluded occasion for Galamh's visit to that country; and their contrivances in bringing the Scots to Spain, being minutely copied from Homer, were of course preferable to the preposterous inventions attached to Galamh's return.

We have now to attend, in turn, to Mr. O'Connor's revised and expurgata edition of these fables; and in doing this, we mean to compare what he represents to be facts, with the preceding traditions, without reference to his interpretations of the chronicles, or to the form that has been given to them. The progenitors of the Irish, we are told, dwelt northward 1011 years before they occupied the country between the rivers Sgeind and Tethgris, whither they removed under the government of Absal. After residing there 1304 years, they passed westward of the Tethgris, and reached to the Affreidg-eis, under the conduct of Daire, whose descendants ruled, on both sides of that river, 1809 years. A very numerous host, called Eis Soir, speaking 1000 different languages, then invaded the Gaal (as Mr. O'Connor calls them, though it signifies merely a *tribe*); and Ard-fear, who then reigned, "floated on the bosom of blessed Affreidg-eis, and the waters bare up his little skiff, till he lighted on the plain of Ard-mionn," from Magh-sean-ar. After reigning 31 years over the people of the land, and the Gaal that had resorted to him, his body was placed in the same boat, and carried in it 900 paces westward from the spot where it had come on shore, and was there deposited. He was also called *Naoi*; and was succeeded by his son Macaar, who was surnamed *Jat-foth*; and after reigning 41 years, his youngest son Og was chosen to succeed him. His eldest brother, Jat-ban, migrated westward, with a party called *Og-eag-eis* (or seceders from *Og*), unaccompanied by females. The remaining subjects of *Og* were denominated *Naoi-maid-eis*. He extended his dominions northward to Gabacasan, which is described as a volcanic mountain. After his reign of 27 years, 191 intervened to that of Dorca, who placed Glas, his brother, over the land of Tu-bhal, and called it Iber. Many of the Gaal, also, passing over Gabacasan, settled beyond it, calling the country *Iath-sciot*.

Glas reigned 17 years in Iber, and was succeeded by Fi-le, who reigned 23 years, and refused to pay tribute to Lonrac, successor of Dorca. Another undescribed period of 396 years intervened, to the reign of Daire; but, above a century before him, in the reign of Fada, it appears that a colony had been conducted by Gaoi-ata-eolac, from *Naoi-maid-eisiat* to *Alger-ba*; and part of it fol-

lowed his son Fiallaoc, by sea, to the mouth of the Iber, and abode in the land which they called Buasce. Daire reigned 22 years, and was succeeded by his son Cealgac; whose brother Calma emigrated, with 900 men and 100 women, to search after his tutor Cuir, and others of their countrymen, who had been captured 11 years before, and sold for slaves. Arriving at Sgadan in the land of Aoimag, they were informed by Nargal, the chief, that their countrymen had been carried to Eis-feine. They, therefore, procured from him vessels to convey them thither; and sailing first south, then west, passed through a strait, with the land of Eis-feine close on their right, and turning northward, in 9 days, entered the river Duor. They found beyond it, along with the "Fir-gneat formed of the elements of that land at the first," some of "the Gaal of Sciôt itself, led thither from time to time, paying tribute both of them to Nargal, in the bowels of the earth, and in the face of the deep." They sought farther in the country for their captive countrymen, but without success; and meeting with the Naoi-maid-eis whom Fiallaoc had conducted to Buasce, who were then ruled by Dubar, they settled in their vicinity; and spreading westward, named the country Gael-ag. Calma, after reigning there 17 years, was succeeded by his brother Rónard, who survived him an equal term. Duil, son of Calma, succeeding, reigned 31 years; being then cut off by pestilence, with all his family, except his grandson Cier, who reigned 35 years. During his life, his son Eolus travelled to Iber and Aoimag, and learned at Sgadan to read and write. Being chosen, in preference to an elder brother, to succeed their father, he obtained from Ramah, king of Aoimag, a class of teachers, called Olam, to instruct his subjects; and committed to their care a narrative of past history, containing what has here preceded, together with laws and instructions, which he composed for the benefit of his subjects.

The following reigns were mostly disturbed by contests between the Olam and the Cruim-tear, or priests of Baal; and as the former kept the records, those kings who patronized them are (of course) extolled. Two brothers contending for the crown, 128 years from Eolus's accession; one of them named Eocaid, emigrated, "and passing over Bearna, abode beyond the mountains, calling the land Eocaidtan." The priests having obtained predominance, 180 years later, many of the people took refuge in Buasce, and a small colony, conducted by Falb, passed also beyond Bearna. About the same time multitudes passed from Aoimag into Eis-feine, to escape from the calamities of their country; and were hospitably received in Gaelag. Many ships also from Sgadan passed northward, and many of the Gaal of Sciôt and of Buasce entered on board of them, and remained

in the foreign land to which they sailed. About 30 years later, in the reign of "Bil-le, (an aged man) son of Eogasc, son of Marcad, from Calma," complaints arrived from the Gaal in Dunmianac, that the merchants of Eis-feine, who had conveyed them thither, would not suffer them to return. Bil-le, therefore, sent his son Ith to inquire into this grievance; and Ith, returning after a long absence, related that he had been driven by weather beyond Breotan, to another foreign land, the inhabitants of which fled at the sight of him.

To Bil-le succeeded his son Eocaid, the commencement of whose reign was troubled by seditions of the priests, in combinations with those of Eis-feine who had taken refuge in Gaelag. The latter were therefore banished; on which they excited their countrymen to unite against Eocaid; but after a long course of hostilities, he obtained a decisive victory over them at Sa-mur. When he had reigned 17 years, he was attacked by a more formidable force, under a chief named Sru-amac, who desolated Eis-feine and Gaelag, and killed Eocaid, with three of his sons, in battle, near the scene of his former victory. Sru-amac marched victoriously over Bearna; but famine aggravating the devastation he had made, the five surviving sons of Eocaid resolved on emigration; and their uncle Ith sailed, with three ships, to explore the island which he had formerly discovered. He found it occupied by two nations, the more numerous of which, who were Fir-gneat, or offspring of the soil, were severely oppressed by the other, called Danan. He was suddenly attacked by them, and mortally wounded; but charged his companions to return with their brethren from Gaelag, expecting to be joined by the oppressed natives. They followed his advice; but two of Eocaid's sons perished in landing. The other three, Marcad, Iolar, and Blat, engaging the Danan, with aid by the Fir-gneat, obtained the victory. It was then agreed that the Danan, who had arrived from the north 211 years before, should possess the land westward of the principal river; and the Fir-gneat (also called Cloden) should occupy its northern border. The rest of the island was divided by lot between two sons of Eocaid, Marcad (who assumed the name of Iber) and Iolar; and Er, son of Cier, one of those who were drowned. Blat accepted the office of Ard Cruimtear, or high priest of Baal; and Lugad, son of Ith, the discoverer of Ireland, was allowed to possess a southern district.

The story, as here adjusted, derives hardly a shadow of support, either from the ancient tradition, or from the bardic variations of it. It is a separate scroll, slightly tacked to the latter at both ends. The nick-names of Naoi, Jat-foth, and Golam, are given to Ard-fear, Macaar, and Eocaid, apparently for the

sole purpose of identifying them with the Noah, the Japheth, and the Galamh Mileadh of the bards. It is with the voyage of Ith alone, that the obvious resemblance commences. It seems to us probable, nevertheless, that this narrative, like that of Keating, consisted of two parts distinct from, and independent of, each other; and that one of these originally resembled the earlier legends more than it now does. The mutilation is betrayed by the meeting of Calma with Dubar in Buasce. The latter is said to have been descended "from Gaoi-ata-eolac, who conducted the children of Iber, who went out from Iber, in the days of Fada, to that land on the far side of Duor southward; from hence did Gaoi-ata-eolac conduct them from Naoi-maid-eisiat, and therein did they abide, calling their portion Alg-er-ba, after our race." (Vol. i. p. 27.) Naoi-maid-eisiat signifies the land of the people of Naoi-maid; and the identity of this name with that of Neimhídh can hardly be doubted. Duor is evidently the river Duero in Portugal; and Alg-er-ba is Algarve, its southernmost district. The "land on the far side of Duor southward," is admitted (by the translator) to denote Africa. Gaoi-ata-eolac is a studied distortion of Gaoithil, the proper name of the Irish nation, which elsewhere in these chronicles is uniformly suppressed. The chief so named (the bardic Gaodhal) brought a colony, therefore, from Africa to Spain; and as it is added that he brought them from the land of the people of Naoi-maid, that country appears to have been part of Africa. If so, it was (of course) Numidia; and the tradition on which this part of the legend was founded, precisely corresponded with that of the learned Scots in the ninth century, (*ut supra*, p. 136.)

The credit, however, that may be due to this incidental concurrence, extends neither to what precedes nor to what follows it. Of the earlier part of the legend, we consider it, indeed, as a complete refutation: and throughout both the divisions, palpable marks of contrivance, which are usually adjusted to mistaken or fictitious statements, demonstrate their fabrication. The Irish etymology, Alg-er-ba, is substituted for the Arabic term Al-garve, which marked the south-western extremity of Europe. Buasce evidently signifies Biscay; Bearna, the Pyrenees; and Eocadain, Aquitain; the first of which we derive from Byzacium, and the last was a Latin translation of Aremorica (the earliest name of Gascogne) from Ar-y-mor, which is Welch for a sea-coast. To avoid repetition, we must refer our readers to what is said of these districts and their inhabitants, in the article on British Origins, vol. xix. p. 423, &c. of our Review. We shall only remark that the Algarvans appear to have been Welch, and the people of Biscay and Gascogne, Cantabrians; not Irish, as is here assumed of both. Mr. O'Connor asserts also (what he



seems to have forgotten to introduce into the Chronicle) that from Aquitaine "a Gaal moved eastward, amongst the mountains, who assumed the name of Gaal-dun-seis," p. xcvi.; and this he explains, in his vocabulary, p. cclviii, of "the tribe (or the Gaal) of the hills," and indentifies it with the denomination "Waldenses." We recommend this etymology to glossologists, who have long been perplexed by the ascription of an *Erse* Pater-noster to the *Waldenses*, among whom not the slightest trace of Irish extraction is discoverable. Some wag persuaded Adelung that it belonged to an Irish colony at Saffron-Walden! Let it now be restored to its rightful owners, "the Gaal of the Hills;" that is, to the Scotch Highlanders: and let Hibernian antiquaries reflect, that the metamorphosis of national names into Irish words is no indefeasible proof of their Irish affinity.

The incongruities of the pedigree and exploits of Galamh Mileadh, with those of Eocaid Golamh, are sufficiently manifest, without farther animadversion; but it seems necessary here to take notice, that Mr. O'Connor identifies the resistless Sru-amac with *Sesostris*; and that the date of his victory over Eocaid *precisely* tallies with that which Sir Isaac Newton assigned to an invasion of Spain by that celebrated conqueror. That these Chronicles should be regularly dated from before our epoch of creation to the Christian era, may excite some surprise; but it should be considered that even the bards on whom Mr. O'Connor looks down with contempt, could tell the day of the month, and of the week, in which Partholan arrived at Ireland, in the 312th year after the flood. That in so extensive and unbroken a series of dates, the very same year should be affixed to Sru-amac's victory at Zamora, with that which Newton had assigned to an invasion of Spain by Sesostris, is much more worthy of observation; as no other chronologer ever supposed that Sesostris was then living: nor any authentic historian, that he ever was in Spain. Sir Isaac confounded him with Hercules; and the story of Ger-ryon consequently gave rise to that of his invasion of Spain. Newton (following Sir John Marsham) identified Sesostris also with Shishak, and therefore dated his march through Palestine 974 A.C., strangely imagining that he had invaded Spain 34 years earlier; although Manetho informs us, that he was but 18 years of age when he succeeded his father, and commenced his expedition. That its proper date is about 1140, we have endeavoured to demonstrate, (vol. xvii. p. 403—405,) and it has usually been computed much earlier. The agreement of the "Chronicles of Gaelag" with Sir Isaac, on 1008 A.C. is one of those striking indications of contrivance, that stamp the whole chronicle indelibly with the character of fabrication. The chrono-

gical series seems to have been entirely adjusted to a date which is so palpably and singularly erroneous.

While Mr. O'Connor admits, that an Irish colony passed to Spain from Africa, the manifest object of the "Writing of Eolus." is to bring *another* colony thither, *without* having entered Africa. The bards took great pains to establish their *Scythian* origin, consistently with earlier testimonies to the abode of the Gaoithil in *Egypt*. One of their legends sent Golamh himself to that country; another accounted for the arrival of the "vir nobilis de Scythia" there. Eolus (of whom, as Mr. O'Connor justly remarks, nobody has heard before) puts the origin of the Irish beyond dispute, not by making the Scots descend from Scythians, but by deriving the Scythians from Scots: at least, so the translator interprets the passage of a tribe over Gabacasan, who called the country beyond it "Iath-Sciot, in memory of our race;" not that the name Sciot had been used before, or any other title than the race of *Absal*; of whom we are informed, only that "he went out before the host, from the land of the elements of which our great fathers were formed," (p. 6.) Wherefore the name *Sciot* was given either to those who dwelt north or south of Gabacasan, is not explained: so that *both* the bardic modes of accounting for the name of Scot are rejected; and its origin remains as mysterious as ever.\* But Eolus sets forth much greater mysteries. He tell us often, that nations grew out of the soil which they first inhabited: and that, although all the race of *Absal* used the same speech, the *Essoir*, who invaded them, spoke 1000 different languages.† If, also, the translator authentically interprets his original, we are told that *Ardfear*, chief of the race of *Absal*, floated from the plain of *Shinar up* the *Euphrates*, in a little skiff, to a country of 9000 feet perpendicular height above the sea. This miraculous vessel was afterwards carried up to a spot 900 paces distant from its landing place; which we understand of what Armenians called the remains of Noah's ark. As we cannot, however, without better testimony

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\* The author spells it *Sciot*, which signifies an arrow; and he supposes the Irish always to have excelled in *shooting*.

† What these were is not easy to conjecture: according to Mr. O'Connor, Hebrew, Phœnician, Armenian, Gruzian, Scythian, Gothic, Greek, Latin, Cantabrian, Bas-breton, Welsh and Cornish, were all Irish; and the various Teutonic languages were neither Irish nor Assyrian. The writer's obvious design was to discredit the miraculous confusion of speech: but we are satisfied that it is impossible, otherwise, rationally to account for existing diversities of language. To produce these, however, nothing else was originally requisite, but to render universal a forgetfulness of the names of objects, of which every person, probably, at times is conscious. Such a suspension of the memory, if general, would oblige every family to devise new names for their daily use; and new languages would gradually be formed, which must attach members of the same family to each other, and render them foreign to all beside.

than that of relics, or even of Irish chronicles, give credit to so singular a miracle, we shall try, as is usual, to explain it away.

He interprets the names Affreidgeis and Tethgris, by the Greek appellations Euphrates and Tigris, assuring us that the latter, *not* Hiddekel, was the ancient name of the river. This only shows, either that *he* did not know the contrary, or that he took for granted his readers would not. We incline to the former opinion, as it is evident that neither the translator, nor the author (if they are not one and the same) of Eolus's writing, knew that Phrat, *not* Euphrates, was the proper name of the western river. If, then, Affreidgeis was designed for an imitation of Euphrates, it could only prove the inventor's ignorance, and the forgery (if proof of this was wanted) of the document ascribed to Eolus. But we are willing to interpret the name more naturally, and to translate Aff-reidg-eis, "the people of Af-rica;" eis, in Irish, (like *wys*, or *gwys*, in Welsh) signifying "people." Haf, in Welsh, signifies summer; and Gwlad yr Haf, is accordingly used of Somersetshire, as a warmer district than Wales. Ric (with slight variations) in numerous languages, denotes territory. Supposing, therefore, the name Affreidgeis to exist in old Irish MSS. we should regard it as concurring with their most authentic traditions, to indicate that the nation originated from Africa. If it was ever used for a *river*, it must have been for the Nile; which might be called Africus, as it certainly was called *Ægyptus*. Even should Mr. O'Connor insist that it denotes the term Euphrates, he still could not disprove its reference to Africa; for a fortress erected at the boundary of the Carthaginian and Libyan territories bore the name of Euphrates Turris.

The Sgeind, which Mr. O'Connor interprets of the Indus, might be the Gyndes, or Gihon. The Teth-gris, we suppose to have been meant for the Tigris, (properly named Hiddekel); and regard it only as an additional evidence of comparatively modern fabrication: but when 1,304 years are demanded for the ancestors of the Irish to proceed from the Tigris to the Euphrates, we exempt them from so gross an imputation of slothfulness, and give them credit for having reached either the Nile, or the Euphrates Turris, in that or a much less extent of time. We cannot but expect Mr. O'Connor, on mature reflection, to concur with us in these interpretations; as he must perceive it to be more likely that the skiff of Ardfear should float *down* the Nile, than *up* the Euphrates; and should come to land in Ammonia rather than in Armenia. In exchange for the fictitious relics of Noah's ark in the latter country, we would consign to him the authentic remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, as a memorial of Ardfear, or Ham, raised

by his son Jat-foth, or Phut. For the invasion of Eissoir he might then account, by the celebrated wars of O'Siris, whose very name seems to indicate Irish affinity! Gabacasan might be the Nitrian mountains, which are certainly much *hotter* than those of Caucasus; and the intervening valley of Naphtha (though somewhat hyperbolically described) would answer to "iron running red-hot, and burning coals," better than anything between the Euxine and Caspian seas. Besides, as the name of *Sciot* first appears *beyond* these mountains, its claim to an Egyptian origin (as unanimously maintained by all other Irish tradition) would thus receive additional confirmation. Ardfeair's right to the name Naoi, and his son Macaar's to that of Jat-foth, would also thus be irresistibly established: the latter, as Phut, ancestor of all the Lybians; and the former, by the Naoi-maid-eis, or the Numidians. About *Aoimag*, we confess ourselves as much at a loss as Mr. O'Connor, who can find no better substitute for it than Hamath: but for *Sgadan*, we would recommend to him, instead of Sidon, *Sgigada*; as the place which is called in the ancient tradition Rus-Sicade (after the Carthaginians) has always been named on the spot. Wherefore it should be called "Queen of ships," he probably best knows.

Thus, supposing fragments of ancient Irish traditions to have been interwoven in the fabrication of Eolus, we have suggested a simple and natural mode of harmonising them with legends, which we know to have been extant at least 1000 years. Of the earliest detachment from the Numidians, conducted by Jat-ban, we find nothing subsequently: and can only conjecture, that as the name signifies "the land of Ban," it may possibly have some reference to the Deffro-Bani of the Welsh chroniclers, which we take for Taphru-ras (or rus) now Skafes in Tunis. The transformation of Jat-ban to Javan, is wholly unsupported. The name of Ogeageis, whatever it might signify, is that by which Calma's colony in Galicia was distinguished from that of Fiallaoc in Biscay; and by which a part of the former was called after their arrival in Ireland, in distinction from another part called Naoimaideis. (Vol. ii. p. 7.) All are commonly called Iber and Sciot; although, according to the translator's interpretation, the former should have been restricted to Georgia, and the latter to Scythia, whence detachments are not reported to have been made. The mistake of Georgians for Spaniards, which we have already exposed, is the sole ground for applying the denomination Iber (in these traditions) to the former. By Tubal, the writer probably meant, as the bards evidently did, the people of Spain; and if Dorca "placed Glas, his brother, over the land of Tu-bhal, calling it Iber," (vol. i. p. 17,) the

establishment of an Iberian settlement in Spain may be understood. The reply of Fi-le, son of Glas, to Lonrac, son of Dorca, when the latter demanded tribute from the colony, that it was too far off, would have been absurd, if Armenia and Georgia, which are adjacent to each other, had been denoted by Ardmionna and Iber; but interpreting these names of Ammonia and Spain, it was unanswerable. So Ailb-bin, "a heap of heights," suits either the Pyrenees, or the Alps, better than Albania, which was a lower country than Georgia, and lay eastward, not *northward* of it. (P. 21.)

We cannot, therefore, congratulate Mr. O'Connor on his interpretation of Irish traditions, or upon any superiority of the edition of them which he has published, to that of Dr. Keating. There is nothing, however preposterous, in the latter, so ridiculous as the invention of floating Ardfear from Shinar to Mount Ararat, without the help of a general deluge. Such a device would be unaccountable, but for the author's apparent infection with an historical hydrophobia. He insists that every flood recorded either in sacred or profane history, was neither more nor less than a foreign invasion. The idea of a *flood* plainly deprives him of that modicum of sense which he sometimes exercises on other subjects, small as it is. For identifying Ardfear and his son Macaar with Noah and Japheth, he had some colour from ancient Christian writers, who, through ignorance of the Hebrew Bible, adopted the distorted chronology of the Septuagint version, and interpreted the fabulous Scythian empire of Justin, of the patriarchal government prior to the general dispersion. Mr. Pinkerton, mistaking the Scythians for Goths, and eager to exalt them at the expence of the Scots (whom he mistook for Celts) zealously supported the hypotheses of Justin and the Christian fathers; and Mr. O'Connor has availed himself of Pinkerton's researches, to transfer to the Scots the honours that had been claimed (on equally groundless pretences) for the Goths. In denying the Germans to be Scythians, he has the advantage of his more learned precursor; but even when he decides right, it is upon wrong ground; for he opposes the affinity of the Germans to the Goths, no less than to the Scythians!

We before remarked the agreement of the latter part of Eolus's writing with more ancient Irish tradition, and its opposition consequently to the preceding part. To connect and reconcile these, contrivance was indispensable, but it is of a very bungling sort. How were the Iberians, after being planted in Georgia, to be smuggled into Spain? If conducted across Africa, it might be suspected (after all) that they were not genuine Scythians. Yet, to deny that *any* of them did so, would oppose all former tradition. First, then, let a long period of obscurity

follow the establishment of the Naoimaideis in Georgia; say, 396 years. Let it afterwards appear, that during this obscure interval, a colony of the Naoimaideis *did* pass from Africa to Spain; no matter why, or how it happened, that they went to Africa from Georgia. Then, as soon as Georgia becomes again illuminated, let it be understood that some of the people, a few years before, had been taken captive, and sold for slaves at Sidon; and call this Sgadan, to avoid suspicion of Sgigada in Africa being meant. Let 900 armed men and 100 women next be sent to find out their enslaved kinsmen. The wily king of Sidon endeavours to kidnap *them* too; but finding them resolute, he agrees to furnish them with ships to go to Eiseine; where, he tells them, their friends had been sold. The Sidonians themselves seem to have been called Eiseine; and the Iberians expected to find their countrymen to the southward of the Phenician coast. Greatly, however, to their surprise, after the ships had steered southward, they took a western course, through the whole extent of the Mediterranean, and the strait; and then (tacking northward) landed them at the mouth of the river Duero. There they found some of their countrymen working the silver and tin mines for the Phenicians: but not liking the same employment, and having weapons in their hands, they insisted on being directed to those whom they were seeking for: and when conducted to Biscay, they met, not with these, but with the others, who had come thither 140 years before, but of whose emigration no notice whatever had been taken.

All this labour in vain, and all the confusion about Affreidgeis, and Ardmionn, and Iber, and Naoimaideis, and Sgadan, sprang, therefore, from a desire to establish the claims of the Irish to a Scythian origin; which, if true, might at once be proved by a collation of their language with the numerous dialects of the Slavonic, of the affinity of which to the Scythian we have clear and satisfactory testimony from Herodotus.

With a few words on the *form* in which this palpable and clumsy fabrication is ushered to the public, we shall close our remarks on the subject. The first six chapters are "the writing of Eolus," dated 1335 before the Christian era; or above three centuries before Solomon's temple was founded. The next 17 chapters are "Chronicles of Gaelag;" in which not only all the reigns of the kings are dated, but likewise the accession of all the Ard-olams (or head-teachers) who kept the registers. This they continued to do when in Ireland, and added the dates of the collateral reigns of kings of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, to those of the individuals said to be elected paramount sovereigns of the whole island. These annals are brought down only to the Christian era, in the second volume of the work

before us; but the author proposes to complete the history of Ireland to the present time. What he has already published is altogether without precedent in antiquities, with the exception of the second book of Kings; which, therefore, we conceive to have been the pattern of the Irish *annalists*. The model of *Eolus's writing*, however, stands much higher. The book of Deuteronomy is its original, both in matter and manner, saving any claim to inspiration. To enable our readers to judge both of the resemblance and the contrast, we subjoin a comment on Eolus, pronounced by Eocaid Olam Fodla, king of Ulster, 700 A. C.

"BAAL spake not to ASTOR: it is the voice of *reason* that crieth aloud; *Let not man slay his fellow*. BAAL spake not to LAMAS: it is *justice* that directeth; *Let not man take of the belongings of another privately*. BAAL held not converse with SOTH: it is the spirit of *truth* that saith; *Let not the lips utter what the mind knoweth to be false*. BAAL opened not his mouth to AL: it is the gentle voice of tender *pity* that whispereth; *Man, be merciful*. BAAL talked not with SEAR: it is the tongue of *wisdom* that teacheth; *Let man do even as he would be done by*. What if these five laws stand laws for Eri? And all said, Yea." (Vol. ii. p. 100.)

Here it should be observed, that by Baal (or the sun) was signified the object of national worship; and that Astor, Lamas, Soth, Al, Sear, and four more, were his primitive priests, to each of whom he was said to have revealed a commandment. Five of these laws are here cited, and were established (we are told) as the Irish national code; but their claim to divine authority was flatly denied. Three of them are articles of the Decalogue; and the other two are sanctioned both by the Old and the New Testament. The interpretation, therefore, of this passage is plainly as follows; "God said not, by NOAH, Do not murder; by MOSES, Do not steal; by PAUL, Put away lying, and speak truth; by MICAH, Love mercy; or by JESUS CHRIST, Do to all as you wish them to do to you: these are merely the dictates of human *reason*, of *justice*, of *truth*, of *pity*, and of *wisdom*." In all this, nothing is new, but the form: and even this is not without precedent; for Dr. Franklin drew up a liturgy for the worship of the sun, as more *philosophical* than that of an invisible object! The transition from Deism, either to Idolatry, or to Atheism, is easy: and these several hypotheses have all been decked with plumes borrowed from the Bible, in order to set it aside. Whatever of revealed truth does not at once approve itself to corrupted reason, is of course rejected; and whatever does so, is attributed to reason itself. The pagan Irish legislator evidently designed, indeed, to improve upon the Decalogue, by substituting for the external

veneration and stated worship of God, injunctions to mercy and universal beneficence, resting on human authority: but the foolishness of God is still wiser than the wisdom of man. These commands, as sanctioned by *divine* authority, and addressed to the *conscience*, stand in full force: but what can be made of them as *national* laws? It is not upon human, but upon divine authority, that we are forbidden to covet what is another's, which was the only command of the Decalogue that reached the conscience of Paul. It doubtless operated as a national law no farther than as it authorised the punishment of unsuccessful *aims* at oppression, theft, adultery, &c: but how were subjects to be punished for *neglecting* acts of *mercy* or *beneficence*? When will mankind learn, that to fear God is the beginning of wisdom; and that to keep his commands, is understanding? Never have we seen a more striking proof of the miserable shifts to which infidelity reduces its devotees, than the following paragraph of O'Connor. (Vol. i. p. lx.)

"I entertain the *reasonable* hope that you are in a fit temper of mind to investigate the subject, as becomes a being endowed with REASON; that you view the deluge of the Hebrews in its *true* light, viz. the overthrow of the ancient Scythian empire by the Assyrians, like unto the flood of Ogyges, Deucalion, or the Cimbric Chersonese; that you are *aware* the dispersion of mankind in the days of Peleg, is *one* and the same event as the migrations of the Scythians in consequence of that stupendous revolution; that you are *perfectly convinced* the human species is the growth of every clime."

Dr. Milne, in a work that has lately passed under our review, says of the Chinese philosophers, "they do not any of them, so far as I know, affirm, with some ancient frantic theorists, that man at first grew up spontaneously from the earth, like the flowers and grass." (Chinese Mission, p. 32.) If he learns that a *modern* theorist affirms, not merely that the first human pair, but that the first inhabitants of every country in the world were so produced, how much more *frantic* must he apprehend such a writer to be! The argument which Mr. O'Connor expected *perfectly to convince* his readers, is simply, that when historians describe nations as removing to other countries, they represent these to have been previously inhabited: and the only cause which he assigns for mankind having ceased to grow out of the earth, is that it became too dry and solid. "Then such that had animal life began to increase their kind by mutual copulation." (Vol. i. p. cxli.) Such certainly was a common opinion of ancient heathens: such might have been ours, had we, like them, been ignorant of the Bible: and such, as appears in this instance, may yet be the opinion of those who shut their eyes to the light of Divine revelation!



Of Dr. Wood's "Inquiry," we have not lost sight while engaged in the preceding discussion. We have collated his "Bardic History" with Nennius's ancient, and Mr. O'Connor's modern statements: and though we have never had the pleasure of reading his "Essay on the best Mode of ascertaining the Credit due to the early Annals of Ireland," we have done what may answer that purpose. We concur with him in regarding these, like other ancient national traditions, as comprising a "mixture of *Fable* and *Fact*." In order to discriminate these, 1. We have analyzed the several legends into their component parts: (1) The ancient traditions recorded by Nennius; (2) The legend of Galamh Mileadh, and his immediate progenitors; (3) The apparently later fabrication, in which similar adventures are ascribed to his remote predecessors; (4) O'Connor's "Chronicle of Gaelag;" (5) His "Writing of Eolus." 2. We have observed the leading points, in which these legends, universally or mostly, and expressly or implicitly, agree: (1) All (without exception) derive the prevailing population of Ireland immediately from Spain; (2) All represent this population to have passed from Africa to Spain; the writing of Eolus excepted, a corruption of which, in this respect, is betrayed by the subsequent Chronicle of Gaelag; (3) All, except Mr. O'Connor, assert the remote ancestors of the Irish to have resided in Egypt; (4) All unanimously ascribe to them a Scythian origin: but on very different grounds, and with very disproportionate stress; the most ancient tradition, from which all the rest appear to have been constructed, merely *denominating* the first progenitor of the Irish, who abode in Egypt, a Scythian. 3. We have examined the support, or the opposition which these leading points of the traditions severally receive from external evidence: (1) The derivation from *Spain* is established by the manifest affinity of the Irish to the ancient British, whom Tacitus demonstrated to be of Iberian origin; and also by a distinct tradition of the ancient Britons; (2) The *African* origin is supported, by an universal consent that the *Iberians* came from Africa to Spain, and by the prevailing *personal* resemblance both of the Welch and the native Irish, to the ancient Iberians. (3) The abode of the first progenitors of the Irish in Egypt is confirmed by the necessity of passing through that country, in coming by land from the centre of dispersion to western Africa; and by the scriptural derivation of its inhabitants from Phut, the son of Ham, and younger brother of Mizraim, who peopled Egypt; (4) The *Scythian* origin of the Irish is incompatible with all the data thus established; and with the most ancient and authentic testimony of the epoch and language of the Scythians. It seems to

have been merely conjectural, and to have had no foundation whatever, but an *imaginary* resemblance of national appellations. At the same time, such a conjecture, though *now* ridiculous, was excusable in learned Scots of the ninth century, when the term Scythian was used with extreme laxity, and glossology was altogether unknown.

Dr. Wood derives this appellation from *Belgic* colonies in Ireland, which are commonly supposed to have been the Fir-Bolg of the Bards; although Mr. O'Connor confounds these with the Fir-gneat, or growth of the Irish soil.

"The only inhabitants of this isle, (says Dr. W.) who seem to have attracted the notice of British, Roman, and other foreign writers, were the enterprising Belgæ, whom, as Goths or Scythians, they denominated Scoti—Scuit. Hence the origin of the name Scuit-land, applied by the Saxons to Ireland; hence the Latin name Scotia; hence also the appellations Scuit,\* Scutten, Schieten, latinized into Scoti, and given by other nations to the Scythians, had been transferred to those piratical Belgæ of Ireland." (Inquiry, &c., p. 81.)

Who would imagine that no ancient British, Roman, or other foreign writer, intimated the Belgæ to have settled in Ireland? Or that the Saxons did not call that country either Scuit-land or Scotland? Yet, to the best of our knowledge and belief, such is the truth. The Saxons called *North Britain* (when united in one kingdom) Scotland: but for *Ireland* they used the names Ybernia, and Yrland, or Irland; although they called its inhabitants (not Scuit, &c., but) Scottas. It could not, however, be from *Saxons*, that Latin writers, of the third and fourth centuries, learned to call the Irish Scoti. The British denominated the Irish colony in Argyle, Ysgotiad, whence the Romans might form the name of Scoti, and apply it to the whole Irish nation. The Welsh term signifies "people of the shades," either of the woods or of the lower regions; and the sense in which ancient Britons would apply such a term to their hostile neighbours, may therefore remain questionable. Mr. Grant, in his "Thoughts on the Gael," p. 283, assures us, that the name of Scots "was unknown to the mountaineers themselves, as a national appellation; and they are ignorant of any such at this day." But he adds, that "*Scut* is at this day a well known word, applicable to any small body of people in motion." So equivocal is the only ground of a *Scythian* origin of the Gaoithil †

\* "Literally bow-men or archers, from the Gothic skot or skut, a dart or arrow: hence the Irish sciot, a word of the same import."

† The term Scoti was first applied by the Romans to the Ysgotiad. The northern Picts being likewise Irish, it was used also of them; then of all the Irish; and Ireland was called Scotia. Native authors (all of whom were ecclesiastics, and wrote only in Latin) adopted this nomenclature. Bede assigned a Scythian origin to the Picts, apparently meaning the Caledonians; but it was

The deficiency of patient research and of mature reflection, which is betrayed by the foregoing quotation, lessens the value of Dr. Wood's learned and ingenious performance. Instead of extricating *facts* from the *fables* in which they are involved by bardic tradition, he has relinquished the whole, and resorted to hypothesis and conjecture. He concurs with some respectable writers, in assuming that Britain was first peopled by the Gaoithil, who were thence driven to Ireland by the Cymry, and were followed thither by many other tribes from Britain and Gaul. For this subversion of all the ancient traditions of both nations, his only ground is, that some writers of the first century (when Ireland was almost wholly unknown) called it one of the British islands, and its inhabitants Britons; that Ptolemy, in the second century, assigned to several tribes in Ireland, names more or less similar to others in Britain, Gaul, and Germany; that Richard of Cirencester, in the fourteenth century, referred to several emigrations from Britain to Ireland, and (although these might have accounted for all the phænomena) conjectured, that Ireland *might* have been first peopled from Britain; and finally, that Edward Llwyd adopted this opinion (avowedly from no historical authority) on the ground that several rivers and places in Britain retain names which are significant in Irish, and not in Welsh. These, however, admit of being reduced to so trifling an extent, as to render it very probable that the terms in question were once used equally by the Welsh and Irish, and have only been retained by the latter after becoming obsolete among the former; as it is common for terms that are obsolete in Ireland to be still familiar in Wales. As to Ptolemy's names of Irish tribes, it is doubtful whence he obtained his information; and very unlikely that he could ascertain them so well as those of the ancient tribes in Britain: yet, even of *these*, surprisingly few are ever mentioned by Roman historians; still fewer occur in ancient British documents; and hardly any are now of use to illustrate the chorography of Britain. By adopting Ptolemy's distribution of its early inhabitants, Camden has rendered this fact only the more conspicuous. Yet Dr. Wood's labour has been chiefly employed in opposition to the whole tenor of Irish traditions, to explain away their subjects by allusions to Ptolemy's nomenclature. We are not in the least inclined to depreciate his researches, which are creditable to his learning, ingenuity, and

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deemed honourable, and, being claimed for the northern, then the reigning, Picts, was extended in general to their kindred the Irish. Their literary appellation, Scoti, seemed to favour this claim: its antiquity, therefore, was assumed, and traditions were adjusted to confirm it. At length it was appropriated to the North-British kingdom, in distinction from Ireland, that country and its inhabitants retaining their original denomination.

candour; although defective of precaution. He misrepresents quotations, unintentionally we doubt not, and seemingly by taking them at second hand. A striking instance of this occurs at the top of p. 208. Dionysius Periegetes says merely, that the British islands exceed others in magnitude. The advertisement corrects a very ludicrous blunder, which the author had copied. We should, nevertheless, be glad to see a British antiquary bestow similar labour on the ancient tribes of our own country, whatever hypothesis of their *origin* he might adopt: for an error of this kind, though it must diminish, cannot annihilate, the utility of such illustrations. To investigate the validity of Dr. Wood's etymologies, would require much more space than we can afford, or than most of our readers would be likely to approve. To any whose taste disposes them to the discussion, we recommend a perusal of Dr. Wood's Inquiry, in connection and comparison with the abstract of Irish traditions which we have attempted to supply.\*

In reference to our view of the original population of Britain, it derives, we apprehend, both support and elucidation from what has now been offered. The collections of Nennius on *British* tradition are incoherent, incongruous, and mostly ungrounded. Of *Ireland*, he evidently had better information, probably from the literati of Icolmkill. So far, however, as the British historical *Triads* extend (which, if committed to *writing*, were then known only in Wales), they are entitled to much more credit than any other species of tradition. Only what is supported by, or consistent with these early documents, in the chronicles and annals of either nation, can warrant our dependence. Having weighed the authorities, and collated the reports with fragments of ancient Egyptian, Phenician, and Assyrian

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+ To readers who pursue this suggestion, a few brief remarks may be useful. 1. Dr. W.'s identification of Ptolemy's nomenclature with native appellations relates chiefly to those parts of the Bardic legends which are most defective of authority; as the *Tuatha De Danaann*, *Foghmhoraice*, and *Fir-bolg*. 2. His assumption that the Veneti, and their neighbours (as Cæsar asserts), instead of being either massacred or sold into slavery, fled to Ireland, where they were reputed to be African corsairs, and occupied half the country, appears to us wholly ungrounded. Whether some of the *Monapii* then escaped to Wales and Ireland may admit of conjecture; but the rest we think very improbable. 3. We doubt the identity of the *British* and the *Irish Brigantes*; the former might be either *Brython*, or *Lloegrwyo*, or *Corraniad*, or all these intermixed. The *Corraniad* were probably Teutonic, and might be called *Brigantes*, as resident in towns. *Burgh* in German and Anglo-Saxon, *Brugh* in Irish, and *Burgua* in Cantabrian, have the same import; while neither the Spanish, the Welsh, nor the Cornish, has any such term. A town of Ireland was named *Brigantia*: so was *Betanzos* in Spain; whence the Scots are uniformly related to have passed to Ireland. They were also commonly called *Breoghan*. We conclude them, therefore, to be the *Brigantes* of Ireland, and probably unconnected with those whom the Romans called so in Britain. The title might be deemed appropriate to the *Brython*, who are reported to have built York, Dunbarton, and Edinburgh.

history, as corrected and supported by the Hebrew scriptures, and by Josephus's supplements, we close with the following result.

The family of Cush having acquired the dominion of Shinar and the coasts of the Persian Gulph, Ham, with his sons Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan, proceeded westward to the Mediterranean. There Canaan settled: the rest entered Egypt, the "land of Ham." Mizraim remained there; Phut, together with his father, passed on to Libya, first called *Ammonia*. The Numidians, the Gætuli, and the Maurusians, were branches of his family, The Massyli, or eastern Numidians, we have before considered as Ligurians, or Lloegrwys. The Massæsyli, or western Numidians, might be the Neimhídh of the bards, and the Naoimaideis of the recent Chronicle. They were expelled (and the rest of the Massæryli extirpated) by the Gætuli, or Gaoithil. All these formed settlements in Spain, as well as the Cynesii, Conisci, or Gynwys, a branch of the Maurusii, or Morwys; and likewise the Byzacians, Vascones, or Basques, a mixed nation, of Numidians with Lehabim and Ludim, descended from Mizraim, who conquered Libya as far as Byzacium. The general name of Iberians was given to all these classes, except the Ligurians (sometimes called Ibero-Ligures, sometimes Celto-Ligures), who probably occupied Catalonia and Valencia, after being expelled by the Tyrrhenes from Italy, and by the Celts from Gaul. The Gaoithil emigrated from Galicia and Asturias to Ireland, about 600 years before the Christian era; the Celts afterwards occupying the parts of Spain whence they had expelled them, and extending their conquests to its southern extremity: but they were repulsed by the Basques, who maintained possession of Biscay and Aquitaine. A century later, the Clanna Uachtar, or Vecturiones (also named from their first king, Cruithnigh) passed from Ireland to North Britain. The Britons called them Gwydhyl Phichti, or Irish Picts; the Saxons, Northern Picts; both, in distinction from the Caledones, Celydhon, or Southern Picts, who were Germans. The Scots, who have always called themselves Gael (so they pronounce Gaoithil) passed from Ireland to Argyle, A. D. 260; and although expelled A. D. 440, obtained a final settlement there A. D. 503; about 1,000 years after the arrival of the Cruithnigh, over whom seventy kings are said to have reigned during the interval. The Welch called the Scots, (as Irish) Gwydhyl, but distinguished them, as Ysgotiad, from the Gwydhyl Phichti. The latter having conquered the Southern Picts early in the fifth century, united (in the ninth) with the Scots, and then assumed the title of the *Scottish* monarchy. The Gaelic, or Irish language, continued in the eleventh century to be used at the Scottish court; and at length surrendered its honours, not to Caledonian, but Norman ascendancy. This

naturally accounts for all the resemblance of the lowland dialect of North Britain to English; but it would leave their remaining and striking dissonance inexplicable, if the Caledonians had not originally been (as Tacitus demonstrated) Germans. No one who is duly acquainted with the German and Scandinavian dialects, can confound the lowland Scotch with the latter of these. That a dialect of the ancient *British* language once prevailed in the Scotch lowlands, is evident from numerous names of places; more of which commence with the Welsh term *Aber*, in Scotland, than even in Wales, and hardly any are found elsewhere. Even the capital of the Pictish monarchy retained its British name *Abernethy*; while many commencing with the Irish term *Inver* (*Inmher*), of the same import, evince the subjugation of the lowlands by the highland Scots. To Mr. Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i.) we owe valuable illustrations of the influence of the English in the lowlands; but we do not believe (with him) that refugees from England, in the eleventh and following centuries, *could* have obliterated the Welsh (or any other) language, supposing it to have been used till then. The expulsion of the original inhabitants by a German colony, and the subjugation of this (after some centuries) by the Irish, together with the reaction produced by subsequent intercourse with the English, are fully competent to the solution of all existing phenomena.

The heat and virulence that have disgraced the contests of Scottish and Irish antiquaries on these subjects, remind us of the only ground in which we can commend Mr. O'Connor; and far be it from us to withhold from him any thing that is his due! While he justly distinguishes the Germans and Celts from the Irish, he frankly acknowledges the inferiority of the latter to each (vol. i. 360); and he usually preserves good temper when discussing mere antiquities. He loses it only on religious and political subjects; in both of which he appears to deem nothing divine or sacred, but the glorious *right of insurrection*. His *Utopia* is a government that renounces all religious sanction, true or false; and although we do not believe that it ever was adopted by the Irish, it does not appear to us to be incompatible with their state at the close of his chronicle, as testified by history.

Anxious as we are to close this protracted discussion, can we dismiss the contemplation of Ireland, in whatever view, without commiserating her present condition? We speak not of famine or pestilence; these, dreadful as they are, may (and we trust in the mercy of God, soon will) be relieved. But how shall the famine of divine knowledge, and the moral pestilence ever attending it, be removed from this hapless nation? Why is Ireland so far beneath England in civilization? Of all reasons that

can be assigned for the difference, the principal appears to us to be, that England is *Protestant*, and Ireland is *Popish*. But whence proceeded this disparity? Was the *same* provision made for religious instruction in Ireland as in England, at the reformation from popery? The same ecclesiastical form of government was established, and even more richly endowed; but its efficacy to the moral benefit of England arose from its doctrine and its worship being *intelligible* to all. To the native Irish its language was then, and still mostly is, foreign; it became, therefore, a burden, not a boon; a burden the more grievous, as imposed on a large majority of the population by a few who held them in subjection. The mischiefs of ignorance and discontent, which immemorially prevailed among them, have therefore continually accumulated. If any thing can yet avail for their restoration to peace and civilization, we should hope for it from the use of the Liturgy, and the ministration of evangelical truth, in the *Irish* tongue, in every parish that is chiefly occupied by the *native* population. Very far indeed is such a proposal from being *new*. A vain desire of transforming Irish people to English, had been cherished from the first conquest of the island; and it unhappily prevailed so strongly at the dawn of the reformation, that those of the Irish clergy who could not read English, were enjoined to perform the public service in *Latin*, rather than in the native language! So gross an error soon became manifest. An order was issued, in 1570, to print the liturgy in the Irish language and character, to be used in the chief town of every diocese. This had a good, but (of course) a very partial effect. In 1623 it was enjoined, that "in the parishes of the Irishry, every non-resident clergyman do constantly keep one to read service in the *Irish* tongue." A canon also was passed in 1634, that "where the minister was an Englishman, such a clerk might be chosen as should be able to read those parts of the service appointed to be read, in *Irish*." It was then, alas, too late! The rebellion and massacre followed in 1641; the commonwealth soon after; the restoration did little for protestantism; the revolution prejudiced the Irish, more than ever, against it. Great political advantages have since been conceded to them. Let the moral advantages that have so often been *promised*, at length be imparted. Every thing else has failed: try *this*! It is, indeed, very, *very* late: but better late than never; and better now, than later *still*.

ART. VII.—*The Remains of Henry Kirke White, of Nottingham, late of St. John's College, Cambridge, with an Account of his Life.* By Robert Southey. 8vo. vol. iii. London, 1822.

WE cannot approve of the judgment or feeling with which the collection has been made which this little volume now brings before us. All that a man has left behind him in writing is not the property of the public, and still less that of any individual; much of it may be far from good, though the product of a good mind; and may be still farther from a just specimen of his principles or abilities. Rough drafts, first thoughts, essays by way of experiment, thoughts laid by for future consideration, hints, outlines, sketches, conjectures, paradoxes, and even opinions or arguments set down only to be confuted, every scrap and every shred, are in these days gathered up with an unsparing avidity as soon as any distinguished individual is snatched from existence. This may not have been altogether the posthumous fate of Henry Kirke White, but it is manifest that the strenuous determination to amass another volume of his remains, has placed under too severe a requisition the products of a capacity that scattered its exuberance about before, in other minds, the first efflorescence of genius begins to be discernible. We cannot enough discommend the publication of some of the poetry which has found its way into this volume. A right feeling, we trust, of what was due to the memory of their author, occasioned these very early and infantine efforts to be laid aside when the first collection was prepared for publication; and the success of that publication, for whatever reasons it might act as a temptation to bring them before the world, was no apology for so injurious a proceeding. Those whose impressions of the character of Henry Kirke White are properly taken from the prevailing cast of his compositions, must be quite convinced that if that most excellent and extraordinary young man had at the ripest period of his judgment been asked whether he would choose the poetry in general which is contained in this additional volume to be published, he would have put his solemn interdict upon any such design. The high probability is that he would have desired one or two of the songs which appear in this collection, to be destroyed. If this be so, and we think it can scarcely be controverted, we can hardly call that avidity for scraping together the matter of a book less than profane, which, after the death of a most eminently pious and correct person, has brought before the public some of his first careless effusions, as little agreeing with the frame of mind in which he was



finally fixed, and in which he departed hence to meet his God, as with the general dignity of his genius, and the severe graces of his transient maturity.

Whether these considerations are capable, in his present state, of staining the pure happiness to which, we humbly trust, he has been translated, no man can know; but of this we are sure, that the impression which the serious performances, we may say, indeed, all the performances of this excellent person after his mind became settled on that firm basis of Christian belief and trust on which it ultimately reposed, are calculated to make upon all, but especially the younger part of the community, is to a certain degree weakened by the intermixture to which we have been alluding. Many will be thereby induced to consider with less homage the writer himself, and not a few will be pleased with the opportunity it affords them of casting a suspicion upon a religious life, or at least of forcing it into consistency with sentiments and images with which it can have no proper union.

These are our quarrels with this publication. But apart from these grounds of disapprobation, we have great alacrity in avowing the more than common delight which the prose part of these little fragments has afforded us. We hardly know where to look for the developement of a religious faith more sound and discriminative, of a moral theory more refined and rational, of social feelings more elevated and kind. In Henry Kirke White all this is found, and it is found accompanied with a soundness of discretion, a weight of observation, and a cautious avoidance of extremes, which, until the works of this extraordinary youth fell in our way, we thought unattainable at twenty-one years of age.

The habit of contemplating religion in too close connection with temporal advantage is not without its danger. A pure and heavenly motive is that alone on which it can be legitimately or honestly founded; but there is one remark which is so much for its honour that we cannot, when treating of the performances now before us, forbear offering it to the attention of the reader; and it is this—that whenever thorough Christian views of religion find an entrance into the mind, however dark or prejudiced, or contracted, or inexperienced, that mind may previously have been, an expansion of its general powers is speedily the consequence; the judgment almost preternaturally ripens; a better taste and feeling in respect of all the social duties and proprieties of behaviour are rapidly developed, and the faculties and perceptions, whether exercised on men, or books, or things, receive from an unseen source an increment of vital strength, that soon manifests itself in all their operations. We doubt not the experience of our reflecting readers will confirm this observation. It is an invigoration of the capacity not unlike the re-

freshment which nature feels from the silent and invisible drops that in the still summer night moisten and impregnate her teeming surface, enabling her to greet the returning dawn with a countless increase of vegetable births. The mind thus visited by streams flowing from the fountains of eternal truth, receives as it were a new existence, flourishes under a mysterious culture which anticipates nature's hand, and arrives at its object by the only "royal road" which really conducts to excellence—the road marked out by the great ruler of the universe. The felicity of Henry Kirke White was his early bent toward religious exercises and objects. His great natural endowments made him at an immature age an apt recipient of the truth, and the early introduction of religious knowledge into his mind repaid him by an infusion of intellectual vigour, that, at an age when others scarcely begin to learn, invested him with the privileges of a teacher.

It is but justice to the character of this youth to bring it into fair comparison with the generality of the educated part of the rising generation, on whose virtues and attainments we must rest our hopes of the continuance of our country's happiness and exaltation. The oftener this is done, the more we shall turn the blessing of his example to its just account. It must sometimes touch the consciences of the frivolous and the dissipated, to compare their valueless lives, and selfish career, with the usefulness to himself and to the world, condensed within the few brief years of this young man's abode on earth; and we are sometimes encouraged to hope that some good has been the special consequence of the shortness of his stay amongst us, as increasing the tenderness of the regrets with which we cherish his memory, and leaving the miracle of his beardless maturity more distinctly impressed upon his youthful successors.

To those more especially who look to the Christian ministry as their future profession, the letters of Henry Kirke White are full of profit and instruction. They display a mind fraught with the vast importance of the undertaking, and almost sinking under the conviction of its difficulty and responsibility; nor is it easy to imagine a system of sounder sentiments, or a better foundation of preparatory discipline, than is in the course of this scanty correspondence, vigorously yet discreetly traced and recommended. The following passage strongly marked by this character, occurs in a letter written by him on the 22d of November, 1803, to Mr. R. W. Almond, a friend to whom he felt himself to owe much on the score of his religious principles.

"DEAR ROBERT,

"Nottingham, Nov. 22, 1803.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I was happy enough to be introduced to Mr. Robinson a few days ago; I passed half an hour with him alone, by his desire, and after-

wards took tea and supper with him, his wife and daughter, at Mrs. M \* \* 's. I cannot describe to you, in adequate terms, the domestic character of this venerable man. He is all cheerfulness and complacency, good humoured, and sometimes even jocose; his conversation at the same time *instructive*, and, in no common degree, *entertaining*. He is full of anecdotes of eminently pious characters of the last century, as well as of this. He knew Mr. Venn very well, and he is intimate with O \* \* \*: he gave us a most affecting representation of his last interview with the *former*, just before his death. He depicted the resigned and placid countenance of the aged and dying Christian, so admirably in his features, and suited his voice so exactly to the affecting state of a very old man, sinking under the weight of years, that he actually drew tears into my eyes. During the whole evening, I was pleased to observe, he directed his whole conversation to me, and, as he had before slightly examined me, it gave me the assurance that he was satisfied with me. He promised me every assistance that he could command, and when we shook hands at parting, he said, 'Mr. White, I wish you may live to become an ornament to the Ministry; I trust you will have assistance. Fear not, go on, and the Lord prosper you.' He recommended me to labour at the Greek very diligently, and thought I had delayed it too long.

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"My dear friend, I cannot adequately express what I owe to you on the score of religion. I told Mr. Robinson you were the *first instrument* of my being brought to think deeply on religious subjects; and I feel more and more every day, that if it had not been for you, I might, most probably, have been now buried in apathy and unconcern. Though I am in a great measure blessed,—I mean blessed with *faith*, now pretty stedfast, and heavy convictions, I am far from being happy. My sins have been of a dark hue, and manifold: I have made *Fame* my God, and *Ambition* my shrine. I have placed all my hopes on the things of this world. I have knelt to Dagon; I have worshipped the evil creations of my *own proud* heart, and God had well nigh turned his countenance from me in wrath; perhaps one step further, and he might have shut me for ever from his rest. I now turn my eyes to Jesus, my saviour, my atonement, with hope and confidence: he will not repulse the imploring penitent; his arms are open to all, they are open even to me; and in return for such a mercy, what can I do less than dedicate my whole life to his service? My thoughts would fain recur at intervals to my former delights, but I am now on my guard to restrain and keep them in. I know now *where* they *ought* to concenter, and with the blessing of God, they shall *there* all tend.

"My next publication of poems will be solely religious. I shall not destroy those of a different nature, which now lie before me, but they will, most probably, sleep in my desk, until in the good time of my great Lord and Master, I shall receive my passport from this world of vanity. I am now bent on a higher errand than that of the attainment of poetical fame; poetry, in future, will be my *relaxation*, not my employment.—Adieu to literary ambition! 'You do not aspire to be prime minister,' said Mr. Robinson, 'you covet a far higher charac-

ter; to be the humblest among those who minister to their Maker.'” (P. 6—8.)

The letter above extracted, appears to have been written at the age of eighteen. In a letter to Mr. R. Wortley, written in about a year and a half after the one above produced, dated from Wintringham, 8th April, 1805, we find him thus expressing himself on a point of learning in the Christian science of humility, in which the deepest theologians are for the greater part unskilled.

“When in Nottingham, I gave way too much to a practice, which prevails *there* in a shameful degree, of sitting in judgment on the attainments and experience of others. At this time, there was darkness enough in my own heart, to have employed all my attention, and I think it may be generally asserted, that *those* who are the readiest to examine *others*, are the most backward to examine *themselves*; that the more we feel inclined to scrutinize our brother Christians with severity, the less able are we to endure such a scrutiny ourselves. Before Christianity can arrive at any degree of perfection, we must have *less tongue* and *more heart work*. If a man be faithful to his convictions, he will find too much to do *at home* to busy himself with what he has no opportunities of sufficiently knowing,—*his neighbour's heart*. We are to consider ourselves at all times as miserably ignorant; and it is only while we do consider ourselves as such, that we are in a disposition to learn of a *teacher*, so averse to the pride of the human heart as Jesus Christ. I fear, (and I fear, because I have found it so in myself,) that a superficial and too trifling religion has prevailed too much in Nottingham, *though with many and shining exceptions*; and I hope that the time will soon come, when, with equal zeal, there will be greater depth of experience, and greater diffidence in the assumption of the office of spiritual inquisitors. I for one have laid down my post of dictator, by the grace of God never to resume it; and I should think, and I have little doubt you will concur with me, that the authority you possess over the younger branches of our brotherhood there, would be well exercised, in discountenancing, on every occasion, such a spirit as I have been speaking of. Those who feel the *most* generally talk the *least*: and it is one way of lessening that trembling hope and fearful love of a young convert, which operates such salutary effects, by suffering him to indulge in remarks on the unawakened, or the weak Christian, as if he were already admitted, or sure of acceptance, and could pronounce the *Shibboleth* of the genuine church.” (P. 22, 23.)

In another letter to a friend, written in the year of his death, the following manly, correct, and devout sentiments occur.

“I assure you, I see daily more reason to temper zeal with discretion, and to make the service of Christ a *rational service*. Our feelings are not the least fallible guides in religion. The man who walks humbly and soberly with his God,—scrupulously exact in the performance of his duties,—hallowing all his doings with the exercise of faith in Jesus Christ, and fortifying his ways with prayer and meditation;

this man will have feelings of the most satisfactory kind,—he will feel the spirit of peace and love shedding serenity over all his thoughts: he will feel the dews of God's blessing descending upon his soul. This is the effect of that spirit, which the Apostle mentions, 'as witnessing with our spirits, that we are the children of God.' But this species of spiritual enjoyment is not to be resorted to, as the *touchstone* of our acceptance with God. It is not the *necessary* attendant of religious life, though it is so frequently enjoyed by the pious, and so clearly promised to them in Scripture, that we may all hope for it. And I can only give it as my opinion, that those who continually resort to their feelings, as the criterion of their religious progress, are the least likely to enjoy this sweet reward of our labours, and foretaste of the joys to come." (P. 49, 50.)

A portion of a letter to his brother, Mr. Neville White, written a few weeks after the last above referred to, contains delightful indications of the prepared state of his mind for attending the summons, which he soon after received, to that secure and everlasting abode with the saints in glory, which seemed to be his spiritual home. The letter is to his brother, who has only performed a duty in presenting this portion of it to the public, to whom it in some sense belongs; it so suits the circumstances of us all that every Christian must feel that his heart has a property in its contents.

"I am not much surprised at the long delay you have made in your approach to the Lord's table; nor do I blame your caution; but remember, that there is a difference between hesitation, on account of the awful nature of the ordinance, and the consciousness of unfitness; and hesitation, on account of an unwillingness to bind yourself with still stronger ties to the profession of Christianity. You may fear to approach that holy table, lest you should again fall away, and your latter state should be worse than your first: but you must not absent yourself from it, *in order* that you *may fall away* with less danger to your soul. You cannot, by any means, purify yourself, so as to become a *worthy* partaker of that blessed ordinance; but you may qualify yourself to partake of it, with a quiet conscience, and spiritual comfort. The very sense of unworthiness, of which you complain, is the best of all possible frames of mind with which you can approach the sacred table; and there can be little doubt, that with such an abiding consciousness of unfitness about you, God will have respect to your weakness, and will bestow upon you such an additional portion of *his strength*, as shall effectually guard you against subsequent temptations. A particular blessing, attendant on the holy communion, is, that it strengthens us in the ways of Christ. God seems to have a peculiar care for those who have sealed their profession with this solemn office; and Christians appear to receive a portion of spiritual strength at these periods which bears them through, 'till they again meet at the holy mysteries. \* \* \* \* \*

"Opportunity for quiet meditation is a great blessing; I wish I

knew how to appreciate its value. For you, my dear brother, be not discouraged; God sees your difficulties and will administer to your weaknesses; and if after much prayer and serious thought, you can endure yourself with the garb of humility, and kneel a trembling guest at the table of your Redeemer, content even to pick up the crumbs that fall from it, and deem them far beyond your desert; if, I say, you can go to the sacrament with these feelings, never fear but our all-blessed and benign Father will approve of your offering, and will bless you accordingly. Do not, however, be hurried into the step by the representations of your friends. Go, then, only when your heart, consecrated by prayer, longs to partake of the body and blood of its Saviour, and to taste, in more near and full fruition, the fruits of redeeming love. And may God's blessing, my dear brother, attend you in it, and make it a means of confirming you in his way, and of weaning you more completely from the world, and its passing joys!" (P. 51—53.)

We pass over the poetry, some part of which, as we have before observed, ought not to have come before the public, and none of which is a fair specimen of the author's powers in this department of composition. Some of the poems here exhibited were very early productions, some unfinished, and probably none of them reconsidered or revised by his maturer judgment. Yet even in this collection of the refuse of his mind, passages of great vigour occasionally sparkle, and reveal by their lustre the traces of that genius which could touch nothing, however rudely or carelessly, without leaving an impression of its characteristic excellence.

The volume closes with some fragments of considerable value. They are chiefly parts or beginnings of essays which appear to have been intended for some periodical publications. They abound in excellent remark; and that which principally distinguishes them, is precisely that which is the rarest attribute of the youthful period in which they were written—great accuracy of moral tact, and a sedateness as well as penetration of the judgment which in other men is only the fruit of long, and sometimes and experience. These qualities are remarkably evinced in an endeavour, by a course of discriminative argument, to settle a dispute which had divided the members of a society for visiting and relieving the sick poor, into opposite parties, the one insisting upon the strict and unvarying adherence to the liturgy in the prayers employed on these visits, and the other contending for the unrestricted use of extemporaneous prayer, without regard to any forms at all. The middle line recommended for adoption in the following extract is maintained with so much excellent sense and knowledge of the human heart, with so much moderation and tempered zeal, as shows him to have already proceeded far in the track of the judicious Hooker.

"The difference which has lately taken place between certain members of the '*Sick visiting Society*,' has occasioned much pain to the pious members of the Church of England; who, without being actively engaged in that Society's affairs, are still anxious for its prosperity, and for the interests of religion in general.

"They anticipate consequences from this dispute, more important than the disunion of a charitable body, or the diversion of the streams of public benevolence:—they anticipate those feuds and intestine divisions, against which our Saviour has solemnly cautioned us, and which, as they are pernicious to houses and nations in general, so are they ruinous to the house and people of Christ in particular.

"Under these circumstances, it becomes a matter of serious importance to enquire, whether the existing differences be, or be not such, as a trifling mutual concession will entirely remove; and if these differences be such, and if the concessions to be made by each party be so trifling, that no scrupulosity can take offence at them, surely, then, little exhortation will be wanting to re-instate the harmony of this religious society, and heal the ugly wound, which, while it appears to extend no farther than a few individuals, does, in fact, reach the very vitals of religion itself.

"The original ground of complaint against the late visitors of the society, seems to be, that, setting aside the form appointed by the church for the visitation of the sick, they have made use of extemporaneous prayers. In this practice, it seems, they were not sanctioned by the rules of the society. These rules restricted the visitors to Dr. Stonehouse's prayers, along with his directions for supplying the deficiencies, which must be found in every pre-composed form when applied to particular cases. If the visitors have presumed so far as to neglect these restrictions altogether, and without being guided by the form of our church, or the directions of Dr. Stonehouse, have trusted wholly to their own resources, they have undoubtedly been guilty of imprudence, and are liable to just reprehension, for having violated a rule which had their previous assent. Such a misconduct, on the part of the visitors, called for the animadversions of the Committee; and it may be supposed, that no visitor would be displeased with animadversions so just, or would again violate so explicit a law. But the misconduct of the visitors in this respect does not seem to afford any colour for the rescinding the original regulation, and substituting another, confining them solely to the ordinance of our church. If the public were contented with the regulation as it originally stood, and are only displeased with its infraction, the correction of the abuse is all the public can expect or desire; and it is difficult to see how their confidence will be restored by the establishment of a rule, which, as it is stricter, is more liable to infraction than the former.

"The form of prayer appointed by our church for the *visitation of the sick*, is truly excellent; but it never could enter into the minds of the framers of it, that it would so far answer every emergency, and adapt itself to every case, as to render all addition superfluous and impertinent. The very service itself proves this; for it presumes the sick person to be a member of the Church of Christ, and in the last

prayer, it presumes him to be a penitent; and as many sick persons are *neither of these*, the form cannot be adapted to all cases; and, therefore, to confine the visitor to this one form, will be to ordain, that they should pray for one description of persons only; and that as to the hardened and reprobate, and those who most need the prayers of the pious, they should either not pray by them at all, or pray *by* them, without praying *for* them. The form of our church, therefore, is not of universal application; and it seems most certain, that it entered not into the contemplation of the framers to provide for every case. I believe the practice of the most orthodox divines from the period of the Reformation confirms this opinion; and if we advert to the earlier ages of Christianity, it is very manifest, not only from Tertullian, but from St. Cyprian, that prayers adapted to particular cases were in use in social worship, and were highly approved by the bishops, at a period when the church did not want its established and sanctioned forms. A zeal for every branch of our established ordinances is certainly laudable, and ought to be cherished; but we must not permit that zeal to carry us into such an attachment to them, as to exalt them out of their proper sphere, and make them objects of superstitious observance, rather than of rational esteem. But dismissing all argument, one circumstance alone ought to prevent too tenacious an adherence to the forms of prayer employed by our church in the visitation of the sick; namely, that, in the present instance, they are no more sanctioned to their use, than any other *forms* which contain nothing contrary to the truth, since the whole service is a ministerial service, and is no more calculated for private use amongst laymen than is the service of matrimony. To enjoin, therefore, the sole use of these church forms, would be to enjoin a thing in itself improper as well as unprofitable; every churchman will delight to use them, when they appear fitted for the occasion; and, surely, no Christian would, out of blind regard to a particular system, wish them to be used where they do not appear so adapted. The question, therefore, now seems to be, whether *forms* of prayer, and that, *too*, such as have been approved by the Committee, should be *alone* permitted to be used by the visitors. And here, I hope, that after a little conviction all parties will coincide. We have seen, in numerous instances, the wildness and extravagance which have arisen from the habit of extemporaneous prayer; and, as churchmen, we see daily the admirable effects of a pre-composed form. To say that a Christian feels more warmth of affection, and fervour of spirit, while he pours forth his unpremeditated petition in unpremeditated words, than when he merely runs over a form of words, which may not be in exact unison with his feelings, is *no* conclusive argument in favour of extemporaneous effusions. A man may offer up his petitions with great warmth of feeling, when he is not necessarily more spiritual and devout. There is animal feeling as well as spiritual, and the *one* may very easily be mistaken for the *other*. An orator, or a poet, reciting his own compositions, may feel a similar flame kindling in his bosom.” (P. 153—157.)

A short fragment on “the dignity of the pulpit,” contains a



lecture to the clergy, from which the oldest of that body may learn wisdom from this young candidate for Heaven.

"The dignity of the pulpit cannot be too energetically enforced upon ministers, and those destined for the holy office. The lamentable effects which we daily observe to ensue from the prostitution of this dignity, are a sufficient proof that it is highly displeasing in the eyes of God, and deleterious to the true interests of religion. It is to the defection of this dignity that I attribute a great portion of the undisguised contempt, and profane ridicule, with which the profession of the gospel of Jesus Christ is now so universally treated. *Truth* in her native garb will command respect; but when she is either tricked out in vulgar ornaments, or concealed beneath the coarse habiliments of meanness and ignorance, it is not to be wondered at that she be received by the world with derision and contumely.

"A preacher ought to regard himself, in scripture phrase, as a 'vessel of honour set apart to God;' as a mean by which the Almighty Father of the universe makes known his will to mankind, and directs his people into the paths of truth and holiness. He ought, therefore, to take heed that he be duly qualified by learning, and a chaste and correct taste, to fill, with propriety, the sacred function to which he has been called by the Divine Will. I say, he ought to beware, with all possible anxiety, lest, by any negligence or carelessness on his part, he disgrace, instead of honouring, the sacred office, and tempt the God before whom he ministers, to withdraw from him that countenance, without which all his exertions will avail nothing. The qualifications of human learning are not of trivial importance to a priest." (P. 158, 159.)

Another valuable scrap (for it is nothing more) of this excellent youth's mind is given us, in the form of an essay "on our estimate of happiness," in which the pleasures and the pains of learning are balanced with a gravity and a grace not unlike the best manner of Johnson.

"In process of time, as the mind begins to soar above material things, and penetrate into the obscure regions of the moral world, it makes new discoveries as to the condition of man, busies itself with the probable chances of futurity, anticipates a thousand ills, which it perceives are but too inseparable from our unhappy state, and feels, in the apprehension of calamity, all the miseries of its reality. In this way, when the mind has been long accustomed to dwell with melancholy attention on the ills of life, to examine its promises and their issues; to contemplate the speedy termination of all its cares, and to consider the dark cloud which envelopes that termination; it becomes too well skilled in the chances and changes of mortality, and neglects to enjoy the present good, through the apprehension that it may be dashed from its lips before it be tasted.

"The enlargement, therefore, of our views, and the increase of our powers, while it exalts the human character, and draws it a step nearer to its great original, does not necessarily augment the happiness of life. The condition of the wealthy and potent is more enviable than that of the poor and despised, only in appearance. Wealth has its cares, and

dominion its anxieties; and wealth and power often serve but to increase; by indulgence, those evils which are the fundamental causes of all human misery. So likewise, wisdom, and learning, and science, though they may exalt the condition of humanity, can do little towards the alleviation of its woes, or the prevention of its misfortunes.

"Yet it must be allowed, that the evils of learning do not extend so much beyond its immediate votaries, while its benefits are felt over the whole community. Though the pale suitor of wisdom may find by daily experience that the fruit of the tree of knowledge is still the fruit of bitterness, and though he may languish under the pressure of imaginary ills, and find every joy shadowed with melancholy, and every prospect clouded with care and apprehension, yet society at large will feel the good effects of his pains. To his labours, will men owe the downfall of superstition and bigotry, the general diffusion of reason, the confirmation of moral truth, and the substitution of the pleasures of intellect for those of sense. These are benefits of such a magnitude, that we might be induced to deify the author of them; but their abuse is so common, and so certainly consequent on their possession, that we again hesitate to place them in the list of benefits, or their author in the roll of benefactors. We no sooner dispel the mists of superstition, than infidelity rears aloft her standard, and beats to arms. We cannot teach men to make reason their guide, but presently they disdain every other help, and immolate religion on the altars of their pride." (P. 162—164.)

We have thus with a melancholy satisfaction revisited the bowers where the memory of this sweet and holy young man still lingers, and his genius still sheds its fragrance; nor can we taste so serene and improving a pleasure without feeling due gratitude to the diligence, and, we trust, the zeal of Mr. Southey; but we beseech him in future editions to condense these beautiful remains of primature wisdom, and to give us a purer concentration of the mind and heart of poor Henry Kirke White, by the prudent omission of those little careless and unfledged essays in verse, which, while they bring him unfairly before the public, serve only to dissipate the force of his grave and manly aphorisms, his spiritual ethics, and his lessons of practical prudence.

**ART. VIII.** *A Speech delivered in the House of Lords, on Friday, June 7, 1822.* By Herbert, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, on the Presentation of a Petition against his Examination Questions; with Explanatory Notes, a Supplement, and a Copy of the Questions. London, 1822. p. 60.

It was our intention at least a year and a half ago, to have called the notice of our readers to the subject of the Bishop of Peterborough's celebrated questions. At that period a contro-

versy was in full activity between the friends and the opposers of his Lordship's measure, in the course of which probably twenty pamphlets were published, besides numerous articles in the magazines, reviews, and newspapers of the day. This long list of publications it was our intention to place at the head of our review, with the hope of conducting our readers through such a tumultuous sea of documents, to something like a safe anchorage at last. Before, however, we had fully arranged our plan, a petition was presented to the House of Lords by the Rev. Mr. Neville, an incumbent in the diocese of Peterborough, complaining that Mr. Green, a clergyman of unexceptionable character and principles, whom he had nominated as his curate, had been rejected by the Bishop of Peterborough, on account of his declining either to give, or subscribe, answers to his Lordship's eighty-seven questions. The disapprobation clearly manifested by the House of Lords at the Right Reverend Prelate's conduct, and the strong circumstance that not one member of the episcopal bench saw fit to utter a syllable in defence of his Lordship, coupled with what we conceived to be the general understanding of all parties, that the questions would be quietly withdrawn, determined us to relinquish our intention of taking up the subject at that time, especially as by means of the above mentioned controversy, and the proceedings in the House of Lords, the merits of the discussion were very generally understood and appreciated.

To our surprise, however, the questions, so far from being withdrawn, are still in active operation, and no later than the close of the last session of parliament a petition was presented against them by another clergyman of the diocese of Peterborough, the Rev. Mr. Grimshawe, complaining of the rejection of the Rev. William Thurtell as his curate, on account of his answers to the questions being unsatisfactory; which petition the House felt it right to receive, and several members expressed themselves in terms of strong disapprobation of his Lordship's proceeding. No one lay or episcopal Lord spoke in their favour.

The subject continuing thus in its pristine importance, and the public attention being again excited towards it, we have determined to state our ideas upon the question; not indeed to the extent, or with all the details, which we formerly meditated; but simply as respects the more general features and results. To keep the ground as narrow as possible, we have not only refrained from introducing to our readers, but have endeavoured ourselves to forget, the whole list of controversial pamphlets above mentioned; and have placed, in solitary dignity at the head of our article, his Lordship's own speech, determining to confine ourselves to the

points which may arise from the consideration of this single *ex parte* document. The advocates of his Lordship, if he have any, ought certainly to thank us for this exemplary courtesy; his opposers, indeed, may perhaps have some reason to be offended that we do not hear their own arguments in their own words; but, upon the whole, *brevity* will be best consulted, and truth and moderation we trust will not be outraged, by this mode of dealing with the subject.

His Lordship adduces from Mr. Grimshawe's petition, twelve distinct allegations against the course pursued by the Bishop, to each of which his Lordship replies. It is but summarily that we can touch upon all or any of these.

"I. The first Allegation is, 'That the Lord Bishop of Peterborough has for some time introduced into his Diocese a new mode of Examination, consisting of eighty-seven Questions, embracing the minutest modifications of doctrine, and peremptorily requiring all Candidates for Ordination, and Curates applying for a Licence, to conform thereto, or to incur the penalty of being rejected.'

"My Lords, it is absolutely false, that I propose Questions to be answered, on the terms stated in this Allegation. Neither in practice nor in principle do I impose such hard conditions. When I was Bishop of *Landaff*, the Questions were accompanied with Directions for answering them, in which the Candidates were cautioned to pay due attention to them, because an unsatisfactory answer (as was there added) 'may tend to their exclusion from the sacred office.' But as this caution, though never carried into effect, was liable to misrepresentation, I reprinted the Questions before I came to Peterborough, and omitted the *Directions*. Every copy, without exception, which has been delivered, either to Curates, or to Candidates for Orders, in the Diocese of Peterborough, has been delivered according to the re-printed form, that is, without the *Directions*. Yet the Petitioner represents the Bishop of *Peterborough*, as 'peremptorily requiring' what he calls a conformity to my Questions, 'under the penalty of being rejected.' And even the *Directions*, which I gave as Bishop of *Landaff*, (with which, however, he has no concern) are grossly misrepresented. I there said, that an unsatisfactory answer 'may tend' to exclusion, whereas, according to this Allegation, it *must* tend to exclusion." (P. 14, 15.)

This charge of "absolutely false," here urged by his Lordship against one of his clergy, and repeated at page 38, under the expression "a direct falsehood," is certainly not very episcopal; and it by no means impresses us with any great feeling of satisfaction in discussing a question with a Spiritual Lord who sees fit within the walls of Parliament to employ a language which would not be tolerated in any private society. We ourselves believe some of his Lordship's statements to be very incorrect; but would his Lordship, or would our readers, forgive us, or could we forgive ourselves, if we copied his Lordship's diction,

thus imputing a *base motive* as the cause of his mis-statements? And, after all, in what does the alleged falsehood of the petitioner consist? His Lordship's questions, it is well known, have been again and again published, with some very significant "Directions" for answering them. Among these directions it is enjoined "that each question must first be copied and then be followed by its proper answer;" that "the answers must be *full, clear, and unequivocal*;" that the candidate "must subscribe his name at the bottom of each sheet," and that the parties concerned "are to take special notice that if *any* question remain unanswered, or receive an unsatisfactory answer, it may tend to their exclusion from the sacred office." These pontifical directions had been very strongly animadverted upon, as they well deserved to be, by clergy and laity, in writing and in conversation, as wholly inconsistent with the intention of the Church and the rights of British subjects; and, if rumour may be credited, had even been made a ground for strenuous representations to his Lordship by certain of his right reverend brethren and ecclesiastical superiors. His Lordship feeling, it seems, that the above quoted "caution," was "liable to misrepresentation," puts forth a reprinted form, in which the directions are *silently omitted*; not however giving the least hint that they were *withdrawn*; nor do we know to this moment that any person whatever was aware of this subtraction till his Lordship stated it in the House. But the subtraction amounts to nothing at last, unless it can be proved that the *spirit* in which these directions were dictated is as completely laid aside as the directions themselves. It certainly appears that the petitioner was *unapprized* of his Lordship's secret retraction; but this is a sorry pretext on which to build a charge of "direct falsehood." His Lordship, it would appear, fearing to be called to account for severity, snugly locks his rod in his desk, and then accuses of "direct falsehood" those who dare to insinuate that he makes use of such a weapon! The boasted distinction between "*may be*," and "*must be*," is mere trifling; if the directions meant anything, they were "peremptory;" the answers to them were to determine the candidate's orthodoxy, and his supposed orthodoxy was obviously to be the test of his approval.

The second allegation is that to the *eighty-seven* questions his Lordship has recently added *thirty-six* more: which his Lordship replies to, by saying, that these last are *substituted* for; not *added to*, the others, in the examination of clergymen applying for curacies, no alteration having been made in the examination for orders. His Lordship's motives for this substitution are not stated. The change is, however, quite fatal to all the special pleading of his Lordship and his friends for the last two or three

years on the subject. If the imposition of the 87 questions were as legal and as necessary as has been represented, in order to prevent the admission of heterodox clergymen from other dioceses, why not persist in the use of them? or if the new 36 will answer the purpose, why inflict the old 87 upon the candidates for orders? Is it that the late discussions have made his Lordship think it expedient to yield a little in the former case, while in the latter he retains all the power which his irresponsibility allows him? In our minds, however, the new substitution is an aggravation of the evil; for now we have two modern tests of faith instead of one. It was hardship enough for the clergy, after professing their belief in the canonical scriptures, and subscribing to the Liturgy, and Homilies, and 39 Articles, to have a new ordeal of 87 "*leading questions*;" (his Lordship himself acknowledges them to be such, p. 11;) but it is still more grievous to find a yet newer standard, a net, whether of larger or smaller meshes we know not, to catch some perhaps who would not have been caught by the former, and who, even if they escape both, may be in danger next year from some new web of theological intricacies. It would indeed appear from a note at p. 4, and another at p. 16, that but few persons have as yet been actually captured by this elaborate reticulation; and his Lordship remarks that he has "*never rejected any one for unsatisfactory answers on such subjects as original sin, free will, and grace, unless they were accompanied by answers to other questions, directly impugning the doctrine of the Liturgy and Articles, on subjects of the greatest importance.*" (P. 16.) Why then retain the puzzling questions on these points, if the answers to them are not to influence the decision? It must be, if not a mere waste of time and paper, an indulgence of idle curiosity and a delight in the art of ingeniously tormenting, to dictate a set of abstruse quibbling metaphysical questions to an unfortunate candidate, the answers to which are not to make a substantial part of his examination. His Lordship might quite as well ask questions in husbandry or fortification; nay better; for if the only object is to perplex and puzzle men for the sport of so doing, it would be best to exercise this laudable practice any where rather than on topics of so serious a nature. But we cannot believe that his Lordship literally means what the last quoted passage from p. 16 seems to imply; for if his apology is to be thus construed, the above mentioned "*directions*" are, and ever have been, wholly inapplicable and absurd. The secret, however, inadvertently escapes, in that special reservation, "*unless they are accompanied,*" &c. Now every person who knows any thing of scientific theology is aware that systems are very closely compacted; so that a man who

differs *materially* from his Lordship on the above mentioned points, must *necessarily* differ on many others which *depend upon* them. Thus the candidate who answers contrary to his Lordship's views on *these* subjects is *sure* to commit himself on others. He is therefore ostensibly punished for one part of his mistakes, while the chief, though unacknowledged offence, would seem to lie elsewhere. If this statement appear harsh or invidious, we would ask, upon what other ground are the dead-letter questions retained, and what is the meaning of his Lordship's significant "*unless.*"

But there is yet another material circumstance passed over in his Lordship's statement, — that though *few* may have been *actually* rejected, *many* have been virtually excluded. His Lordship's severe standard of faith is so well known, and so generally disapproved, that scores of clergymen and clerical students of unexceptionable character and principles have declined the nomination to curacies in his diocese. His Lordship's questions, it is true, will not exclude men either of his own sentiments or of no sentiments whatever; those who can submit "*jurare in verba magistri,*" may obtain admission without difficulty; but men of better and sterner mould have repeatedly declined the jeopardy and possible degradation of pleading before the new tribunal. Is not his Lordship aware that all Cambridge rings with these facts; and that one of the first wishes of a student for orders, whatever may be his theological sentiments, is that he may not fall under the arbitrary rule of the Bishop of Peterborough?

But we pass on :—

" III. The third Allegation is, ' That such an exercise of authority is unwise in policy, oppressive in principle, and impracticable in its proposed end; exceeding the powers vested in any Prelate, calculated to produce a spirit of faction and controversy in the Church contrary to the intention and design of the compilers of our Articles, and in opposition to the most approved testimonies, which are recorded on this subject.'

" My Lords, I have already proved, that '*such* an exercise of authority,' as the Petitioner imputes to his Diocesan, has no other existence than in his own unfounded representation. It is unnecessary, therefore, to examine any of the predicates, which he affirms of such authority." (P. 17.)

The allegation thus adroitly passed over, deserved more attention; for even taking this "exercise of authority" at a much lower level than that which the petitioner assumed; taking it only at his Lordship's own estimate, it is still, as the petitioner alleges, "unwise in policy;" for it tends to foment divisions, to expose the church to its enemies, and to sanction similar measures on the part of other prelates, some of whom may entertain sentiments widely opposed to those of the diocesan of Peterborough.

The very circumstances of this unhappy controversy prove the impolicy of the measure. It is "oppressive in principle," for it binds a new and unnecessary burden on the clergy, excluding many whom the canonical and statute regulations of the Church would admit, and admitting others only on partial and severe terms, and keeping even those already admitted in a state of apprehension and terror. It is "inadequate to its proposed end;" for persons may consider, and we have reason to believe in some instances persons have considered, the Bishop's questions as mere "articles of peace," and reply to them in much the same way as too many have subscribed to the declarations of our Church respecting originals in, faith, justification, free will, good works, and other debated points. It further "exceeds the powers vested in any prelate;" for nothing short of an act of parliament, the concurring sanction of the three estates of the realm, can authorize the imposition of a new test of faith, or even much less fundamental innovations. That it is "calculated to produce a spirit of faction and controversy in the Church" has been already shown, and is indeed too obviously apparent; and that such a result is "contrary to the intention and design of the compilers of our Articles" is very clear, for the royal declaration prefixed to those Articles explicitly enjoins that "in those both curious and unhappy disputes which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, all curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises as they be *generally* set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures, and the *general meaning* of the Articles of the Church of England;" and so far from a bishop being allowed to construct an intricate list of leading questions to give verisimilitude to his own far-fetched and very improbable construction of some of those Articles, the same declaration commands that "no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof; and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense." Let any person look over the 87 questions, and decide whether the "plain meaning," the "literal and grammatical sense," is preserved in this episcopal document. One single example may suffice. His Lordship maintains in the chapter on "Free-will," that it is "*contrary to* our tenth Article to declare that man has *no* share in the work of his own salvation." Now, whatever may be the reader's sentiment as to this doctrine, whether he think with his Lordship or otherwise, does the Article in its plain, literal, grammatical interpretation, specify any such contrariety? Our own opinion, whatever we may think of the doctrine itself, is that the Article says



nothing directly on the subject; and that so far from the hypothesis in question being plainly and literally "contrary to" the Article, it is only by remote reference that the Article can be brought to bear at all upon the point. The Article only states that: "The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God: wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us when we have that good will." Call you this interpreting the Articles plainly and literally? Yet this is but one among many instances in the Peterborough code of doctrine.

The petitioner lastly complains in this allegation, that the measure is also "in opposition to the most approved testimonies." And is it not? As one of a host we shall content ourselves with the opinion of Bishop Horsley, to which we might add that of Bishop Burnet, and a score of other eminent divines. Horsley remarks in his charge to the clergy of Rochester in the year 1800:

"A difference of opinion upon what are called the Calvinistic points is *no sort of reason* for a separation of communions. I confess I cannot understand upon what principle our brethren of the Calvinistic persuasion should demand of us, that we should adopt either the resolutions of the synod of Dort; or what are called the Lambeth Articles, as the necessary exposition of the Articles of our Church; but I as little understand upon what principle our Arminian brethren should insist that we should set forth their opinions, *as if they were asserted in our Articles in their TRUE and PLAIN meaning*, in condemnation of the Calvinistic. I know not what hinders, but that the highest Supralapsarian Calvinist may be as good a churchman as an Arminian; and if the Church of England in her moderation opens her arms to both, neither can with a very good grace desire that the other should be excluded."

In another charge to the clergy of St. Asaph in 1806, Bishop Horsley remarks of the Arian, Unitarian, and Pelagian heresies: "These are the things against which you should whet your zeal, rather than against opinions, which, if erroneous, are not sinful. What the church has *tolerated*, her sons [and doubtless most of all her bishops] are bound to *tolerate*; and to treat differences of opinion which may subsist without blame *within the pale of the church itself* with lenity and gentleness." Now the Bishop of Peterborough ridicules the use of the word "tolerate" (pp. 29; 30,) as applied to the present question. "It is a term," he says, "which applies only to Dissenters;" he "does not know," on account of the absurdity of the thing, "what answer to give when charged with want of *toleration*." Bishop Horsley had

no such difficulty. That learned and sagacious prelate was well aware that a spirit of *intolerance* may be found both within and without the walls of an established church, and that, wherever found, it is to be deprecated and deplored.

Such would be the opinions of the Church and of her most faithful sons and defenders, even if the tenets against which the Bishop of Peterborough prepares his entrenchment were all really Calvinistic; but this is very far from being the fact. Surely it is not exclusively Calvinistic, for instance, to assert that "true" faith, which alone is "lively" faith, "*necessarily produces good works,*" when the twelfth Article, in common with the Scriptures, asserts this doctrine without equivocation or reserve; surely, we say, this is not Calvinistic, notwithstanding the Anticalvinistic Bishop of Peterborough so strongly contends, commenting on *this very Article*, that "though good works are the *natural* fruits of faith, they are not the *necessary* fruits of faith, or fruits which follow of necessity." Either our copy of the Articles has by a misprint omitted the significant word *not* before necessarily, or his Lordship's construction is less "literal and grammatical" than the above-cited Declaration requires. But this only by the way. What we intend to add as the conclusion to this paragraph shall be expressed in the words of the Bishop just quoted. "Take especial care," says Bishop Horsley to his clergy, "before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism and what is not;—that in that mass of doctrine which it is of late become the fashion to abuse under the name of Calvinism, you can distinguish with certainty between that part of it which is nothing better than Calvinism, and that which belongs to our common Christianity, and the general faith of the Reformed churches, lest when you mean only to fall foul of Calvinism, you should unwarily attack something more sacred and of higher origin." Bishop Horsley complains of this grievous want of discrimination in some celebrated writings on the side of the Church, "as they were *meant* to be," against the Methodists; but the evil is still more fatal when the bow thus "drawn at a venture" penetrates "between the joints and the harness," in the most vital parts of our own Church.

The fourth allegation and reply may be briefly dispatched. The allegation is that "the clergy recognize no standard to which they are bound to conform but the 39 Articles as by law established;" to which the Bishop of Peterborough justly replies that they are bound also to conformity to the Liturgy. It appears however to us that the petitioner meant only to speak of the 39 Church Articles in contradiction to the 87 Peterborough Articles, not in contradistinction to the Liturgy. The Bishop,

however, has caught him very neatly in his verbal trap ; though if retort were argument, the petitioner might ask his Lordship in return, why in supplying the petitioner's deficiency, his Lordship forgot to add the venerable claims of the Homilies. The petitioner *omitted* the Liturgy ; but he did not *disparage* it ; now his Lordship, it is well known, has publicly disparaged the Homilies, and attempted to prevent their general circulation. Our idea is, that the clergy should conform to all ; let them believe with the Articles, preach with the Homilies, and pray with the Liturgy ; making the Bible itself their standard of appeal, and exemplifying its precepts in their daily conduct. Thus they will do infinitely more for religion and the church than if they devoted a thousand lives to propounding or solving questions of interminable controversy.

The fifth allegation and reply are nearly to the same effect as the fourth ; we therefore dismiss them ; the sixth and seventh are as follow :

“ VI. The sixth Allegation is, ‘ That however he may consider his system of examination to be according to the national standard, it is henceforth no longer the national standard, to which the Candidate is exclusively called to assent, but rather the Bishop of Peterborough's interpretation of that standard.’

“ My Lords, if there must be no *interpretation* of the Articles, there must be no *examination* in the Articles : for the notion of examination without interpretation involves an absurdity. The matter at issue, then, is reduced to this—Have Bishops, or have they not, a right to examine in the Articles ? If they have *no* such right, I must abandon not only the Questions of which the Petitioner complains, but all other Questions on the Articles, which at my own discretion I might think proper to employ instead of the present Questions.

“ My Lords, I contend that Bishops *have* a right to examine in the Articles ; and in support of that right I appeal to the 34th Canon. By that Canon every Candidate for Orders is required ‘ to yield an *account* of his faith,’ and to yield this account ‘ according to the Articles of Religion.’ Whether the account be given in English or in Latin, is nothing to the account itself. I ask, then, your Lordships whether any man can yield an ‘ *account* of his faith,’ and yield that account ‘ according to the Articles of Religion,’ by the bare act of putting his *name* to the Articles ? I ask your Lordships whether he can yield an *account* of his faith, according to the Articles, by any other means than by *examination* in the Articles ? I am sure your Lordships will determine that nothing but examination can elicit the account required.

“ VII. The seventh Allegation is, ‘ That the Title prefixed to the thirty-nine Articles, viz. Articles agreed upon for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and of establishing consent touching true Religion, sufficiently illustrates their design, and proves that it is the Articles themselves, and not a Prelate's interpretation of them, that constitute the only authorized provision against all diversity of opinion.’

"My Lords, it is certainly true, that *diversity of opinion* in matters of religion is the object against which our Articles were intended to provide. But I am at a loss to comprehend how this diversity of opinion can be prevented in the way proposed by the Petitioner. He says it is, 'the Articles *themselves*, and not a Prelate's *interpretation* of them, that constitute the only authorized provision against all diversity of opinion.' But the Articles *themselves*, as opposed to the *interpretation* of the Articles, cannot possibly produce the effect intended. By the Articles *themselves*, as opposed to the *interpretation* of them, can be meant nothing more, than the bare *letter* of the Articles. But the bare *letter* of the Articles, without reference to the *sense* of the Articles, expresses *no opinion whatever*. And that, which expresses *no opinion*, can never operate as a check on *diversity of opinion*." (P. 22—26.)

Our own opinion on the whole of this matter is very simple. A bishop doubtless has a right to examine his candidates either for ordination or a licence; nor has the canon or statute law ver-  
bally tied him down with much strictness to any particular method of conducting his inquisition. Nay further, if he should greatly exceed his authority, there is still no legal remedy. His power is wholly discretionary and irresponsible. Even the Archbishop, it seems, cannot repair any injury committed; for the twelfth allegation before us is, that his Grace of Canterbury had been appealed to in the present instance, but had replied that "he is not competent to interfere on this occasion," in which incompetency the Bishop of Peterborough concurs. We are not ourselves persuaded of this incompetency; we know at least that an Archbishop has full authority to "recommend" to his suffragans what may appear to him befitting, and that a bishop is bound by oath to "all due reverence and obedience" to his metropolitan; and can be libelled against for contumacy, provided the propriety or necessity of the Archbishop's recommendation can be duly maintained. But we will take the matter as we find it, and allow that the bishop acts with impunity in the use of his discretion. Still he is morally bound by the laws and usages of the Church; he has no just warrant to carry his inquisition in matters of faith farther than the 39 Articles carry it, though the Church, not contemplating that any bishop would think of doing so, has annexed no penalty to such a crime. The Bishop of Peterborough wishes to secure a greater degree of orthodoxy than he thinks can be secured by mere submission to the statuteable and canonical test. His 87 questions are to do for the Church what the 39 Articles will not. Now, however desirable such a coincidence of sentiment might be, the propounders of our Articles never expected or demanded it. If the candidate will fairly subscribe to the appointed tests, the Church is satisfied. "Though some differences have been ill raised,"

says the royal declaration prefixed to the Articles, "we yet take comfort in this, that all clergymen within our realm have always most willingly subscribed to the Articles established; which is an argument to us, that they all agree in the true, usual, literal meaning of the said Articles, and that even in those curious points in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church of England to be for them; which is an argument again that none of them intend any desertion of the Articles established." We confess that this superficial union does not yield to our minds quite so much "comfort" as to the author, whoever he might be, of this declaration, which has the sanction of the king and convocation; but one point results very clearly from the statement; namely, that it was not any ignorance of the diversity of sentiment among the clergy that prevented the line being drawn more tightly; but that it was either a politic or a charitable toleration of minor differences; a "toleration" which Bishop Marsh will not consent to afford, and which he proceeds, on his own sole and extra-judicial authority, to rectify. It is alleged that the present state of the Church requires measures which were not so necessary in former times; in other words, that the 39 Articles will not exclude what are called "the evangelical clergy," and that therefore 87 new questions are necessary; but, in truth, there was as much discrepancy of opinion when the above-mentioned declaration was issued as when the speech before us was delivered; the only difference is, that the king and convocation, knowing the obliquities or infirmities of the human mind, felt it necessary to allow for them; while the Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge determines, not only that all men shall be of one mind, that all Charles the Fifth's clocks shall chime together, but that Peterborough shall henceforth be the sole standard, and that all sound churchmen shall appeal from the Church to its self-elected expositor; from the 39 Articles to the 87 questions, and from the Prayer Book and Homilies, to the 36 subsidiary safeguards.

His Lordship in the passage last quoted, and in his reply to the eighth allegation, which is a continuation of the same subject, keeps out of sight the turning point of the whole question; which is not whether the formularies of the Church must receive *some* interpretation; but by what authority his Lordship takes upon himself to be the interpreter. The unruffled complacency with which his Lordship takes for granted, what is one principal point in dispute, that his own construction of the Articles, &c. is perfectly correct, and that the Church itself is embodied in his own person, appears to us quite extraordinary. Among the prelates who were present at the delivery of this speech, we question whether there was one who would not, partially, *some* would

most essentially, differ from some of his Lordship's sentiments; yet, as if relying upon the House of Lords not being an arena for theological debate, his Lordship speaks of himself as if he were the sole, the infallible standard and judge; even the royal injunction that no man shall "put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article," he adroitly takes to signify that no man shall differ from the interpretation of the Bishop of Peterborough; who, it seems, *may* put *his* meaning on them; and then *taking for granted* that his meaning is the only right, true, and literal meaning, all his diocese must subscribe to it as the authorized test of Church principles. Thus every sect acts by the Bible; and thus might a Calvinistic prelate as fairly act by the Church. The whole of his Lordship's argument, both in this speech and elsewhere, is almost literally grounded on the assumption that his *cong   d'elire* was a patent of infallibility; that the mere circumstance of being a bishop renders him not only a declarative officer of the Church, but, without appeal, an authoritative exponent of her doctrines, and a summary and irresponsible judge in all matters touching her jurisdiction. Take away this assumption, and the whole of his Lordship's vindication remains unsupported.

Some of the remaining allegations and answers have been anticipated, and the others are of minor interest; we therefore pass them over. We have, however, a few concluding observations to make, for which we must request the indulgence of our readers.

With regard to the legal right of the Bishop of Peterborough to impose his questions, we have not thought it necessary to say much; indeed, the discussion would lead to a minute criticism on all the canons and statutes relating to the subject, which would be neither compatible with our limits, nor very acceptable perhaps to the majority of our readers. We wish, however, not to be understood as yielding the right; our own view is that the Church never for a moment contemplated such an assumption of power, and that her whole spirit and economy are opposed to its exertion. Without troubling our readers with all the technicalities of the question, we will fix upon one single point, namely, the language of our laws and the practice of our courts in the matter of *institution to a benefice*. A bishop is as much allowed and enjoined to examine for institution, as for a curate's licence or for ordination. The three cases stand on precisely the same ground as respects the intention of the Church to secure piety, competency, and orthodoxy. Now the Bishop of Peterborough maintains that he has a right to impose his 36 questions in the case of licensing, and his 87 for ordination; but will he venture to impose a single question for institution, except the regular forms and tests acknow-

ledged and appointed by the Church and State? It was indeed rumoured two or three years since that his Lordship maintained this right, and resolved to try the experiment; but he never did so, and is never likely to do so—and why? obviously because the courts would interfere, and demand on what legal ground he refused to institute a duly qualified and presented clerk? His Lordship would not be permitted to reply that the clerk was contumacious in not answering a string of extra-judicial leading questions. The courts would recognize no test of doctrine but the regular pledges and subscriptions, and would compel his Lordship to institute, and probably award damages to the injured party in case civil loss had been sustained. The case of stipendiary curates applying for licenses differs, *as far as respects the present argument*, from that of presentees to a benefice, only in this, that in the former the courts do not interfere; but the spirit of the law and the intention of the Church are clearly the same in both these cases, and his Lordship, we contend, is not justified in imposing a test of doctrine in the one which he would not be legally empowered to impose in the other. The impunity he now enjoys by the curate's bill, which renders him irresponsible in the use of his discretion, except to the summary jurisdiction of the archbishop, does not authorize his availing himself of that impunity to lay down a new test of doctrine. It is too large an inference that because a bishop may and must examine, he is warranted in examining on what subjects and to what extent he pleases. Would a bishop be legally or canonically justified in examining a candidate for orders as to his knowledge of the Kamskatchan language, or a curate for a license in the science of geology? Yet if the Bishop of Peterborough's assumption be correct, he might do even this, if he saw fit; at least no appeal would lie from his discretion, however *indiscreetly* exerted.

The 39 Articles are not only a *test*, but a *shield*. They ought as much to be interposed to protect a candidate who believes them, as to exclude another who denies them. It is notorious that we have had not only Pelagian, but even Arian and Socinian bishops: and what protection has an orthodox clergyman against the prejudices of such an individual, except his willingness to subscribe *ex animo* the 39 Articles, and to comply with all other prescribed ordinances of the Church? Would the public, would the House of Lords, endure to be told, in *such* a case, that no party has any authority to interfere between a bishop and a candidate for ordination or licensing; that even the archbishop himself cannot interpose his official mediation? It is nothing to reply that the Bishop of Peterborough holds no such doctrines as we have mentioned; we are far from meaning that he does; but neither measures nor men have any thing to do

with the question ; it is solely a question of *principle*, and as such we consider it. We maintain that if the Bishop of Peterborough is right in his argument, there is nothing to defend the Church against every species of heterodoxy : a Feather's tavern divine has only to be made a bishop to enable him *with impunity* to generate and perpetuate his heresies, and to refuse ordination or license to any who shall venture to oppose them.

The large arbitrary irresponsible powers of our bishops, however occasionally beneficial to the Church, are too liable to mistake or abuse to be safely conceded to any order of men, however exalted their station or exemplary their character. We bring no charge against the right reverend bench for their mode of exercising this power, *which is, generally speaking, characterised by great moderation, and a sense of justice and utility*. But the system itself is improper and impolitic ; it is opposed to the spirit of all our other institutions, even the army and navy themselves ; and it is fraught with evils to the Established Church. The more virtuous and excellent the character of any particular prelate, the less likely is he to see or admit this position ; for he is conscious of his own integrity in the exercise of his jurisdiction, and is thankful for an instrument of utility, which, judging from his own experience, he is unwilling to think has been, or will be, abused. The principal argument employed to vindicate this arbitrary and irresponsible power, is, that cases may occur in which the interests of religion and the Church are consulted by acting upon strong evidence which could not be regularly received, and by excluding individuals who could not be legally convicted. We are quite aware of the truth of this remark ; and could figure to ourselves many particular cases, in every department of life, from the sovereign to the master of a parish apprentice, in which irresponsible summary measures, in the hands of a well-disposed and discreet man, would prevent much injury, and effect much good. But this partial and occasional benefit must not be allowed to weigh against the obvious evils of such a system. The most experienced and virtuous judge may not decide without hearing both sides ; the veriest pauper cannot be sentenced to a single week's imprisonment without a specification of his offence and proof of the charge ; yet a clergyman of unexceptionable piety, learning, and character, perhaps in old age, perhaps with a helpless family dependant upon him, may at once, summarily, and without process or appeal, be ejected from his scanty cure, and thrown helpless on the world, with a blighted character, because, forsooth, some new bishop sees fit to put forth a novel test of doctrines, to which all his stipendiary clergy, however reluctantly, must subscribe ; nay more, because perhaps a rumour, a suspicion, a misrepresenta-



tion to his disadvantage, has been carried to his diocesan, the nature of which he is not entitled to demand, or to ask who is his accuser, or what is his offence. The Bishop of Peterborough has certainly acted like a bold and honest man; he has printed and freely issued the code by which he tries his clergy; but in this he has performed a work of entire supererogation; for if, with the same views, but with less courage, instead of stating his terms, he had kept his own counsel, and arbitrarily, and, *without assigning any reason*, rejected all applicants who did not come up to his standard, he could not, in the present state of the law, have been called to account for his proceeding. He might, if he chose, at one stroke, with perfect impunity, weed his whole diocese of every stipendiary clergyman within its limits; he might license a new set to-morrow, and reject them the next day, and so on in unlimited succession. The high character of our bishops, indeed, wholly forbids the idea of such freaks, but there is nothing legally to prevent them.

These hardships apply only to the case of candidates for orders and the unbeneficed clergy. The case of incumbents,—though the Church clearly intended *all* her functionaries to stand on the same footing as respects doctrinal tests—has, on account of the jealousy of mankind respecting the rights of property, been considered somewhat less hazardous. No bishop certainly can eject a beneficed clergyman, summarily, without process, *and without even assigning a reason*, as he may a licensed stipendiary curate; nor can he refuse to *institute* without legal cause, though the granting of a *licence* is a mere matter of discretion. A method has, however, lately been discovered of reducing even freehold clerical patronage to the arbitrary discretion of a bishop. The whole mass of our Church preferments now hangs upon a mere thread. The Lord Chancellor himself has no pledge that the next clergyman whom he presents to a benefice may not be rejected—rejected without the possibility of remedy—at the will of a single prelate. The fact is illustrated and proved by an extraordinary circumstance which was brought before the House of Lords in the session of 1820. A petition was presented to the House by a licensed clergyman in the diocese of Exeter, stating that he had been duly presented to two livings, value 500*l.* per annum, and was in every respect qualified to hold them. The one of these livings was in the diocese of Lincoln, the other in that of the Lord Bishop of Peterborough. He had procured a regular testimonial, signed by three clergymen in the diocese in which he officiated; which testimony it was necessary should be countersigned by the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Pelham, now Bishop of Lincoln. The Bishop, however, saw fit to refuse his countersignature; in consequence of which the Bishops of Lincoln and

Peterborough could not, or did not, institute, and the petitioner actually lost both livings. Of the petitioner's character or principles we know nothing; the only point on which we are called to fix our notice is, that the Bishop of Exeter rested his vindication on his discretionary right to refuse his counter-signature without assigning any reason; he had even refused to allow the petitioner to explain some remark made by him which it seems had been privately retailed to the Bishop, and on which his Lordship acted when he refused his counter-signature, though the petitioner offered to prove that his words had been misrepresented. Whether they had, or had not, we of course cannot decide; but one thing is very clear,—that if a bishop may, without assigning any reason, refuse his counter-signature to a testimonial (which counter-signature, we should state, by no means endorses the character of the individual, but only the identity and respectability of the testifying parties), there is no longer any security for an ecclesiastical patron that his presentee will be admitted, except the good pleasure of the countersigning bishop. The Bishop of Peterborough, if he saw fit, might have ample revenge on any noble lord who opposed his questions in the House, or on any other ecclesiastical patron out of it, by refusing his counter-signature to any of their presentees or friends. Over his own clergy his power is still more formidable; and well may his Lordship triumph, as he does in the speech before us, that his clergy are very generally in favour of his questions, when he knows that besides his power over the unbeneficed part of them, who may be instantly dismissed from their stations, and consigned to the chances of poverty and a suspicious character, he has an *indirect* power over all of them, beneficed or unbeneficed, by his right of arbitrarily refusing to countersign their testimonials in case they are presented to a living. A bishop may thus tie up every clergyman in his diocese from accepting the most valuable preferment.

We are far from wishing to see our venerable prelates reduced to the character of mere *automata*: let their powers be large and liberal; let them be treated with the respect and confidence due to their virtues and station; but still let them ever be subjected to a *reasonable* degree of responsibility. A certain measure of publicity will always be necessary, as a check to abuse, so long as bishops are men, and men are fallible. A clergyman, before he is ejected from a station, or is refused a licence to a new one, ought to be privileged to know what is his offence, and what is the evidence on which it is grounded. He ought also to be protected against arbitrary tests and impositions. His error or misconduct should be proved before he is punished for it. *One* individual should not be the sole irresponsible legislator, judge, jury, and executioner. Such powers are too great for human in-

firmity; and our only wonder is that they are not abused to an extent far beyond what the greatest enemy of our venerable bench would venture to insinuate has ever been exemplified.

The frankness, however, with which the whole of this article has, we trust, been written, induces us to add, that in *one* respect we think the influence and power of some of our bishops have been misapplied; we mean in discountenancing what has been called the popular form of Christianity, or that system of faith and morals which is held by many of our most active and pious clergy, in common, Arminian and Calvinistic, and which is chiefly distinguished by its leading principle of "make the tree good, and its fruit shall be good; but if the tree be corrupt, the fruit will be corrupt also;" in other words, which leads mankind as guilty, helpless, and perishing, to the cross of their Saviour alone for pardon; which inculcates faith as the instrument of justification, and urges the necessity of renovation of heart, and an entire devotion of the life to the service of God, the one being the source of the other. The abuses of Antinomianism, co-operating with the natural Pelagianism of the human mind, have in too many instances rendered what is called "the Evangelical system" unjustly suspected. In some instances it has been discountenanced, as too strict and rigid; in others, on quite a contrary ground, as lax and latitudinarian. We always grieve to see a bishop using the weight of his power and influence to check the extension of this system, instead of merely restraining any evils which may incidentally grow up with it. Many well-meaning men have fallen into this error. And what has been the consequence? a consequence which certainly they never wished or anticipated—the worldly, the licentious, the heterodox, the scoffers at religion, have rejoiced at the countenance which they *conceived* to be given to their own evil lives and principles, from the hostility shown to the puritanical strictness of their neighbours; the pious and conscientious churchman has been grieved at the suspicion thrown, not merely on his own character, but on some of the most interesting and fundamental doctrines and duties of our holy religion; while those who had some devout principles and scriptural information, without settled ideas of the lawfulness and duty of ecclesiastical conformity, have quitted the Establishment in disgust, and spread every where a fatal report that self-denying scriptural piety finds no acceptance within her pale.

We may seem to be forgetting the Bishop of Peterborough's questions; but the return from our digression is not very difficult. Suppose that his Lordship *could* produce the uniformity he wishes; suppose he could reduce all his own clergy, and all the clergy in England, to the Peterborough standard; suppose

he could call back the several millions of Bibles issued by the Bible Society, and abolish the institution; suppose he could lay an embargo on the Homilies, and recal every copy in print; suppose he could substitute his 36 or 87 questions for the 39 Articles, at least for those on original sin, and justifying faith, and the other litigated topics; suppose he could repress all enthusiasm in the clergy by confining their studies to biblical manuscripts, and cold metaphysical German theology; would any thing be really gained on the side of piety, or morals, or good order in the nation? If every spark of evangelism were to cease out of the land, would the Church or the State prosper the better? would the clergy be more useful, or the people more devout? The view which not only some of our most zealous divines, but some also of our coolest politicians, have taken of this subject, is, that the "evangelical party in the Church" is its main pillar, that by which it retains its strongest hold upon the affections of the people, and by which it is chiefly the instrument of moral and spiritual benefit. So much has been said, and so many volumes have been written on this subject, that we forbear to enlarge; but the inquiry is well worthy the attention of every statesman, legislator, and ecclesiastical patron; even irrespective of those higher considerations which relate to the *spiritual* interests of mankind, and the *future* welfare of the human soul.

We may have *seemed* perhaps, from the course of our argument, to have opposed the right and duty of our bishops to examine into the principles of their candidates; but this is far, very far, from being our intention. Would that they examined far more deeply! Our quarrel is only with that cold, technical, litigious perquisition, which may make men polemics, but will never make them Christians; which may surround a diocese with thorns and briars to keep out intruders, but will never make its enclosures "blossom as the rose." We dread and deprecate the spirit which these questions are calculated to generate. Wearied with our secular labours during the week, and needing repose from the toils, and consolation amidst the cares, of life, we should be grievously disappointed on the day of sacred rest, if the only pastoral instruction we were to receive should be as hard and controversial, as meagre and poverty-struck, as the Peterborough divinity. Yes—let our bishops examine; they cannot examine too much or too deliberately; let them inquire piously and affectionately into the spiritual and devotional qualifications of their candidates; into their zeal and humility, their love for their Saviour and for the souls of men; let them take them by the hand, and watch over their religious progress, and advise with them on their scruples, and check them in their rashness, and urge upon them their baptismal

vows, and train them to heavenly-mindedness. We know the difficulties in the way of such a process; we are aware that bishops cannot now effect all that is desirable, or all that in days when dioceses were small, and discipline was better preserved, was attainable. But they may do something. If only a few weeks intervene between the first application for orders and the day of examination, even those few weeks are valuable; certainly far too valuable to be spent, as in the Bishop of Peterborough's diocese, in drawing up replies to a string of controversial queries. They are days for the deepest self-examination, and prayer, and devotional study. When will it be duly felt in all public, private, and national schools, in all colleges, universities, and episcopal examination-rooms, that science is not religion; that divinity is not piety; that a man may take oaths, and subscribe tests, and "satisfactorily" answer ten times 87 ingenious questions, and yet be destitute of the very first elements of fitness for the pastoral office?

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ART. IX.—*Journal of a Visit to some Parts of Ethiopia.* By George Waddington, Esq. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; and the Rev. Barnard Hanbury, of Jesus College, AM. FAS. With maps and other engravings. London, 1822. 4to.

THAT part of Ethiopia or Nubia, which lies between the Cataracts, has been long explored and described by various travellers: but little or nothing has been known of the space that separates Sennaar from the second cataract. Immediately above this cataract a district commences, called Batn el Hadjar, which extends to about  $21^{\circ}$  of north latitude: Sukkôt is the name given to the next 50 miles; and after that comes Dar Mahass, which stretches about 60 miles from north to south. Dóngola adjoins to Dar Mahass. It extends in a southerly direction up to a point a little below  $18^{\circ}$  north latitude, then bends to the east, always following the course of the Nile, and terminates where the great bend of that river forces the traveller, who traces its course upwards, to journey towards the north. Dar Sheygy'a is the name given to the district through which the Nile flows from north to south: and Berber and Shendy fill up the space between Dar Sheygy'a and Sennaar.

A Frenchman of the name of Poncet, in proceeding from the greater Oasis to Sennaar, traversed part of Dóngola in 1698. A few years ago, the lamented Burckhardt penetrated as far as Tinareh, which is situated in Dar Mahass, in about  $20^{\circ}$  north

latitude. The observations of the former are extremely meagre; and it was only a small part of the country that came under the eye of the latter accomplished traveller. Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury, therefore, possess the merit of having explored and described a tract altogether new to European tourists and readers.

The districts, which we have mentioned, exhibit, amidst a few minor diversities, considerable sameness of aspect. The Nile, as it flows through them, is divided from time to time into branches which afterwards reunite, so as to enclose in its waters many verdant isles and islets, which attract inhabitants both by the abundance of their productions, and by the security they afford against the depredations of the wandering tribes of the desert. Along one or both of the banks, and more frequently along the eastern than along the western, there generally extends a fertile and cultivated slip of ground, sometimes spreading, especially in Dóngola, to a considerable breadth; at other times very much compressed, or even entirely interrupted, by rocks and encroaching sands. To the right and to the left of this, all is dreary desolation, a wide expanse of sand frequented only by the predatory Arab, where the eye seeks in vain for any thing more cheering to rest upon, than the dark or yellowish tints of naked mountains in the back ground.

The population of the Batn el Hadjar, Sukkót, Mahass, and Dóngola, is Nubian. The women are generally naked, except a covering round the waist; and do not appear to have made a favourable impression on Mr. W., notwithstanding his prepossession in favour of black, which he thinks, or at least thought, the finest colour for a human being. In speaking they use much gesticulation: when they mean to be emphatic, they sharpen their voice to shrillness: and to enforce what has been said, the shrill sounds are re-echoed by the other females present, even though they should have taken no share in the previous conversation. They are not afraid of being seen in public. They ride and walk about uncovered; talk fearlessly to the men, return the salutations of strangers, and even salute them first. Though in general very ugly, and, when old, almost hideous, they are so far from affecting the entire concealment of the person, which is usual with Mohammedan women, that the upper part of the body down to the loins is always quite naked. It is on the head that the labours of the toilet are chiefly bestowed. The hair is greased and plaited with great care: and where superior pretensions to elegance exist, some of the plaits, passing under those which hang down by the side of the face, are brought backwards above the ears, exactly in the fashion which is often seen in the figures in the temples of Egypt.

The Nubian population is intermixed with Arabs. The Nubians have generally some knowledge of Arabic, but the Arabs are always completely ignorant of the Nubian tongue. Like the Egyptians they divide their year into three seasons of four months each; the Nile or Inundation—the winter—and the summer. The summer is the sickly season; and, at the end of it, in the middle of July, their year begins.

The buildings are generally of mud or straw. Those which are intended to serve as fortresses, are sometimes of brick, more frequently of mud. The larger dwelling houses, especially in places dignified with the name of towns, are also of mud—occasionally of mud and stones intermixed: but most of the inhabitants now, as in the time of Strabo, dwell in cottages of straw. These cottages are eight or ten feet in height; their walls are constructed of straw and palm-branches, kept together by strings made of the palm, and are fastened at each of the four corners to the dry stem of a palm; and the flat roof of palm leaves is secured and overtopped by acacia branches. In most of the villages is a hut by the road side, with a jar of water in it, for the accommodation of travellers.

Dar Sheygy'a, the most remote of the districts visited by Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury, (lying, as we have already stated, along that part of the Nile, where the river, before making a bend to the west, flows for nearly two degrees of latitude from north to south) is inhabited by the Sheygy'a Arabs. It appears to be subdivided into three states, often at war with one another, but ever ready to unite against a common foe. Adjacent to the Dongolese frontier are the dominions of King or Malek Zobeyr. Further up, are those of Malek Chowes, extending from Toraif to Kasinger; his capital is Merawe. Most remote of all is the kingdom of Amri, with its capital of the same name. It is a rocky, mountainous region, and has for its sovereign Hamet Wallad Asla.

"The Sheygy'a," says Mr. Waddington, "are black—a clear, glossy, jet-black, which appeared, to my then unprejudiced eyes, to be the finest colour that could be selected for a human being. They are distinguished in every respect from Negroes, by the *brightness* of their colour, by their hair, and the regularity of their features; by the mild and dewy lustre of their eyes, and by the softness of their touch, in which last respect they yield not to Europeans." (P. 122.)

They are a brave and warlike race, and have long been the most powerful people between Egypt and Sennaar. They live on horseback, with arms constantly in their hands. Their horses, which are of the Dongola breed, are taught to swim across the Nile in the broadest parts, and trained to a gallop resembling the spring of the antelope, which, though it occasions no em-

barrassment or impediment to riders accustomed to it, renders it extremely difficult for a foe to take a sure aim at them. When equipped for war, they have each two lances and a long solingen sword. A few have pistols, but the possession of guns is confined to their chiefs. Their defensive armour consists of an oblong shield made of the skin of the crocodile, or more frequently of that of the hippopotamus. Some of the leaders wear a coat of mail, which covers the head, and falls down over the shoulders to the middle of the back, strong enough to resist a spear, but penetrable by ball. They are singularly fearless in attack. Riding up with gaiety of heart to the very face of their enemy, as to a scene of festive enjoyment, they give the "*salam aleikoum—Peace be with you;*" and the deadly thrust of the lance instantly follows the mock salutation of friendship.

Their warlike character does not hinder them from cultivating the ground. They raise considerable quantities of wheat and dhourra, and carry on traffic with Darfour and Sennaar. They have many Nubians settled in the country; and, when their own numbers have been exceedingly diminished in war, they have supplied the loss by carrying off Dóngolese. These Nubians, though regarded as inferiors, do not seem to be reduced to servitude; but a great part of the labours of agriculture devolve upon them.

Formerly, the whole of Dóngola was under the dominion of the Sheygy'a: Dar Mahass was subject to their frequent, Sukkit and the Batn el Hadjar, to their occasional inroads. Till the arrival of the Mamelouks, Handech (situated between New and Old Dóngola) was the ordinary residence of Malek Chowes; and the rest of Dóngola was parcelled out among their chieftains, who appropriated to themselves one half of the taxes paid by the people, and left the other half to the native princes.

The arrival of the Mamelouks in 1812 altered this situation of things. When these exiled warriors, under the command of the Beys Ibrahim and Rochman, made their appearance in Dar Mahass, the Casheff of that district was at war with the Sheygy'a, who were settled in the southern part of Dóngola. At his solicitation, the Mamelouks advanced to the isle of Argo: but the war, which they threatened, was suddenly changed into peace. They were entertained at Argo as friends and allies, and they rewarded the confidence reposed in them by a treacherous massacre of their hosts. The Sheygy'a immediately sought to avenge in war their murdered brethren: but they were soon forced to cede to the strangers the western bank and the islands of the Nile, from the frontier of Dar Mahass as far as Hannech. The Mamelouks now acted as rulers of the country, and as intending to make it their permanent abode. They dismissed their



Egyptian wives, and married the daughters of their Nubian subjects. They increased the taxes to one-third of the whole produce; they promoted the cultivation of wheat instead of dhourra; they introduced some of the more ordinary arts; and, having fixed the seat of their government at Maragga, which now assumed the name of New Dóngola, they enlarged and improved it. Zobeyr, one of the Sheygy'a chiefs, begged their assistance against his neighbour Malek Chowes. They complied with his request: and with some of their own forces, zealously seconded, it would appear, by their Nubian vassals, they were again successful against their Sheygy'a foes.

But the vengeance and ambition of the Pasha of Egypt still pursued them. Mohammed Ali, eager to annihilate the remnant of his once formidable enemies, and anxious at the same time to carry his conquests to the borders of Abyssinia, began in 1820 to assemble an army which was to penetrate into the countries beyond the second cataract. While the preparations were going on, he sent a messenger to New Dóngola, in the hope that flattering promises might reduce the Mamelouks to submission. Their only answer was an expression of indignant contempt—"Tell Mohammed Ali that we will be on no terms with our servant." Hearing of the approach of his army, they celebrated the Ramadan with unusual solemnity, and, in the middle of June, mustering about three hundred strong (they had lost about a hundred men, and among them Ibrahim Bey, during their residence in Dóngola), with double that number of women and slaves, they took their departure for Shendy.\*

The army, which the Pasha had collected against them was nominally ten thousand strong, and was accompanied by twelve pieces of artillery: the number of fighting men in it, however, did not exceed four thousand. The command was entrusted to his second son, Ismael—a bold and impetuous youth, 22 years of age, who gave considerable promise of being one day a superior character. Under him were several leaders of more advanced age and more mature experience, among whom Abdin Casheff was the first in character and influence. The troops were all mercenaries; the best of them were Bedouins and Mogrebbyna.

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\* The subsequent story of this last remnant of the Mamelouks is soon told. The Malek, or King of Shendy, who at first allowed them to encamp near his capital, though not within its walls, was afterwards terrified by the successes of the Pasha over the Sheygy'a, and, being determined not to offer any resistance to the conqueror, ordered the Mamelouks to quit his country. The greater part of them retired under the command of Rochman Bey towards Darfour, where they would probably be either destroyed or dispersed by an expedition, which was at that moment advancing thither from Egypt. Some went in the opposite direction to seek refuge on the banks of the Red Sea: and a few, it was said, forgetful of the fate of all who had trusted to the promises of Mohammed Ali, threw themselves on the mercy of their persecutors.

Their engagement bound them to serve only as far as Dóngola, and they received six months' pay in advance. Leaving Cairo early in the summer, they passed the cataracts during the inundation, arrived at New Dóngola without opposition, and, having agreed to extend their services as far as Sennaar, advanced against the Shegy'a. Such was the situation of this little known part of Ethiopia, when Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury resolved to avail themselves of the facilities afforded by the progress of the victorious army, to penetrate where none of their countrymen had ever been before.

On the 10th of November, 1820, the travellers arrived at a Turkish magazine, which had been established at Wady Halfa, a little way below the second cataract. They immediately presented their firman to the Aga in command, and, stating that they had letters for Abdin Casheff, who had lately been appointed governor of Dóngola, they requested that the means of joining the army might be granted to them. The Pasha's firman extended only to Wady Halfa, and had this been known, it is not likely that they would have been allowed to proceed a step farther: but, fortunately for them, the Aga could not read, and therefore readily promised the requisite number of camels. The party consisted of six persons,—our two travellers, their dragoman, an Irish servant, and two Maltese attendants. Notwithstanding the liberality of the Aga's promises, only five camels were furnished for them. With these they set out on the morning of the 11th, James, the Irish servant, commencing his journey on foot. They soon left the cataract of Wady Halfa behind them. It was then impassable even for a small boat; but Mr. Waddington is convinced, that from the beginning of August to the middle of October, the largest cangees (the name of a species of boats used in the navigation of the Nile) may ascend all the cataracts without difficulty. In the course of the forenoon they overtook a Turk of rank, charged with dispatches for the army, whom they had seen in the preceding evening at Wady Halfa, and who was now at dinner, seated under an acacia.

"We were not a little surprised to be saluted by him in English, and invited in intelligible French to share his pillaw and mishmish. We sat on the same carpet with him, and when the officer in waiting would have brought a separate one for the infidels, Mahommed assured him that we were as great men as himself, and that we travelled for pleasure, and not by order of government; on hearing which, our Ababde camel-drivers, (as we were afterwards told,) remarked very simply, that we took great pains for little profit; because, go where we might, we could see nothing but earth, stone, and water. Mahommed Effendi was in England for a few days, I believe on some political mission, at the time of the sailing of Lord Exmouth for Algiers; he had passed some months at Paris; he was very affable, and even polite; he professed

some knowledge of mineralogy, and was anxious in his enquiries about ores, with a view, as usual, to the discovery of some rich mines. He told us that the Pasha once offered ten boats manned by his best soldiers, and armed with cannon to any one of his subjects who would undertake to discover the sources of the Nile, and that they answered him, 'Of what use would it be?' and by this argument the most enlightened Turk in existence is represented to have been satisfied. This was bad encouragement to travellers and explorers who retained enough of their European prejudices to fancy that all knowledge is useful." (P. 4, 5.)

Though Mr. Waddington's book tends to lower the notions commonly entertained of the insolence of Mohammedans, and of the bad usage to which Christian strangers are exposed among them, we must not imagine that our travellers found all Turks as polite as Mohammed Effendi. There is no surer means of infusing a little moderation into the bigotry of a Turkish bosom, than a visit to London and Paris.

Four days, and part of the fifth, were spent in traversing the Batn el Hadjar. They kept the right bank of the Nile; and their course was through a plain, except where the rocks, that skirted it on the left, approached so near to the river, as to make it necessary for them to wind through the mountainous passes. Some of these passes were not destitute of beauty. The Virgin's Pass, in particular, struck Mr. Waddington. "The rocks," says he, "are high and well broken, and often joined by sand blown up to a great height between them. The sunset was red and fiery, the moon clouded, and the sky unusually disturbed; a strong, though mild, wind served to encrease our enjoyment of the most English evening we had seen in the East." They saw many fertile spots, that lay altogether uncultivated. The villages were of mud, and a few old Christian churches were still to be seen. The Nile, from time to time, interrupted by rocks in its course, exhibited a great variety of cataract scenery. The people appeared stupid. One man, to whom they applied for information, answered their questions by saying, that his father had not taught him any thing about hours, and that he was not acquainted with any division of time.

On the 15th, Messrs. Waddington and Hanbury entered Suk-kôt, and slept at a village called Ferket, where, according to the promises of the Aga of the Cataracts, the camels were to be replaced by others. In the morning, they found that no camels could be procured: and they were deliberating on the propriety of pressing into their service two of those which had brought them thither, when they were informed, that the drivers, apprehensive probably of some such measure, had during the night set out with their beasts for Wady Halfa. The party were therefore obliged to have recourse to the assistance of asses. After two hours' travelling, during which they seem to have had much

difficulty in keeping their asses together, and still more in getting them to move onwards, they came to Mograte.

"Here," says Mr. Waddington, "our prospects brighten a little; a camel is discovered among the palms and soon afterwards another, and a man, with a woman and child near it; he proves to be an Ababde Arab, named Achmet, going down, with his wife and infant, to buy dates; we of course invite him very warmly to enter into our service, to which he as strongly objects; and on being more urgently pressed, he asks with great feeling, 'And will you oblige me to leave my wife and child in the hands of strangers?' now his wife was a very pretty woman, and was watching this scene with great interest, though in silence. The case was certainly a hard one, and perhaps we were decided by the sight of one of our asses, at that moment down on the ground, struggling with his burden: however, we were decided; we justified ourselves by the tyrant's plea, and immediately proceeded to transfer part of our property to the more dignified situation it was once more destined to occupy. The man intrusted his family to a fellow countryman, an inhabitant of the village, and proceeded reluctantly with us." (P. 15, 16.)

The connection, thus compulsorily formed, turned out in the sequel agreeable and advantageous to both parties. At a place where it was expected that camels would be easily procured, Achmet, after a week's service, obtained his discharge. Our countrymen, besides paying him for the use of his camels, gave him one or two strings of Venetian beads for his wife: and such, he declared, were his feelings of gratitude and attachment, that, were he ever to see them again, he would come up and speak to them, though it should be in the presence of the Pasha himself. "He was," says Mr. W., "an honest, single-hearted, grateful, and well-informed man."

The example of violence set by the masters was soon imitated by the servants. On the day after the capture of Achmet, the following adventure occurred; which, to judge from the style of the narration, appears to have been considered by the whole party as extremely amusing.

"While we were pursuing a very large snipe, which I started out of an old well by accidentally throwing a stone there, our servants were much better employed. After a short absence we observed them returning with a very fine camel of which, it appeared, they had not become possessed without difficulty. They had hailed its master, who continued to make off so rapidly on his 'ship of the desert,' that James found it necessary to bring him to, by firing a rifleshoot over his head; his friends however collected, to the number of twelve or fourteen, armed with swords and large sticks to assist him; James reloaded and cocked his gun, and no doubt great deeds would have ensued, had not Giovanni drawn out from under his jacket a pair of brass, bell-mouthed, blunderbuss pistols, loaded to the very mouth; at the sight of these, the Arabs took off in all directions and disappeared among the trees; the beast naturally fell into the hands of the victors." (P. 20.)

The Arabs, who were forced into the service of the travellers, demanded half a dollar per day for each camel; this charge, which was much less than that of the Aga of the cataracts, was willingly paid.

Beasts of burden were not the only things, which there was a difficulty in procuring. Provisions were often scarce. The sour bread and milk of the country were supplied willingly; but the inhabitants frequently refused to give or sell better fare—probably because they had not enough for their own wants, and those of the Turkish officers and agents who were constantly passing and repassing between Cairo and the seat of war. When this happened, “the tyrant’s plea” was enforced a-new. Fowls were generally abundant; our countrymen shot as many as they thought they should need, and then paid for them: for the owners, who would not sell their live poultry, had no objection to part with them when once they were dead. At a later period of their expedition, when they were passengers in one of the boats that were proceeding with supplies to the army, a similar transaction came under the cognizance of the commodore. They had seized a fine fowl in a Nubian cottage, and then paid for it. “But as a previous refusal to sell,” says Mr. W., “and subsequent payment on our part were proved, the commodore gave his approbation to this modification of a robbery.”

The inhabitants of Sukkôt seemed glad that the Pasha had taken the country into his own hands: for his sovereignty was a protection to them, both against the depredations of the Arabs, and against the rapacity of their own petty chieftains, who had been in the habit of leaving their subjects just enough to tempt the rovers of the desert. They gave our travellers, for the most part, a kindly reception. Their admiration was excited by their arms more than by anything else. “Now, at last,” exclaimed one of their sheiks at the sight of a sword stick, “now at last we begin to see the world.” The face of the country was superior to that of the Batn el Hadjar. The Nile was less interrupted by rocks; the plain had assumed a wider extent; the acacias were finer than even in Egypt; but the many ruined houses, which were to be seen, attested too surely that the population was in an unprosperous state.

The travellers entered Dar Mahass on the 18th, and spent three days in traversing it. The general aspect of this district was similar to that of Sukkôt; if there was any difference, it was on the side of improvement. The soil was better cultivated; matted work was becoming plentiful; and great numbers were seen employed in weaving. Shortly before quitting Dar Mahass, our travellers enjoyed the contemplation of the most striking spot which Nubian scenery has to boast of. It is known by the name of

"the Pass of the Water's Mouth." Near the entrance, on the right, two immense stones, regular as if art had hewn and placed them there, stand detached in solitary grandeur. Beyond them the pass opens with extraordinary sublimity; and the traveller finds himself amid a wilderness of rocks, that tower aloft like so many natural columns. In the presence of these enormous masses, irregularly scattered about in solitude, "we felt ourselves," says Mr. W., "in a holy place, and seemed walking amid the columns of a mighty temple, erected by the divinity in his own honour, and for his own worship."

"There is nothing at Assuan, Wady Halfa, or in the Bata el Hadjar, at all comparable to the 'Pass of the Water's Mouth,' either in grandeur or in variety of scenery: the immense masses of rock piled up together, the open plains scattered over with fragments, the entire want of all vegetation, and yet the traces of so many animals; the occasional view of the distant palms straggling by the river-side, and of the boundless desert beyond it, with the knowledge that man has no power here to change the face of nature, which ever has been, and ever must be what it is; these circumstances unite to give this place an interest possessed by no other that I ever saw, and to us, perhaps, heightened by the reflection, that we were the first Englishmen who had ever seen it, as we might possibly be the last." (P. 37, 38.)

On the morning of the 22d of November, they entered Dongola. Five palms standing by the river side, and a large solitary hill, Mount Arambo by name, 4 miles distant from the Nile, mark the frontier. About a mile beyond it, they observed two hieroglyphical inscriptions on a large granite rock, called by the natives the Golden Stone. One of them faces the N. W., and is two feet four inches broad, and three feet high. A man, with his hair in the fashion of the Briareus of the Egyptian temple, is in the act of making an offering; and, in the lower corner on the left, are two prisoners, back to back, with their arms chained together. The whole is encompassed and diversified with hieroglyphics. The other faces the S. W., and consists of eighteen lines of hieroglyphics, with the ball and serpent at the top; but it is so defaced, that no copy of it could be made. On the same day they saw much cotton growing in the neighbourhood of a place called Askán, and passed what we certainly did not expect to find in Dongola—a cotton-mill. We wish Mr. Waddington had described this cotton-mill, and the processes that were carried on in it; for the phrase, as here applied, must bear a meaning very different from that which is affixed to it in England. The opposite bank afforded a still more refreshing aspect of fertility. The Eastern plain, as far as the eye could reach, was covered with acacias; and it seemed to be hardly exceeded in richness by the numerous green islands, which were embosomed in the waters of the Nile.

On the following day, their route lay at first through a barren plain, the uniformity of which was broken only by a few acacias, and many ruined houses and tombs: but crossing a high mound, which was between them and the river, they suddenly found themselves in a garden luxuriant beyond imagination, where the air breathed fragrance, and the groves were filled with melody. Dismissing here their guides and beasts of burden, they were ferried over into the island of Argo. The scenery of the island is very beautiful; consisting of meadows, where cows and goats feed without any keeper, intermixed with small open cultivated fields, all shut in by sycamore and aromatic groves. It is likewise interesting to the antiquary, by the ruins of ancient buildings and fragments of ancient statues which it contains. Our countrymen traversed it nearly from N. to S., and arrived at the ferry for crossing to the western bank of the Nile, elevated by the hope that a few hours would bring them to New Dóngola, where Abdin Casheff would lend them every assistance for the further prosecution of their journey. From the ferryman, however, they learned that Abdin Casheff had advanced to join the army; intelligence which could not be very acceptable to travellers, who, counting upon his protection, were without camels, and almost without money.

With the assistance of asses, they arrived on the 25th at New Dóngola, which we have already mentioned as having been the capital of the Mamelouks, and greatly improved by them. It is a large and very neat mud town, ornamented with courts and squares, and beautifully situated in the finest country of the Nile. It lies in 19° North latitude. The river is here about half a mile broad.

As no beasts of burden could be procured, to proceed by land was impossible. In this dilemma, the travellers applied to the Turkish Aga, to grant them a passage in one of sixteen boats, which were about to sail with supplies for the army. Their request was instantly granted; and, on the morning of the 26th, they commenced their voyage up the river. This mode of travelling did not allow them any opportunity of examining the country, but it gave them some illustrations of Turkish discipline and Turkish navigation. The former is somewhat better, the latter much worse, than we had imagined. The boats could not move unless the wind was directly favourable: and they scarcely dreamt of the possibility of crossing the river with a side breeze. So much for their navigation. As to their discipline, all plundering was prohibited, and the troops were not permitted to oppress the natives. One morning Mr. Waddington found the commodore in great wrath, and beating all the soldiers who came within his reach, because during the night some of them had plucked the ears

of the dhourra. This severity of discipline, however, was neither maintained uniformly, nor was it universal in its operation. Some restraint was imposed upon the troops, only that the superior officers might have a more complete monopoly of rapine; and though the soldiers might not steal a few ears of corn, they were at liberty to seize the sheep of the inhabitants by force, and pay for them in base money, which had neither currency nor value in the country. Accordingly, the neighbourhood of the fleet seems to have been dreaded by the natives. The want of a favourable wind forced the commodore to make a halt near the town of Amboocote, and, in the course of the ensuing night, the inhabitants removed with their property into the desert.

During this delay our countrymen received a visit of an uncommon description. It was from some Cubbabish Arabs, who, in the character of strolling preachers, went about the villages, teaching and explaining the Koran, in churches set apart for that purpose. They said that nearly all their tribe could read and write; so that if reading and writing are to be taken as the criteria of education, the county of Middlesex, we are afraid, must yield the palm to a horde of Nubian Arabs. They supposed that Mr. Waddington was invested with authority to assess the new impositions upon the country (an error arising probably from the frequent use he made of his pencil in noting the names of places and the incidents of his journey), and they came to ascertain the rate and manner in which they were to be taxed for the future, and to entreat him not to make their burdens too heavy.

On the 7th of December the fleet resumed its progress, and, leaving Dóngola, entered Dar Sheygy'a. Our travellers were now in the theatre of the war, and they found that the arms of the Turks had been hitherto successful. Ismael Pasha, having upon his approach to the frontier summoned the Sheygy'a to submit, was answered by an offer to pay tribute. He next required them to prove their sincerity by sending him their arms and their horses, but received the same reply. And when he renewed his demand, "Either go on your business, or come and attack us," was the laconic answer made to it. In the first skirmish the Sheygy'a were the assailants, and were repulsed. In the second they were again unsuccessful, and the virgin daughter of one of their chiefs was made prisoner. The Pasha sent her back uninjured and loaded with presents; and her father showed his gratitude to his generous enemy by refusing to take any further share in the war. To diffuse astonishment and terror among them, Ismael caused a brilliant display of fire-works to be made in view of their encampment. "What!" said they, upon beholding this exhibition, "is he come to make war upon heaven too." They were told by some of the Arabian followers of



the Pasha; that, unless they submitted, he would drive them to Sennaar; they replied, "He may drive us to the gates of the world, but we will not submit." An engagement, of more importance than any which had preceded it, took place shortly after Mr. Waddington's arrival in the camp.

"Their first attack was irresistible; the Bedouins were driven back; and Abdin Casheff advanced from the opposite angle of the square to support them; while he was engaged, the Bedouins rallied in his rear, he returned to his post, and they charged again. The Moggrebyns had been similarly routed and rallied. The Sheygy'a, though suffering very severely, repeated their attacks, and three times was Abdin Casheff seen to charge in person, and throw himself into the middle of the enemy; he shot several of them with his own hand, and having disarmed one, he drove his own lance quite through his body. The Pasha, was giving, in other parts, similar proofs of courage, the only one he could now give of generalship, and the pistol of his Highness is said to have been particularly destructive; he caught the gaiety of his enemies, and rode among them with a laugh. At last, the Sheygy'a, finding that their magic had not been able to stop the course of Turkish balls, and that the charms of the enemy were stronger than their own, said, 'that God had declared against them,' and took to flight. They had placed great dependance on those charms, to which their necromancers had given, for this occasion, peculiar power and efficacy; and their first act after the battle was to put to death the whole race that had thus imposed on their credulity.

"Their cavalry, being much better mounted than their adversaries, in general escaped, but a great part of the infantry was massacred. It is, however, universally acknowledged that the Pasha exerted himself to save the flying enemy, and succeeded in preserving some, who were of the infantry, and chiefly Nubians; inhabitants of that part of Dongola which was tributary to the Sheygy'a, and attached to their army by force, or habit, or inclination; for these Arabs were not disliked by their subjects. The Pasha made presents to his prisoners, and clothed them, and sent them back to the Sheygy'a with the insulting message, not to send Berabéras against them; but to come themselves; to which they answered, as when yet unwounded, 'Either go on your business, or come and attack us.' He had not yet passed their mountain barrier, where they had been in the habit of routing their invaders.

"It is a singular, though very certain, fact, that the Pasha had not one man killed in this action, and only one officer and sixteen men wounded, and these, with scarcely any exception, in the back—the natural consequence of their manner of fighting; they discharge all their fire-arms, and then retire into the rear to re-load, while the second and succeeding ranks are firing; when loaded, they advance again, and therefore, after the first discharge, the whole is a scene of confusion. One Bedouin received seven lance wounds, not one of which was honourable, and recovered of them all; he had been unhorsed among the enemy, and lanced while lying on the ground.

"The Sheygy'a left six hundred men on the field of battle, and they

are now lying where they fell, unburied, in the Desert. I am told that the dying expression which remained on the faces of most of them was that of anger rather than of terror, and that many had expired with a smile on their countenance. I have heard of some acts of individual courage performed by them during the battle, and which are related with admiration by the Turks themselves. One Arab, who appears to have placed perfect confidence in the strength of his charms, after receiving five balls, continued fighting and crying out, 'that they might fire, but could never hurt him;' till he received his mortal wound. The exploits of another are particularly celebrated by his enemies, who, after being similarly perforated, fought till he fell, and died crying 'Where is the *Pashá*?' Another, also wounded, had lost his horse; however, he found his way to the door of the tent of *Selagh-Dar*, whose groom was standing there biting his master's charger; the Arab disabled the groom, leaped on the horse, and galloped away." (P. 99-103.)

Those who escaped from the battle, took refuge in some stone castles situated on the western bank of the Nile, in the neighbourhood of Mount *Dager*; and soon afterwards, in formidable battle array on the side of the hill, they again defied the invaders. A heavy fire of shot and shells soon dispersed them, rather dismayed by their superstitious alarms than terrified by the carnage. The shells appeared to them to work by sorcery. "The spirits of hell are come against us," was the exclamation called forth by the explosion of a shell, which had fallen among them.

The melancholy effects of the war were visible on both sides of the river. The villages were burnt down or deserted; the dogs were their only inhabitants. In one of them some mats and bedsteads remained; and over the doors were inscriptions written on paper in a very legible hand, purporting "that the inhabitants had been driven away by unholy people, not under the protection of God." In another village, one old woman was still lingering, who had refused to quit her cottage: she rejected all sustenance, and talked lightly of death. A multitude of women, who had fallen into the power of the invaders, were confined in one of the islands of the Nile. Mr. Waddington's servant asked some of them, whether they were not afraid of the soldiers. The reply breathed a spirit of magnanimity, scarcely inferior to that which true religion would inspire: "Why should we fear the soldiers? Can they do more than kill us?" In another village, an old woman was the only living creature in it, and she had her ears cut off; for *Ismael*, that he might send down a large collection of ears to his father as proofs of his success, bought them at fifty piastres a piece: and this necessarily led to much wanton cruelty. The shore was putrid, and the air tainted by the carcases of oxen, goats, sheep, camels, and men. Corpses were found every fifty yards scattered along the road, and among the corn. The horror of such objects

formed a strong contrast to the placid beauty of the scenery. "I never," says Mr. Waddington "saw the Nile so smooth and beautiful as in this country; it is like a succession of lakes ornamented by green islands, and surrounded by verdure. This may be fancy, and that the mind, disgusted by the fury of men, takes refuge in the tranquillity of nature, and is more disposed to the admiration of inanimate things, as it is shocked by the crimes and miseries of the things that live."

On the 13th of December, Mr. Waddington and his party quitted the boat which had brought them from New Dóngola, and proceeded along the eastern bank on dromedaries which the Pasha's physician had sent to meet them. They passed through a town, named Kadjeba, entirely deserted by its inhabitants; and, in the course of the day, they met many families, consisting of old men, women, and children, who, with the Pasha's permission, were returning to their villages. The travellers were now in the dominions of Malek Chowes, whose capital, Merawe, they reached, when it was nearly dark. They did not halt there; but, passing through its long and gloomy streets, where the howling of dogs was the only sound that met their ears, they arrived in the camp of Ismael. A mud cottage had been prepared for them, in which they were received by the Pasha's physician with every civility.

"An incident had just happened strongly characteristic of uncivilized warfare, the course of which is usually marked by a mixture of the extremes of generosity and barbarity. The remains of the Sheygy'a, still strong in cavalry, were stationed about a day's march higher up the river than the Pasha; and this morning the son of Malek Chowes arrived at the camp with an escort of a hundred men, and a present of five horses, craving his highness's permission to remain there till such time as he should be cured, by the physicians, of a wound which he received in the late battles. The Pasha promised him all possible attention, and desired the escort to assure his father, that, when restored to health, he should be sent back to fight again. The young prince was a short stout lad of about sixteen, in appearance and dress like his father's meanest subjects, and only to be distinguished from them by some ornaments on the hilt of his sword. His wound was in the foot, and not severe; but the Sheygy'a have no method of curing gun-shot wounds. One or two bodies were found of men who had forced tow or rag into them, to prevent bleeding to death; the blood had found its way out at the mouth and nose, and even at the eyes, and thus had they only changed the manner of their death, and taken pains to procure one more painful, and not less certain." (P. 126, 127.)

On the following afternoon they were presented to the Pasha, from whom they met with the most gracious reception. He made them sit by him on his sofa, and requested them to accommodate themselves in the fashion of their own country.

He seemed to have a tolerable acquaintance with the geography of Europe, and put many questions and shewed great curiosity concerning European politics. He was much surprised that the English did not assist Ali Pasha, for whose success he was anxious; and still more, that the Congress should have allowed the force of Russia to be increased.

Two days afterwards, an express arrived from Cairo in sixteen days. The messenger, who had used such dispatch, was charged only with some pears from Mahommed Ali to his son, and the present was accompanied by the following letter:—"My son, I send you your share of the pears, which are just ripe; your brother and I have found our's very good.—Mahommed Ali." Dispatches of importance are entrusted to men of importance, and are generally 26 or 28 days on the road.

The Pacha had several Europeans altogether in his service. The principal of these was the physician already mentioned, a Greek by birth; and he had a useful, and, if one half of what reached Waddington's ears was true, a most dangerous, tool in a countryman of his own named Demetrio, whom he had transformed from a sailor into a medical practitioner. A Milanese, the Cavaliere Frediani, known in the camp by the title of Prince Amiro, had, at Mahommed Ali's request, accompanied Ismael as an adviser and instructor. The intrigues of the physician had brought Frediani into disgrace, and, when he demanded his dismissal, even this request was refused, unless he would certify to Mahommed Ali in writing, that he was perfectly satisfied with the treatment which he had experienced from the son. There were, likewise, one or two other Italians, and two American renegades. Jealousies and feuds ran high among these few retainers of the Pasha. The Italians did not scruple to accuse Demetrio and his principal of the most atrocious crimes.

No military operations took place after Mr. Waddington's arrival in the camp. The Turks and the Sheygy'a were in constant negotiation; and Ismael appears to have let slip no opportunity of conciliating his adversaries. These negotiations terminated finally in peace. The Sheygy'a, who from the beginning had offered to pay tribute, became the allies of the Pasha, retaining their arms and horses; and it was agreed, that a number of them should advance with his army against the southern nations, who were their enemies as well as his.

Our travellers were prevented from witnessing this event and from accompanying the army in its advance, by finding their departure most unexpectedly precipitated. On the morning of the 20th of December, when they had not been quite a week in the camp, they were informed by a message from the Pasha, that

he meant to dismiss them with all honour on the following evening. On the same day they had an interview with him:

"We found him sitting in the European manner, on a very Christian-like sofa, on which we took our places by him. Nothing could be more gracious; the doctor, as usual, stood before us to interpret, and James within hearing, a little behind. On a carpet on the Pasha's right was a grand Turk from Cairo, and next to him two Sheygy'a professors with long white beards, who had just been clothed, to their very great surprise and dismay, in splendid pelisses and rich shawls.

"The usual preliminary conversation about the river, the mountains, and the trees, we cut rather short, and came somewhat hastily to the point. 'We are come according to the commands of your Highness, supposing that your Highness has something particular to communicate.' 'I feel honoured by your visit to the army, and should be pleased to have your company as far as Sennaar, but the dangers and difficulties and privations will be so great, that I advise you to return.' 'We wish respectfully to be informed, whether your Highness's advice amounts to a command?' 'It is for your own good, and the love I have for England.' 'We are to understand, then, that your Highness *obliges* us to return?' 'It is solely with a view to your own good that I give this order.' 'We are sorry that your Highness has thought proper to prevent the intentions of English gentlemen. We submit to your Highness's order.' 'My only motive is a consideration of your own safety; besides which, the firman given you by my father extends no farther than Wady Halfa.' 'We do not dispute your Highness's right to act, but rather thank your Highness that we have been allowed to come thus far, and perhaps we should not have thought of advancing farther, had not the Protomedico communicated to us, from your Highness, an invitation to accompany the army as far as Sennaar.' 'I should have great pleasure, were it not that I fear for your safety.' 'Well, we submit; we have only to beg your Highness to permit us to advance as far as the cataract and the islands near it, and then to return by water.' 'The danger is not so much in advancing, as for your return, as the people in our rear are even now unquiet, and, when the army moves on, will probably break into insurrection; and from above I shall not be able to send a guard with you; nor will it be safe for you to go by water. As visitors to my army, I am responsible to my father, and to the English nation, for your safety.' 'In case of our writing to Cairo to mention the offers of protection made by your Highness, may we be allowed these favours, by taking all responsibility on ourselves?' After some hesitation, 'If you will write a letter to such effect, and give it to me, I will send it to my father and the English Consul, and you are then free to advance or return, as you like.' And after a few more words, in which he promised us a boat to go down in, the matter was ended greatly to our satisfaction.

"He attempted, during the latter part of the conversation, which is here much abridged, to work alternately on our vanity and our fears; on the former, by a number of unmeaning compliments to ourselves and

to the English nation ; and on the latter, by accounts of robberies committed every night in the very rear of his army, and of the general disturbed state of the country ; and then he motioned away the Mamelouks and Janissaries, who were standing by, as if he were making us an important communication, that would spread a panic in his army if generally known. The courtier from Cairo gave us from time to time some looks of mixed anger and surprise, on observing perhaps a freedom in our words or manner that was not usual towards a Turkish prince. The Pasha ended by telling us, that he shall defer the departure of the convoy till to-morrow evening, to give us more time for reflection, and we parted apparently good friends." (P. 149—151.)

They immediately wrote a letter, taking upon themselves exclusively, in the strongest language they could use, all responsibility for their own safety. The Pasha expressed himself perfectly satisfied with it, but still begged them to re-consider the subject. Abdin Casheff, too, having sent for them, entered into many details to prove, that their advance would be dangerous; and their return, after a certain time, impossible; and he enforced his objections in the warmest and most friendly manner. They at last yielded, from a conviction that, whatever resolution they might themselves come to, the Pasha was determined that they should go no further. The promise of a boat to convey them down was retracted, and it was fixed, that they should return with a convoy along the left bank of the Nile. The escort, however, was placed completely at their disposal, and every necessary for the journey was most liberally supplied. A respite of two days was also allowed them, that they might finish their plans and descriptions of the antiquities in the neighbourhood.

It is almost useless to speculate on the reasons, which may have determined a capricious half civilized young Turk thus to arrest the progress of our countrymen. We are not altogether satisfied, that the motives assigned by him, and Abdin Casheff, did not really influence him. It does not appear from Mr. Waddington's Journal, whether it was clearly understood that they were willing, if permitted to advance with the army, to remain with it till its return; and we can easily conceive, that if the war with the Shegy'a had continued, (and at the time of Mr. Waddington's departure peace had not been concluded,) it might have been impossible for a small body to make their way back through a country infested by hostile Arab tribes. We cannot suppose, that the Pasha was displeased with our countrymen; for their reception was most gracious, and their dismissal was accompanied, not merely with honour, but with the most substantial proofs of civility and kindness. It is by no means unlikely, that the intrigues of the Christians in the camp were the secret spring of Ismael's determination;

for to none of these could the company of our countrymen be agreeable. Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury were not men of the same stamp with themselves, nor were they miserable dependants on Turkish caprice. Their conduct must have been felt as a reproach; their presence as a mortification. Frediani was now restored to favour, and he would naturally wish to be disembarassed from rivals in the career of antiquarian discovery. Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury had always treated the Greek physician with little ceremony, and his creature, Demetrio, with still less; and they had disgusted (for this we give them praise) the American renegades, by the coldness of their reception. Indeed, the only Christians to whom they appear to have shown any regard, were one or two unfortunate Italians, who living in a state of open war with Demetrio and his master, charged them both with having committed murder by administering poison, and sought the co-operation of our travellers in their impracticable schemes of vengeance. The physician and Demetrio, to whom these things could not be unknown, must have wished for the removal of two persons, who occasioned embarrassment to them, and gave countenance to their enemies. If such a wish existed, the means of gratifying it were at hand; for it was only through the physician that the Pasha could communicate with Europeans; and the specimens which Mr. Waddington has given us of the tricks by which the despicable Greek brought Frediani into temporary disgrace, afford ample proof, that he would not be scrupulous in conveying misrepresentations to his master. Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury would probably have had a better chance of being allowed to proceed further, if they had been as base, as servile, and as unprincipled, as the Greeks and renegades of the Pasha's retinue, or if they had been insincere enough to pretend regard for creatures, whom they despised and abhorred.

It is ridiculous to suppose, that the Pasha could have been displeased with our travellers, because, in their way to join him, they had pressed camels into their service, and used a little violence in procuring provisions. Greeks and Turks (we do not speak of the soldiers, there was another rule for them,) were constantly acting with much more roughness; and surely the men, who were the friends of Abdin Casheff, and sat on the same sofa with the Pasha, could not be blamed for doing what they could to avoid starving in the desert, or traversing it on foot. We would not, however, advise future travellers to imitate hastily the example of Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury. These gentlemen had a victorious army before them; the country, through which they passed, had just been taught a severe lesson of practical submission; the people had been accustomed of late to endure aggra-

sion; they saw every day the arbitrary proceedings of messengers and officers on the way to or from Cairo; and they knew that the army, on its return, must necessarily visit them again. Under these circumstances repairing to the camp, they were supposed to be persons of high consideration, and were enabled to adopt with safety a tone of command, which would probably be fatal to strangers who should venture upon it, without having an army in their front to pave the way for them. One little deception was practised by Mr. Hanbury, which we cannot approve. To procure more ready services from the natives, he gave himself out as the physician of Ismael Pasha, on his way to join his highness: and "he was," says his friend, "well qualified by his beard, Turkish dress, and other important requisites, to support that character." He was often applied to in his medical capacity; and as some of these applications were made to him in Ismael's camp, we suspect that his false assumption of office, having accompanied him thither, may have reached the ear of the real physician, and may have contributed to the sudden dismissal of our countrymen. Mr. Hanbury even ventured to prescribe for the ophthalmia, and succeeded (we easily believe the assertion,) in putting his patients to a great deal of pain. Such a deception could procure only slight and temporary advantage, and, whatever might be its actual effects in the present instance, was likely to have entangled those who had recourse to it in very serious inconveniences.

The two days, which were allowed our travellers for the examination of the antiquities in the neighbourhood of the camp, were devoted assiduously to that employment. The most important of these ruins lie a little to the N. of Merawe, at the foot of the mountain Djebel el Berkel, near the site, as Mr. Waddington supposes, of the ancient Napata. They consist of temples and pyramids. Of the seven or eight stone buildings and excavations in the rock, which Mr. Waddington supposes to have been temples, there is one which far exceeds all the rest. Including the thickness of the walls, it is 450 feet long, and 159 wide: its entrance faces the Nile, and, going in, you pass successively through five chambers, the exterior being larger than the interior, and all of them having been once ornamented with columns. To the left of the inner-most chamber but one, is a sixth apartment; and in each of these two is a black granite pedestal, beautifully sculptured, on which stood, most probably, the statue of the god to whom the temple was dedicated, or of the king by whom it was erected. Hieroglyphics were still visible on the ruined walls. From having observed a sculptured stone among the mortar in the middle of the thick outer wall, Mr. Waddington inferred that the stones were taken from some more ancient edifice; and the irregularity of the foundations, together with the positions



of several of the columns, inclined him to believe that this building had, when erected, included within it some chambers of one still older. The most perfect of these temples is one which, according to Mr. Waddington, was dedicated to Bacchus; it is about a hundred feet in length, and is ornamented with figures of nearly all the gods of Egypt. The following is the description of the edifice, which, in his opinion, surpasses all the rest in antiquity :

“ Five of its six chambers are cut in the rock, and the other, the first, which is thirty-six feet square, stands on an artificial stone foundation, by which it is elevated to the height of the rock in which the others are excavated. The wall separating the second chamber from the first is solid, but of no great thickness; the chamber measures twenty feet five inches by twenty-one feet six inches, and contains the remains of four round pillars, whose diameter is two feet five inches. The third chamber is only ten feet nine inches in length, and of nearly the same width as the second. The fourth, or adytum, is twelve feet four inches long, and ten feet eight inches wide. Of the two smaller ones on each side of it, the one is four feet three inches in width, and the other only three feet nine inches: at the end of each is a stone bench, two feet in height, where statues may formerly have been erected. The height of the solid roof, which is now in most places fallen in, was eleven feet seven inches.

“ On the back wall of the room, on the right of the adytum, appear two defaced figures of Jupiter Ammon, and the young divinity whom I have called Horus. There are vestiges of hieroglyphics in all the chambers. Above the rock, which forms the back wall of the adytum, are six or eight layers of stones, of different sizes, and of the rudest architecture, erected possibly as a defence against fragments which might roll down upon the temple from the mountain behind. The walls of the cells have in two or three places been repaired, and faced with stone, on which are hieroglyphics. There are some specimens of the same kind of patchwork on the front of the rock, in which the temple of Gyrshe, in Nubia, is excavated. The elevated chamber in front may have been the addition of a later age; as in the preceding temple the statue of Bacchus, and the capital or ornament on its head, are better executed and finished than the figures sculptured on the walls within. From the simplicity of the masonry, from the rudeness and decay of the remaining sculptures, and from the raggedness and decomposition of the walls, though they had been sheltered probably for ages by the solid rock from the sun and wind, I am inclined to believe that this is older than any of the temples of Egypt, or even Nubia.

“ We observed nowhere any sculptures that had been intentionally erased or disfigured; proving, I think, that the ruins were in their present state when Christianity was introduced into the country. The idols were already broken; and the ravages of time, or of war, had been so effectual, that they needed not the hand of fanaticism to complete them.” (P. 169—171.)

The pyramids of Djebel el Berkel are on the N. and N. W. of

the mountain, near the edge of the desert. They are seventeen in number, but some of them are now mere shapeless mounds. None of them are of considerable size: the base of the largest is 81 feet square. One group, consisting of seven, have all, with one exception, arched porticos annexed to them, coeval, as it appeared, with the pyramids themselves.

At El Bellál, a rocky spot surrounded by sand, on the edge of the desert, six or seven miles above Djebel el Berkel, and situate on the left bank of the river, the remains may be seen of nearly forty pyramids of different sizes, of higher apparent antiquity than those of Djebel el Berkel, and in a more ruinous state than the most ruinous of those at Saccara. Mud seems to have been the cement employed in them. The greater part of them are now mere mounds of decomposed stone, gravel, and sand. Even in those which have best withstood the ravages of time, the exterior coating has crumbled off, and the layers to some depth within have fallen away. The largest has a base of 152 feet square, and is 103 feet 7 inches in height: it contains within it another pyramid of a different age and architecture, and composed of a hard, light, coloured sand-stone, "more durable," says Mr. Waddington, "than that, which after sheltering it for ages, has at last decayed and fallen off and left it once more exposed to the eyes of men." The conclusion is too hasty. The outer case has been exposed to the winds and rains of thousands of years, while the inner pyramid has been completely sheltered: the less ruinous state of the latter is therefore no proof of the superior durability of its materials.

They were informed that, in the island of Doulga, situated a short way up the river, immediately above a cataract, there were large excavations and "buildings that reached to heaven." These they supposed to have been fortifications, not temples; and that Doulga is the island in which the King of Dóngola took refuge in 688 from the pursuit of the boats and troops of the Sultan of Egypt.

On the 24th of December (the preceding day having been solemnized as Christmas in the camp), they commenced their journey downward along the left bank of the Nile. Their escort was composed at first of Tombol, a Dóngolese king, in whose dominions lay the fertile island of Argo, and Mohamed Casheff of Dar Mahass, with their respective retinues; it was afterwards increased by two other kings of Dar Mahass, and the king of Old Dóngola. The respect and obedience, which these barbarous chiefs showed towards our travellers, are a clear incontrovertible proof, that they were believed to stand high in the estimation of the Pasha. As they returned through Dar Shegy'a, they saw many of the Arabs returning to their

homes and resuming under the Pasha's protection the occupations which the war had forced them to abandon. Their swords and lances had been taken from them, but they had been allowed to retain a knife or dirk, which they usually wear on the left arm.

On the 29th of December the travellers entered Old Dóngola, which they had not had an opportunity of visiting in their voyage upwards. It has a stone castle; the streets are regular, but full of sand; the houses are of mud, with huge massive doors, resembling each a separate fortification. Though capable of containing 2,000 people, its inhabitants do not exceed 200. At the end of the seventeenth century, though even then half deserted and hastening to decay, it was still of importance; and it continued to have flourishing bazaars, and to be the centre of considerable commerce, till it became tributary to the Shegy'a. These Arabs contributed to its depopulation, by carrying away many of the inhabitants: but the establishment of the Mamelouks at Maragga gave the finishing blow to its consequence and wealth. The Dóngolese seem to care little who the rulers are that hold them in vassalage. They had been patient subjects of the Shegy'a; and they seemed already quite satisfied with the yoke of the Pasha.

On the 3d of January, 1821, the travellers arrived at the isle of Benni, the abode of their conductor, King Tombol. The four following days were spent in receiving his hospitalities, which Mr. Waddington has detailed minutely, and in visiting the antiquities in the adjacent island of Argo. They wished to have made excavations; but, though accompanied by some of Tombol's guards, they could not obtain from the natives the requisite assistance. One reason of their failure was, that they had only the base money of Egypt, on which the Nubians set no value. After they had given up their antiquarian researches, they were detained six days longer by the sickness of one of their servants. This interval of inaction leaves Mr. Waddington at leisure to give us some interesting details, that illustrate the internal state of society among the Nubians.

"There is a young Shiek, or Saint, who lived in a cottage near our tent, and visited us frequently—an intelligent looking boy, and well versed in the Koran; he fetches water for our servants, and is nephew of the King of Dóngola. The title is *Shiek of Islam*, or Supporter of the Faith; the office, and the holiness attending it, are hereditary. The Shiaks of Islam are exempted from all bodily labour, and have a portion of land cultivated by others; they generally increase their income by writing charms. The tombs, which we have had so many occasions to notice, contain their bodies; not, however, that such habitations are necessarily built for all who die, but only for those whose conduct is

considered by their surviving brethren to have deserved such an honour. All property left in the precincts of these tombs is protected by their sanctity ; and so effectually, that I have frequently observed heaps of corn lying there, in the open air and by the road-side, as being thus placed in greater security than could have been afforded by the house of their possessor.

" This boy is distinguished in appearance by a different arrangement of his hair, which is curled up close round the head, instead of hanging down in the manner usual with his unconsecrated countrymen." (P. 245.)

" One young saint speaks Arabic excellently, and Hadji Yacobe our Irish servant, by our desire, requested him to write some verses of the Koran for him as a charm ; he told Yacobe that he must first swear, ' by God, the creator of the world,' that they were for himself (a supposed Mussulman), and not for the Christians. Yacobe offered to swear by the Prophet, but this the saint held insufficient, saying, ' that the Prophet, though the ambassador of God, was still a man like ourselves, and the oath by him would not be binding. There are three laws (he continued), that of Moses, of Jesus, and Mahommed ; Jesus was the Spirit of God, and the mistake of the Christians is, in supposing that he was crucified ; the Jew was crucified, but the Spirit did not suffer.' "

" Our young instructor received the rudiments of his education in Dar Sheygy'a, and was afterwards at school in Old Dóngola. They are taught in these schools to read and write ; and, in arithmetic, addition, subtraction, and multiplication. The saint multiplied several figures into each other in the presence of James. When their education is finished, the parents pay the master in cotton cloth and dhourra, and when rich, also in cattle. The masters are shieks of Islam ; these are not the magicians, nor are they ever shieks of tribes ; the employment is considered very honourable, and generally held by relatives of the royal family. The boys are punished for rebellious conduct, for stabbing each other with knives, &c. &c. ; but the offence, for which there is the least hope of pardon, is that of allowing the Koran to fall on the ground. Large sticks are, as usual, the instruments of chastisement ; but the third offence is in every case expulsion. They are taught to read on the same kind of flat boards that are used for the same purpose in Egypt." (P. 248—250.)

Here, as in other Mohammedan countries, religion seems to be the chief barrier to the power of the sovereign.

" These petty Princes, who under the titles of Shiek, Casheff, Mek or Malek, have so long possessed and divided the banks of the Nile from Assouan to Sennaar, seem not to have been entirely despotic ; and profess to consider themselves as placed in that situation by the will of God, to administer the justice of the Koran : the only law, as it is the only learning of Mahommetans. For murder, the king may punish with instant death ; for theft, he has only power to beat the culprit, though it would seem that his life is forfeited by a repetition of the offence. There is no gradation of punishment : mutilation, branding, or banishment are not heard of ; nor is there any thing intermediate between the

robbery and death. The laws for securing the property of the subject seem to have been much less definite; nor could we ever get any clear account of them: for the protection of travellers, certainly none existed. When we have observed the curiosity with which Malek Tombold and his soldiers regarded, and even handled, some of our property, and the avidity they displayed to possess all, even to our very clothes, we have often congratulated ourselves on the protection afforded us by the name of Mahommed Ali, and the vicinity of his armies; without which, I do not believe that any attempt to explore these countries could have been successful." (P. 252, 253.)

Though the scene of the following transaction was below the second cataract, it deserves to be quoted as very illustrative of an important part of Nubian manners.

"Floating down the river in the neighbourhood of Dakke, we were hailed by a female voice, crying from the shore, 'Soldiers of the Sultan, come and see me justified.' We were not deaf to such an appeal, and made the sailors row to the bank; however, the woman herself did not appear to plead her own cause, but stood at a little distance closely veiled; a man, who seemed to act as her counsel, informed us of the merits of the case.

"Last year a soldier, with some of his companions, was coming into a village near here, and a child, whom he passed, said to him, 'Why do you not give us the salutation of Peace? Are you come among us as an enemy, and not as a friend?' The soldier irritated at being thus corrected by a child, began to beat the people, and at last killed one of them with a musket-shot: this man's widow was the plaintiff,

"Now the law of Nubia is, that the property of the deceased, if he leave a male child, goes to the widow; if a female, she is entitled to half of it; and if none at all, to one fourth—the surviving brother takes the rest. The plaintiff was childless, and claimed the fourth, declaring that she had yet received nothing. As this was not a case of personal chastisement, and therefore beyond our jurisdiction, we sent the parties to the Shiek, who keeps the register of all the marriages in the district, and by his decision the brother agreed to abide; for it appears that the lady had had four husbands, two of which were still living, and the disputed point seemed to be, whether she was lawfully married to the last." (P. 278, note.)

After taking leave of King Tombol at Banni, three days' journey brought our travellers to the northern frontier of Dón-gola. On the 17th they arrived at Hadji Omar, the capital of one of the chiefs of Dar Mahass, who, accompanied by his minstrel, formed part of the convoy. The hospitable civilities of the sovereign gave Mr. Waddington much less gratification, than the landscape which he surveyed from the summit of a neighbouring rock. The impression which it made upon his mind is described with an energy, which more than compensates for any little tinge of quaint conceit that may be discovered in the passage.

"The view was as extensive as that I had from the top of Mount

King, but the effect extremely different. In the former situation, from the vicinity of the mountain, the Nile and its islands were spread before me like a map; the greater distance to which I was at present removed, left more to imagination. It is a noble sight to contemplate the Father of Rivers at the same time on the right hand and on the left, before and behind, laboriously forcing his way among the rocks, in appearance a mighty serpent winding through the Desert, but in effect the contrary; for where he comes not is desolation; before him and by his sides are verdure and life; he seems constantly struggling to do good and constantly resisted, and you see together his power, his beneficence, and his beauty. The good and evil genii of Africa are in conflict, and it is melancholy to see how limited is the success of the former, and how narrow the line of fertility compared with the barrenness that extends without bounds around it: and yet the very waste has its herds of inhabitants, and it is a wonderful consideration how many animals derive from this river alone their life and the means of preserving it." (P. 274, 275.)

Dar Mahass presents ruins at Sasef (which, Mr. Waddington thinks, is the ancient Aboccis), at Sôleb, and at Doshe. Those at Sôleb appear to be the most magnificent in Nubia:

"The temple of Sôleb faces the Nile, and is about four hundred yards distant from it. In advancing towards it your attention is first attracted by an elevated stone foundation of thirty feet seven inches in thickness, extending in front of the temple, and of equal length with the portail; it is much ruined, and in some places cannot be traced without difficulty. There is an entrance eight feet six inches in width, exactly opposite to the gate of the temple; two narrow walls, one each side of the entrance, lead nearly up to the remains of two sphinxes, of which the former is of grey granite, and has the ram's head; it is six feet in length; the other is so much broken as to be nearly shapeless; they are situated thirty-four feet six inches from the stone foundation, and ninety feet nine inches farther still is the beginning of a staircase leading up to the temple; two other sphinxes have been posted in front of it, of which there remains a part of one only. Thence to the wall of the temple is an ascent of seventy-two feet over heaps of ruins. The front of the portail, which is far from perfect, is about one hundred and seventy-five feet long; the width of the staircase before it fifty-seven feet. The wall, which is twenty-four feet thick, is not solid, but contains on each side of the entrance three cells, into which there is no door, and whose use is not obvious; there is in the wall of the gateway itself a kind of nook, or retired space, measuring eleven feet seven inches in width, such as I have observed in some temples of Nubia and Egypt.

"The first chamber is one hundred and two feet six inches in breadth, and in depth only eighty-eight feet eight inches: round three sides of it runs a single row of pillars, and on the fourth and farthest has been a double row, making on the whole thirty columns, of which seven are still standing and perfect; there is nothing original in their shape or execution, and they are all from the same model; the diameter of their base is five feet seven inches, and their height about forty feet; they

are inscribed with hieroglyphics only: the space between them and the wall of the temple has been covered by a roof, which is now fallen in.

"The front wall of the second chamber, which is rather less in width than the first, and only sixty-eight feet three inches in length, is niched in the entrance, like the propylon, and is twelve feet in thickness; in the chamber itself there is no considerable portion of any pillar standing, and it was not without some difficulty that we were enabled to trace a single row of twenty-four columns, exactly resembling those in the first chamber, which has surrounded it within a few feet of the wall; their fragments are scattered about in every direction, and the very bases of some are rooted up, and the mud foundation on which they have stood is exposed. So entire, yet so partial, a ruin can only be attributed to the sudden yielding of that foundation; an earthquake would not have spared the columns which still remain in the other parts of the temple.

"The middle of the chamber is low and hollow, and a very large stone is lying in one part of it, which might, at first sight, be mistaken for a part of the foundation of a wall. On the posterior wall, and near the entrance into the adytum, lies a sculptured stone, about ten feet long; a hawk, an owl, and an ox, with other hieroglyphical figures are represented on it, of unusual size, but in low relief.

"It is difficult to ascertain the dimensions of the adytum, as no part of the side walls can be traced, and only a few feet of the posterior one; it has, however, clearly contained twelve pillars and not more, and of these three are still entire (except the capital of one), and about a half of a fourth; the rest have fallen chiefly towards the Nile before their enemy the Desert, and one of them is now so much inclined in the same direction, that he must shortly be laid with his brethren. They are of a different model from those in the first chamber, but not of a new or uncommon one; they are five feet eleven inches in diameter, and the distance between the two rows on the left is six feet two inches, and between the two middlemost of the four rows nine feet six inches. The length of the chamber appears to be thirty-seven feet. The lower parts of all the columns bear representations of figures about three feet high, of which the lower half is concealed by a tablet inscribed with hieroglyphics. I copied some of them, as I had before copied some similar at Sasef; they are in low relief, but executed in the very best style, as are all the sculptures remaining on the temple, though in some places they have never been finished. Jupiter Ammon appears twice among the few remaining figures, and to him I suppose the building to have been dedicated; part of a Mendes, with the flail and lotus, is distinguishable on a fragment.

"On the western side of a pillar we observed some marks, evidently artificial, and in character unknown to us, though most resembling Greek. I copied them twice, in two situations of the sun, and as I believe, with the greatest accuracy. I have shewn them to three or four men of learning, who have not recognized them; however, I feel it my duty to make them public, in the hope that they may at length meet some eye, to which they are not strange. It is the only ancient inscription in any language that we have been fortunate enough to observe

during our expedition ; though we have neglected the examination of no spot, where such a discovery might probably have been made.

"The temple of Soleb affords the lightest specimen I have seen of Ethiopian or Egyptian architecture. The sandstone of which most of the columns are composed is beautifully streaked with red, which gives them, from a little distance, a rich and glowing tint. The side and posterior walls have almost entirely disappeared ; and the roof (for the adytum has been completely covered,) has every where fallen in, so that there remains no ponderous heap of masonry to destroy the effect of eleven beautiful and lofty columns, backed by the mountains of the Desert, or by the clear blue horizon. We were no longer contemplating a gloomy edifice, where heaviness is substituted for dignity, height for sublimity, and size for grandeur ; no longer measuring a pyramidal mass of stone-work, climbing up to heaven in defiance of taste and of nature. We seemed to be at Segesta, at Phigalea, or at Sunium ; where lightness, and colour, and elegance of proportion, contrasted with the gigantic scenery about them, make the beauty of the buildings more lovely, and their durability more wonderful ; there is no attempt in them to imitate or rival the sublimity that surrounds them,—they are content to be the masterpieces of art, and therefore they and nature live on good terms together, and set off each other's beauty. Those works of art that aim at more than this, after exhausting treasures and costing the life and happiness of millions, must be satisfied at last to be called hillocks." (P. 286—290.)

At Sôleb they were deserted by their guides, and for seven days had to find out their own route. On the 1st of February they arrived at Wady Halfa, regretting the termination of their labours rather than rejoicing at it. Their expedition had occupied 83 days ; of which 34 were spent in the journey upwards, 10 in and about the camp of Ismael, and 39 in returning.

Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury deserve great praise for the enterprise, courage, and good sense shown by them throughout their expedition, and for the simple, straight-forward manner in which their account of it has been drawn up. Mr. Waddington (for to him the task of authorship has been allotted) never lingers on beaten ground, or wastes his pages in describing that which has been described well enough before. The style, if not elegant, is at least always clear, concise, and masculine. Well aware that no combination of words can convey the specific characters or effect of natural scenery, he seldom indulges himself in description ; but many of his short sketches are very striking, and his reflections are expressed with a vigorous eloquence, such as can flow only from a highly cultivated mind. Gray has well said, "that a hint upon the spot is worth a cart-load of recollection." Upon this principle, Mr. Waddington collected, as he went along, his materials in the form of a journal ; and from these materials the present publication is taken. In such a journal a confusion of past and present tenses almost necessa-



rily inculcates itself; and they who have been for two or three years absent from their native country, and accustomed all that time to a jargon of languages, are extremely apt, in speaking their own tongue, to mingle foreign words with it, and to deviate now and then from the purity of its idiom. That there should have been in Mr. Waddington's original journal an occasional confusion of the past and present tenses, a sprinkling of foreign terms, and slight infelicities of idiom, was therefore no more than was to be expected: and that a few of these verbal inaccuracies should have been allowed to creep from the rough journal into the more elaborate composition, is an oversight too natural and too trivial, not to be easily pardoned, if indeed it needs to be pardoned at all.

Some of Mr. Waddington's verbal inaccuracies arise from his desire to express whatever he has to say in as few words as possible. This constant straining after extreme brevity, to say nothing of some unusual modes of employing adverbs and words of reference into which it has tempted him, has led him to identify in his language the course of the Nile with the direction that he pursued on its banks. Thus where the Nile is flowing west, Mr. Waddington will say, that its course is east, because it was in that direction that he journeyed. This mode of expression gives the writer scarcely any advantage in point of brevity, and must perplex the reader.\* We suspect too, that Mr. Waddington has sometimes perplexed himself; for there are passages, where the course ascribed to the Nile is neither the true one nor the opposite to the true one, but in a line intermediate between them. For instance, in the very paragraph (p. 24), in which he explains his mode of stating the course of the Nile, he says, "Just above Koye, the Nile changes its course to E. by N. or E.N.E. or, accurately speaking, to the opposite points to these." Now his own map shows that the true course of the Nile at the point specified is W. by N., or W.N.W. In such cases, it is difficult to say, whether it is with the printer or with the writer that the inaccuracies rest. We mention these trifles, not because in our eyes they take away in any perceptible degree from the merit of a work, which, considered merely as a literary performance, shows every where a simple and classical purity of taste. Men who, like Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury, abandon for a time the pleasures of civilized life and the pursuit of professional advancement, for the sake of exploring countries scarcely known to Europe, are entitled to

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\* Why, for instance, should Mr. Waddington say, that opposite Tinarch they "found the Nile running east, or east by south?" (p. 26.) Would it not have been equally brief, to have said, agreeably to the truth, that they found it running west or west by north?

have their labours received with liberality and candour : and we should think that we acted a most unworthy part, if we availed ourselves of any little inaccuracies, which may have escaped their pens, to assail them with sarcasm, or to show our wit or our malignity at their expense.

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ART. X.—*Napoleon in Exile ; or a Voice from St. Helena. The Opinions and Reflections of Napoleon on the most important Events of his Life and Government, in his own Words.* By Barry E. O'Meara, Esq., his late Surgeon. In two Volumes, 8vo. London, 1822.

Whatever may be thought of the person of whose latter days so circumstantial an account is here given, it cannot be denied that he was indeed, to whatever concurrence of circumstances, or peculiarity of qualities, it may be ascribed, a greatly distinguished man ; and the private hours, and familiar converse, of any very distinguished man cannot fail to be more or less interesting. It may not be amiss, however, to avow the whole extent of our illiberality upon this subject, by confessing that we sat down to the perusal of these memoirs with certain strong convictions, perhaps prejudices, against the subject of them, which such perusal has by no means been of power to remove. It seems to us that the many atrocious acts ascribed to Buonaparte have had all the testimony to establish them that entitle the conspiracy of Catiline or the proscriptions of Sylla to be received as historical facts, and somewhat more—for the page of history may have been forged or fabricated, and if genuine as to its author may be unauthentic as to the matter ; but there is one chance only for the sanguinary and faithless deeds ascribed to Buonaparte to be false or fictitious,—the concurrence of numerous living witnesses and accusers in a most disgraceful accumulation of libellous testimony. The evidence brought forward by the volumes before us, in opposition to all this testimony so accumulated, is of that sort not ordinarily receivable in judicial examinations, nor usually considered as offering much against the credibility of any charge—the exculpatory declarations of the party accused. Mr. O'Meara can scarcely expect that any persons partaking of our convictions or prejudices will surrender them to the description of counter-evidence which his volumes contain. The truth is, they will leave the opinions of mankind, we mean the reflecting part of mankind, entirely unaltered and unaffected by any thing they contain. Those who are disposed to couple ideas of liberty and humanity

with the government and character of Buonaparte, will continue to cherish these associations; and those whose opinions respecting him class him with the worst of mankind, will, in spite of all that Buonaparte may say of Napoleon, or Napoleon of Buonaparte, preserve their convictions entirely unshaken.

With respect to the writer of these memoirs, or rather compiler of these memorable sayings, it certainly appears that in his own person he experienced only courtesy and kindness from him in whom he has found so much to admire; and it further appears that he was grateful for this kindness, and has repaid it not merely by endeavours to soften or apologise for the many brutalities and outrages charged upon the memory of this great imperial adventurer, but by manfully holding him forth to the world as a man more sinned against than sinning, as sacrificed to the fears of a cowardly combination of despots, and as trampled upon by those who in his prosperity were proud to do him homage. To insult fallen greatness is without doubt the characteristic of a base and dastardly spirit; and the individual against whom any such charge can be made out, we agree with the author, covers himself with his own contumely, and triumphs only over humanity and honour. But to insult the fallen is one thing, and to use the fruits of victory in preventing the recurrence of mischief and misery is another; and the great question as concerning the duty of the victorious states towards God and humanity will be, whether they have dealt with this man of blood and the sword with more restraint and rigour than was necessary to the common quiet of mankind, and the rights and liberties of the great societies of the civilized world.

It is observable that the author has displayed but very little of his own sentiments, nor attempted any thing in his own person like an argumentative view of the different stages of his hero's sanguinary career. He professes to give to the world a faithful detail of the substance of all the various conversations with him to which he was admitted, by which he makes it at least appear that he was much in his confidence; and by the account he gives us of the manner in which his materials have been collected it is impossible not to allow that his plans seem to be well laid for ensuring accuracy, and exhibiting a correct impression of the private life of this remarkable person. In these pages, Buonaparte is his own enunciator and herald to the world; he settles his long account with God and man, in which he shows that all the charges against him are without just foundation,—that whatever sufferings he may have been really the cause of, were originally imputable to a presumptuous resistance to his object of universal conquest,—and that all the stories against him not covered by this apology have emanated from the inven-

tive malice of those who have envied his greatness, or sunk under his ascendancy. Thus, in recounting the beginnings of his greatness to the author, this most innocent founder of his own fortunes informs us, that nothing had been more simple than his elevation. "What is most extraordinary," he adds, "and I believe unparalleled in history, is, that I rose from being a private person to the astonishing height of power I possessed, without having committed a single crime to obtain it. If I were on my death bed, I could make the same declaration." (Vol. i. p. 250.) Again, on the subject of poisoning the sick soldiers at Jaffa, which it seems has been so groundlessly imputed to him, Buonaparte thus expresses himself with a sovereign assertion of absolute innocence. "I never committed a crime in all my political career, at my last hour I can assert it.—There never has been a man who has arrived at the pitch of power to which I have done without having been sullied by crimes, except myself." (Vol. i. p. 333—335.)

St. Paul declared himself to be the chief of sinners; St. Peter avowed himself before his Lord to be a sinful man; St John says, speaking in the first person, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;" and holy Job repented and abhorred himself in dust and ashes. Buonaparte declared himself able at his last hour to assert that he never committed a crime in all his political career; or in all that series of acts and enterprises by which the great object of his life was achieved. This is such a consummation of goodness as no saint or patriarch ever attained to, or even approached in their own estimate of themselves, and is a sweeping answer to all that has been in ignorance or in malice reported or affirmed of his massacre of his prisoners, of the poisoning of his own men, and of the numerous individual deaths laid to his charge, as of Toussaint, and of Pichegru, and of Wright, and of D'Enghien, and of Palm. It excuses us too, in this short review of these volumes, from entering at all into the particulars of these and other transactions, which would tend but too plainly to make these lofty asseverations of innocence received with a certain degree of scepticism by many sober and impartial men. We shall not, for our part, attempt to unravel these painful mysteries; the unhappy man is now before the tribunal of him "unto whom all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hidden;" but posterity, looking to the circumstances upon record relating to the events above alluded to, will require them to be confuted by something more satisfactory than the positive denial of the party accused, before it will acquiesce in his verdict of self-acquittal. Buonaparte has observed, that a man like him is always "*un dio, or un diavolo*," and in a certain sense the remark is not without its

propriety. Thus there are two "Voices from St. Helena : " by that which proceeds from the mouth of the Ex-Emperor, he is proclaimed immaculate,—by another, which according to these memoirs proceeded from Sir Hudson Lowe (vol. i. 100), "Ali Pacha was a much more respectable scoundrel than Napoleon Buonaparte."

To those who excell in the display of historical parallels, we leave this question of comparative respectability ; it is probable that if the point of superiority were to depend upon the sort of testimony on which the merit of Buonaparte founds itself in these volumes, Ali Pacha would not be a whit behind his competitor in protestations of his own purity, and the magnificence of his moral pretensions. Mr. O'Meara, having given us a minute account of his various conversations with this second Chevalier Bayard, "without fear or reproach," leaves his vindication in his own hands. He lets his hero speak for himself, and lets the rest of mankind think for themselves. We shall certainly use this privilege, in the mean time giving the author full credit for the very different grounds on which he probably may form his estimate of character. His book appears to be prepared after the model of the late Mr. Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, and it is impossible to peruse it without having that most interesting work constantly in our recollection, a circumstance of no small disadvantage to the interest and effect of the volumes before us. It appears to have been the object of Mr. O'Meara to draw out whatever there was of intelligence or knowledge in the mind of his hero, in the course of the various conversations with him of which his situation about his person furnished the opportunities ; and we are not disposed to question the fidelity of his reports. There is a consistent tenour in the language and sentiments attributed to this celebrated man, which in a striking degree denote their authenticity. Vanity and dulness are their chief characteristics ; and yet vain and vapid as they certainly are, we are obliged to our author for recording them. To know something of the interior of the man whose exterior has been so imposing ; to see the littleness of all antichristian greatness ; to contemplate the sterility of the human intellect where self-aggrandisement has been the great absorbing principle ; to have the sad and derelict state of the heart developed to view in all its repining egotism, and vain regrets, where it has nothing left to sustain it after the loss of its pomp and pageantry, nothing to fill the dreary vacancy when the dreams of the disordered spirits are dissipated and the mind is driven back upon its own resources, are lessons of wholesome instruction to the greatest and to the least amongst us. We gain thereby a better acquaintance with our own moral and natural constitution ; we are led upwards from the state of such an

unhappy being to the contemplation of that privileged existence which derives, as it were, fresh supplies of animation from the fountain from which it originally sprung, which has its own happiness multiplied by that which it has communicated, which in its retreat from the world feels itself followed by its blessings, and which, though deeply conscious of its unworthiness, is sustained and refreshed by a hope that springs out of its humility, and that chequers the hour of solitude and destitution with a calm variety of happy contemplations. The scenes of blood, and sorrow, and pain, through which the hero of these volumes travelled,—scenes of his own creation, could not leave his mind in what can properly be called a cheerful state; it is true he does not appear to have felt himself guilty, but he could not feel himself happy; the theme that occupied him, as he stood confessed to his friend, was the oppression and privation to which he considered himself as exposed: what made his nights so sleepless none can know, unless it be those whom his sword had made childless, and whose rest his ambition had destroyed. There appears to have been an inquietude in his temper and character, a disposition to derogate from others, a mortified vanity, and altogether such an incorrect view of his own substantial condition, as could not possibly consist with any thing like a steady and manly composure; and though we read from Mr. O'Meara of some occasional pranks, some fits of laughter, some blandishing slaps of the cheek, and tugs of the ear, some grotesque imitations of street cries, some sportive wishes to see his friends intoxicated, some prattle with children, and some gossip with grown ladies, yet we see or seem to see behind this spangled surface, this veil of gossamer, a countenance wan and fallen, a head whose pillow had afforded but a scanty rest, a "withered glory," and an unblessed expression.

In the various conversations which Mr. O'Meara enjoyed with this remarkable person, we cannot say that we have ever been able to trace in them any indications of strong thinking, or natural vigour of understanding, still less of that vivacity of description or expression, which, in men of great vicissitudes and brilliant fortunes, usually characterise the free and domestic play of the mind. The author must allow us to say, that whatever truth there may be in the claim which Buonaparte has set up to the character of a man blameless in his political or military career, he certainly had not to boast of the same felicity in the field of discussion. In this respect he has greatly disappointed us. As far as we are judges, we do not feel ourselves able to say that the talk of this extraordinary person has any thing in it that gives it the smallest elevation above the colloquial level of very ordinary men. For a man so distinguished and so experienced, there is a nothingness in his observations, when they turn upon things or

occurrences, which really surprises us when we advert to the many surrounding events which must have exercised his faculties through such a long and perilous course of enterprize and achievement. Of men, his opinions seem to be wholly under the influence of his personal feelings and resentments. They are vehement without vigour, and splenetic without causticity, exhibiting all the self-adulation in which the greatest men sometimes indulge, but without that vivacity and flow of elocution which that topic is often found to call forth. For nothing of this is Mr. O'Meara to blame; he has discharged the duties of authorship by publishing what he had observed and collected; and we repeat that such a work cannot but be very interesting, as affording a specimen of what conquerors are often found to be, when stripped of the decorations with which the admiration of the multitude is apt to invest them.

The author, it must be admitted, has spared no effort to make the subject of his memoirs give out all the contents of his mind. He has touched, as it would appear, upon all the most delicate passages of that "political career," which his hero has declared to have been "without crime," but to which a great part of the world, for which Mr. O'Meara must feel a respect, have annexed an idea of no common criminality. We have, however, disclaimed altogether entering upon this subject, but shall by a few extracts display before the reader the manner in which Buonaparte was in the habit of vindicating his measures and character, and designating the measures and characters of other men. It is thus that he describes the battle of Waterloo, and accounts for its result.

" ' If you had lost the battle of Waterloo,' continued he, ' what a state would England have been in? The flower of your youth would have been destroyed; for not a man, not even Lord Wellington, would have escaped.' I observed here that Lord Wellington had determined never to leave the field alive. Napoleon replied, ' he could not retreat. He would have been destroyed with his army, if instead of the Prussians, Grouchy had come up.' I asked him if he had not believed for some time that the Prussians, who had shewn themselves, were a part of Grouchy's corps. He replied, ' certainly; and I can now scarcely comprehend why it was a Prussian division and not that of Grouchy.' I then took the liberty of asking whether, if neither Grouchy nor the Prussians had arrived, it would not have been a drawn battle. Napoleon answered, ' the English army would have been destroyed. They were defeated at mid-day. But accident, or more likely destiny, decided that Lord Wellington should gain it. I could scarcely believe that he would have given me battle; because if he had retreated to Antwerp, as he ought to have done, I must have been overwhelmed by the arms of three or four hundred thousand men that were coming against me. By giving me battle, there was a chance for me. It was

the greatest folly to disunite the English and Prussian armies. They ought to have been united; and I cannot conceive the reason of their separation. It was folly in Wellington to give me battle in a place, where, if defeated, all must have been lost, for he could not retreat. There was a wood in his rear, and but one road to gain it. He would have been destroyed. Moreover, he allowed himself to be surprised by me. This was a great fault. He ought to have been encamped from the beginning of June, as he must have known that I intended to attack him. He might have lost every thing. But he has been fortunate; his destiny has prevailed; and every thing he did will meet with applause. My intentions were, to attack and to destroy the English army. This I knew would produce an immediate change of ministry. The indignation against them for having caused the loss of forty thousand of the flower of the English army, would have excited such a popular commotion, that they would have been turned out. The people would have said, What is it to us who is on the throne of France, Louis or Napoleon; are we to sacrifice all our blood in endeavours to place on the throne a detested family? No, we have suffered enough. It is no affair of ours,—let them settle it amongst themselves. They would have made peace. The Saxons, Bavarians, Belgians, Wirtembergers, would have joined me. The coalition was nothing without England. The Russians would have made peace, and I should have been quietly seated on the throne. Peace would have been permanent, as what could France do after the treaty of Paris? What was to be feared from her?

“ ‘ These,’ continued he, ‘ were my reasons for attacking the English. I had beaten the Prussians. Before twelve o’clock, I had succeeded. Every thing was mine, I may say, but accident and destiny decided it otherwise. The English fought most bravely doubtless, nobody can deny it. But they must have been destroyed.’ ” (Vol. i. p. 174—176.)

The many “ifs” which accompany the above statement, are in truth so many virtual testimonies to the abilities of the generals of the allied armies, and the valour of their troops. They are admissions of the dangers through which they had to direct their course, and which must have overwhelmed them but for the most skilful and steady bravery. It would have been greatly more creditable to the understanding and feelings of the conquered general, had he preserved the same silence here as on a former occasion, when, to a direct question as to his opinion of the generalship of the Duke of Wellington, he made no reply. (Vol. i. p. 63.) What attention is due to the opinions of a man on the issues of battles, who resolves their extraordinary results into the decrees of “destiny?” Neither can we give him greater credit when we find him talking of the imbecility of Lord Castlereagh. That noble person is now out of the reach of attack as well as himself, by an event that has resounded throughout Europe, and staggered the councils of the wisest and best of the



earth ; while it cannot but be admitted, by the most devoted admirers of the discoverer of Lord Londonderry's imbecility, that his own departure from a world which his ambition had filled with blood and dismay, produced scarcely a sensation either of joy or sadness.

The account given us of the death of Moreau is interesting. It is thus related by Napoleon.

“ ‘ In the battle before Dresden,’ said Napoleon, ‘ I ordered an attack to be made upon the allies by both flanks of my army. While the manœuvres for this purpose were executing, the centre remained motionless. At the distance of about from this to the outer gate, \* I observed a group of persons collected together on horseback. Concluding that they were endeavouring to observe my manœuvres, I resolved to disturb them, and called to a captain of artillery, who commanded a field battery of eighteen or twenty pieces : ‘ *Jetez une douzaine de boulets à la fois dans ce groupe la, peut-être il y en a quelques petits généraux.*’ (Throw a dozen of bullets at once into that group ; perhaps there are some little generals in it). It was done instantly. One of the balls struck Moreau, carried off both his legs, and went through his horse. Many more, I believe, who were near him, were killed and wounded. A moment before, Alexander had been speaking to him. Moreau’s legs were amputated not far from the spot. One of his feet, with the boot upon it, which the surgeon had thrown upon the ground, was brought by a peasant to the king of Saxony, with information that some officer of great distinction had been struck by a cannon shot. The king, conjecturing that the name of the person might perhaps be discovered by the boot, sent it to me. It was examined at my head-quarters, but all that could be ascertained was, that the boot was neither of English nor of French manufacture. The next day we were informed that it was the leg of Moreau. It is not a little extraordinary,’ continued Napoleon, ‘ that in an action a short time afterwards, I ordered the same artillery officer, with the same guns, and under nearly similar circumstances, to throw eighteen or twenty bullets at once into a concourse of officers collected together, by which General St. Priest, another Frenchman, a traitor, and a man of talent, who had a command in the Russian Army, was killed, along with many others. Nothing,’ continued the emperor, ‘ is more destructive than a discharge of a dozen or more guns at once amongst a group of persons. From one or two they may escape ; but from a number discharged at a time, it is almost impossible. After Esling, when I had caused my army to go over to the isle of Lobau, there was for some weeks, by common and tacit consent on both sides between the soldiers, not by any agreement between the generals, a cessation of firing, which indeed had produced no benefit, and only killed a few unfortunate sentinels. I rode out every day in different directions. No person was molested on either side. One day, however, riding along with Oudinot, I stopped for a moment upon the edge of the island, which was about eighty toises distant from the opposite bank,

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\* About 500 yards.

where the enemy was. They perceived us, and knowing me by the little hat and grey coat, they pointed a three pounder at us. The ball passed between Oudinot and me, and was very close to both of us. We put spurs to our horses, and speedily got out of sight. Under the actual circumstances, the attack was little better than murder, but if they had fired a dozen guns at once, they must have killed us." (Vol. i. p. 274—276.)

It will be but justice to put the reader in possession of a justification of the transactions at Jaffa, and the treatment of the Duc D'Enghien, proceeding from the mouth of the person upon whose memory they bear with such a weight of crimination. History must appreciate the verity and value of the assertions on which the justification rests.

"I asked the emperor then if he had ever read Miot's history of the expedition to Egypt. 'What, the commissary?' replied he. 'I believe Las Cases gave me a copy; moreover it was published in my time.' He then desired me to bring the one which I had, in order that he might compare them. He observed 'Miot was a *polisson* whom, together with his brother, I raised from the dirt. He says, that I threatened him for writing the book, which is a falsehood. I said to his brother once that he might as well not have published untruths. He was a man who had always fear before his eyes. What does he say about the poisoning affair and the shooting at Jaffa?' I replied, that as to the poisoning, Miot declared, he could say no more than that such had been the current report; but that he positively asserted that he (Napoleon) had caused between three and four thousand Turks to be shot, some days after the capture of Jaffa. Napoleon answered, 'It is not true that there were so many. I ordered about a thousand or twelve hundred to be shot, which was done. The reason was, that amongst the garrison of Jaffa a number of Turkish troops were discovered, whom I had taken a short time before at El-Arish, and sent to Bagdat upon their parole not to serve again, or to be found in arms against me for a year. I had caused them to be escorted twelve leagues on their way to Bagdat, by a division of my army. But those Turks, instead of proceeding to Bagdat, threw themselves into Jaffa, defended it to the last, and cost me a number of brave men to take it, whose lives would have been spared, if the others had not reinforced the garrison of Jaffa. Moreover, before I attacked the town, I sent them a flag of truce. Immediately afterwards we saw the head of the bearer elevated on a pole over the wall. Now if I had spared them again, and sent them away upon their parole, they would directly have gone to St. Jean d'Acre, where they would have played over again the same scene that they had done at Jaffa. In justice to the lives of my soldiers, as every general ought to consider himself as their father, and them as his children, I could not allow this. To leave as a guard a portion of my army, already small and reduced in number, in consequence of the breach of faith of those wretches; was impossible. Indeed, to have acted otherwise than as I did, would probably have caused the destruction of my whole army. I therefore, availing myself of the rights of war, which authorize the putting to

death prisoners taken under such circumstances; independent of the right given to me by having taken the city by assault, and that of retaliation on the Turks, ordered that the prisoners taken at El-Arish, who, in defiance of their capitulation, had been found bearing arms against me, should be selected out and shot. The rest, amounting to a considerable number, were spared. I would,' continued he, 'do the same thing again to-morrow, and so would Wellington, or any general commanding an army under similar circumstances.'

" ' Previous to leaving Jaffa,' continued Napoleon, ' and after the greatest number of the sick and wounded had been embarked, it was reported to me that there were some men in the hospital so dangerously ill, as not to be able to be moved. I ordered immediately the chiefs of the medical staff to consult together upon what was best to be done, and to give me their opinion on the subject. Accordingly they met, and found that there were seven or eight men so dangerously ill, that they conceived it impossible for them to recover; and also that they could not exist twenty-four or thirty-six hours longer; that moreover, being afflicted with the plague, they would spread that complaint amongst all those who approached them. Some of them, who were sensible, perceiving that they were about to be abandoned, demanded with earnest entreaties to be put to death. Larrey was of opinion that recovery was impossible, and that those poor fellows could not exist many hours; but as they might live long enough to be alive when the Turks entered, and experience the dreadful torments which they were accustomed to inflict upon their prisoners, he thought it would be an act of charity to comply with their desires, and accelerate their end by a few hours. Desgenettes did not approve of this, and replied, that his profession was to cure the sick, and not to dispatch them. Larrey came to me immediately afterwards, informed me of the circumstances, and of what Desgenettes had said; adding, that perhaps Desgenettes was right. ' But,' continued Larrey, ' those men cannot live for more than a few hours, twenty-four, or thirty-six at most; and if you will leave a rear guard of cavalry to stay and protect them from advanced parties, it will be sufficient.' Accordingly I ordered four or five hundred cavalry to remain behind, and not to quit the place until all were dead. They did remain, and informed me that all had expired before they had left the town; but I have heard since, that Sydney Smith found one or two alive, when he entered it. This is the truth of the business. Wilson himself, I dare say, knows now that he was mistaken. Sydney Smith never asserted it. I have no doubt that this story of the poisoning originated in something said by Desgenettes, who was a *bavard*, which was afterwards misconceived or incorrectly repeated. Desgenettes,' continued he, ' was a good man, and notwithstanding that he had given rise to this story, I was not offended, and had him near my person in different campaigns afterwards. Not that I think it would have been a crime, had opium been given to them; on the contrary, I think it would have been a virtue. To leave a few *misérables*, who could not recover, in order that they might be massacred by the Turks with the most dreadful tortures, as was their custom, would, I think, have been cruelty. A general ought to act with his soldiers, as he would wish should be done to him-

self. Now would not any man under similar circumstances, who had his senses, have preferred dying easily a few hours sooner, rather than expire under the tortures of those barbarians? You have been amongst the Turks, and know what they are; I ask you now to place yourself in the situation of one of those sick men, and that you were asked which you would prefer, to be left to suffer the tortures of those miscreants, or to have opium administered to you? I replied 'most undoubtedly I would prefer the latter.' 'Certainly, so would any man,' answered Napoleon: 'if my own son, (and I believe I love my son as well as any father does his child,) were in a similar situation with those men, I would advise it to be done: and if so situated myself, I would insist upon it, if I had sense enough and strength enough to demand it. But, however, affairs were not so pressing as to prevent me from leaving a party to take care of them, which was done. If I had thought such a measure as that of giving opium necessary, I would have called a council of war, have stated the necessity of it, and have published it in the order of the day. It should have been no secret. Do you think that if I had been capable of secretly poisoning my soldiers, (as doing a necessary action secretly would give it the appearance of a crime,) or of such barbarities as driving my carriage over the dead, and the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, that my troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without a parallel? No, no, I never should have done so a second time. Some would have shot me in passing. Even some of the wounded, who had sufficient strength left to pull a trigger, would have dispatched me.'

" 'I never,' continued Napoleon, 'committed a crime in all my political career. At my last hour, I can assert that. Had I done so I should not have been here now. I should have dispatched the Bourbons. It only rested with me to give my consent, and they would have ceased to live.' " (P. 328—334.)

We have to thank these memoirs for the discovery of a fact with which we were wholly unacquainted—we mean the friendship which lurked at the bottom of Buonaparte's mind for our own country. His great object appears to have been to have lived as a quiet country gentleman in some sequestered vale of happy England; so that we see what we have lost by our suspicious treatment of our great captive. To aggravate which, there are several passages in which he shows us how he would, in a very short compass of time, by the compendious expedient of confiscation, and such statesman-like resources, have paid off our national debt.

" 'I told *Milédi*,' continued the emperor, 'that I had paid your nation a great compliment, and shewed what a high sense I entertained of the English honour, by giving myself up to them, after so many years' war, in preference to my father-in-law, or to my old friend. I told her also that the English would have been my greatest friends, had I remained in France. United, we could have conquered the world. The confidence which I placed in the English shews what an opinion I

entertained of them, and what steps I would have taken to have rendered such a nation my friends ; and I should have succeeded. There is nothing that I would not have sacrificed to have been in friendship with them. They were the only nation I esteemed. As to the Russians, Austrians, and others,' said he with an expression of contempt, ' I had no esteem for them. Now I am sorry to see that I erred in opinion. For had I given myself up to the Emperor of Austria, he, however he might differ with me in politics, and think it necessary to dethrone me, would have embraced me closely as a friend, and have treated me with every kindness. So also would my old friend, the Emperor of Russia. (Vol. i. p. 368, 369.)

" ' If,' said he, ' I were at the head of affairs in England, I would devise some means of paying off the national debt. I would appropriate to that purpose the whole of the church livings, except a tenth, (always excepting those whose incomes were moderate) in a manner that the salary of the highest amongst the clergy should not exceed eight hundred or a thousand a year. What business have those priests with such enormous incomes ? They should follow the directions of Jesus Christ, who ordered, that, as pastors to the people, they should set an example of moderation, humanity, virtue, and poverty, instead of wallowing in riches, luxury, and sloth. In Cambray, before the revolution, two-thirds of all lands belonged to the church, and a fourth in most other provinces of France. I would appropriate to a similar purpose all sinecures, except those enjoyed by men who had rendered most eminent services to the state ; and, indeed, even those might be rewarded by giving them some office, in which they would be obliged to do something. If you emancipated the Catholics, they would readily pay an immense sum towards liquidating the nation's debt. I cannot conceive,' continued he, ' why your ministers have not emancipated them. At the time that all nations are emerging from illiberality and intolerance, you retain your disgraceful laws, which are only worthy of two or three centuries back. When the Catholic question was first seriously agitated, I would have given fifty millions to be assured that it would not be granted ; for it would have entirely ruined my projects upon Ireland ; as the Catholics, if you emancipated them, would become as loyal subjects as the Protestants. I would,' continued he, ' impose a tax of fifty per cent. upon absentees, and perhaps diminish the interest upon the debt.' " (P. 354—356.)

It must be owned, however, that in a former place it was made to appear a little problematical how long the Ex-Emperor would have remained in his tranquil sojourn in England, had he been permitted to have found a domicile there.

" ' Bah,' replied Napoleon. ' If I were in England now, and a deputation from France were to come and offer me the throne, I would not accept of it, unless I knew such to be the unanimous wish of the nation. Otherwise I should be obliged to turn *bourreau*, and cut off the heads of thousands to keep myself upon it—oceans of blood must flow to keep me there.—I have made noise enough in the world already, perhaps too much, and am now getting old, and want retire-

ment. These,' continued he, 'were the motives which induced me to abdicate the last time.' " (Vol. i. p. 126, 127.)

We will close our article with an extract which will reflect some credit upon Mr. O'Meara's descriptive pencil. Whatever we may think of Buonaparte, or of the effect of this publication on his memory, we cannot but attribute to the author himself no slight degree of power; a power which seems to rise at the end of his volume, when he presents himself apart from his hero.

"The population of the island, (exclusive of the military,) is reckoned at about two thousand nine hundred souls, of whom about seven hundred and eighty are whites, thirteen hundred blacks, and the rest Lascars, Chinese, &c. The whites are either of British descent, or natives of Great Britain. The islanders are, however, very jealous of these last, and look upon them as intruders, who in return have nicknamed the natives, *Yam Stocks*. The English language is spoken with a barbarous pronunciation. The religion of the established church prevails. Their customs are a mixture of English and tropical. Their chief food consists of salt meat, rice, and fish, the first of which they obtain in allotted quantities from the East India Company's stores, at a reduced price; fresh meat is a luxury rarely indulged in, except by the upper classes, and is with difficulty to be had even by them. Their vegetables are generally sold or bartered to the ships and troops. A very few years ago, there was not a plough upon the island. Latterly, however, owing to the exertions of the late governor, Major-General Beason, there are several. The majority of the inhabitants are shopkeepers, and live in the town, resorting to the country for amusement or health. Generally speaking, their minds are but little improved by education, and the few who have been brought up in Europe, on their return, soon acquire a sovereign contempt for their relatives and neighbours.

"The enormous price of provisions, and other necessities of life, necessarily prevents much hospitality from being manifested by the inhabitants. With the exception of Mr. Balcombe's family, in general the stranger could only hope to meet attention from the proprietor of the boarding-house where he lives, some of whom are the principal persons on the island, and a few years ago included amongst their number the second member of council. Evening parties are, however, occasionally given, and the young ladies in the island, some of whom are very pretty, and very uneducated, do not require a long courtship, or much persuasion, to induce them to quit the rock where they had their birth.

"The interior of the island is composed of alternate ridges of mountains and ravines, the former of which vary in height from six hundred to two thousand six hundred feet. Diana's Peak, the highest in the island, is two thousand six hundred and ninety-seven feet above the level of the sea. The face of the country presents a most striking contrast, being composed of a great variety of mountains and valleys, of barrenness and verdure. Some parts consisting of immense stupendous

and sterile rocks, separated by deep and frightful dingy-coloured chasms, several hundred feet perpendicular, with huge detached masses of naked rock sticking up here and there, with an occasional patch of green ; others, of verdant pasturages and gardens, ornamented with trees, and houses erected in the valley or on the declivities, which, with a few cattle, some sheep, and occasionally a horse grazing along the steep sides of the hills, give an agreeable relief to the eye, fatigued with the view of the tremendous precipices, and gaping red ravines in the neighbourhood. This contrast induces the beholder to consider the cultivated portion picturesque and romantic. The view from Sandy Bay Ridge, and from the summit of Diana's Peak, is sublime. The greatest part of the island however, is barren, and inexpressibly desolate and repulsive in its appearance, and even a large portion of that which is susceptible of culture is now overrun with the blackberry, which was introduced a few years ago as a curiosity. The roads are in general bridle paths, twining round the brows of the hills, or creeping up the steep sides, and over the sharp ridges of the mountains, and sinking into the profundities of the ravines. There were only two carriages on the island, which belonged to the governor, and were dragged along by bullocks.

" Amongst the prettiest and most desirable spots on the island may be mentioned : first, Plantation House, next, Colonel Smith's, Rosemary Hall, Mr. Doveton's at Sandy Bay, the Briars, and Miss Mason's. All of these have the advantage of good gardens, shady walks, verdure, and brooks of water, and, comparatively, are pleasant abodes. Plantation House and grounds, in particular would, in any part of Europe, be esteemed a handsome and romantic residence.

" That the reader may not be led to imagine that I am inclined to enhance its beauties, I shall extract the description given of it in the last work published upon St. Helena. ' Proceeding about three quarters of a mile is the entrance to Plantation House, the official country establishment for the governor ; it is a mansion of considerable elegance, pleasantly situated, with extensive gardens, and cultivated lands, laid out in good style, and kept in excellent order ; adorned with a variety of fine trees and shrubs, collected from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, brought from the most remote parts of the world, and from climates the most opposite, yet all thriving in great luxuriance—all flourishing alike.'

" It is sheltered by the immense ridges of mountains forming Diana's Peak, and Halley's Mount, intersecting the island, and trending to the south, from the south-east wind, which, in exposed situations, is so destructive to vegetation.

" When it was understood that Longwood had been fixed upon for the abode of Napoleon, it at first excited some surprise in the minds of the islanders, as the situation was so bleak and exposed, that it had never been inhabited by any family for more than a few months in the year ; but this surprise soon subsided, as it was supposed that a suitable winter residence would be provided for him, when the new governor arrived.

" Longwood is a large plain, situated on the summit of a mountain on the windward side of the island, nearly two thousand feet above the

level of the sea, and containing a number of gum-wood trees, (*conyza gummifera*,) which being nearly all of the same size and inclination, in consequence of the trade-wind continually blowing from the south-east, present a monotonous and melancholy appearance. The leaves of the gum-wood are small, narrow, and chiefly confined to the ends of the branchlets, consequently do not afford that thick foliage necessary to intercept the rays of the sun. There is no water, except what is brought from the distance of nearly three miles. No continuous shade. Exposed to a south-east wind constantly charged with humidity, its elevated situation causes it to be enveloped in fog, or drenched with rain for the greatest part of the year. The soil is a tenacious argillaceous clay, which in wet weather collects and adheres to the shoes of the pedestrian, forming so ponderous a mass as materially to impede his progress. For a month or six weeks during the year there is fine weather, for two or three a powerful vertical sun prevails, and for seven or eight, the weather is wet and most disagreeable. Though Longwood is generally covered with fog and wet, the sky occasionally clears up, and the rays of the sun beam forth in transitory splendour. Soon after, the hemisphere becomes again obscured, thick fogs cover the plain, and rain, impetuously forced along by the eternal south-east trade wind, drenches whoever has been induced to hazard a walk by the delusive appearance of sun-shine. These changes of temperature often occur several times in the course of the day, and are one cause of the unhealthiness of St. Helena. In consequence of the tenacious nature of the clay, the rain penetrates very little into the surface, and runs off to the ravines in the neighbourhood. The violence of the wind is destructive to vegetation, and, together with the ravages of the grub, and the want of water, for two or three months, renders abortive almost every attempt towards cultivating the garden. The plant which thrives best at Longwood is the spurge, a most offensive weed." (Vol. ii. p. 426—433.)

Upon the whole, we must end with observing that what our opinion was before our acquaintance with these volumes, so it remains, after having attentively perused them. It has not been without interest, nor altogether, as we have above declared, without edification, but it has been without the slightest removal or disturbance of our prejudices.

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ART. XI.—*On the Use and Abuse of Party-feeling in Matters of Religion, considered in eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1822, at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A. Canon of Salisbury.* By Richard Whately, M. A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1 Vol. 8vo. 1822.

THAT modern are worse than ancient times is a topic familiar to the orator, but very suspicious in the view of the historian. For our own part, we are inclined to believe, that, upon the



whole, the world is improving; that the mild and pure principles of Christianity have, partly by their direct, and more extensively, though not so thoroughly, by their indirect influence, produced no small effect upon the sentiments and habits of mankind. In this country in particular, it will scarcely be denied, that a decided change for the better has taken place within the last four hundred years, and that the reign of George the Fourth is, in a moral point of view, a much happier period than that of the Fourth Henry. We would even go farther, and comparing our own times with those of Elizabeth, would venture to assert, that although instances of great individual excellence are more rare than they were in that age of Christian heroism, the religious and moral condition of the people in general has undergone, in many important respects, no small improvement. But having said thus much in justice to the age in which we live, we are constrained to qualify our remarks by confessing, that whilst in the milder excellencies progress seems to have been made, this generation is not without its peculiar faults. In the more masculine and nervous virtues we certainly seem to have degenerated from our ancestors. It were interesting to trace this moral change through its several stages, and to institute a general comparison between the present age and that of the Reformation, in order to see what may have been gained or lost, and to what causes both the loss and the gain may, most probably, be attributed: but from so wide a field we withdraw our footsteps, wishing to confine ourselves now to an inquiry more in detail.

The virtue of which the present age appears to be most proud, is liberality of sentiment; and the vice, perhaps, which it holds most in detestation, is bigotry. That the present age is liberal, and that "in the nineteenth century" bigotry is not the failing of the people of England, are, it must be remembered, two different propositions; one of which may be true, whilst the other shall continue false. We may not be bigoted; yet, in the virtuous sense of the term, we may not be liberal. It may be, perhaps, that in our fear of bigotry—in our consideration for the rights of individuals, and more particularly for that of private judgment—we may have gone too far, and have forgotten that the principle of liberality is capable of excess; that in the exercise, as of all other feelings, so of this, there is a certain point at which we must stop;—certain limits, within which on one hand, and without which on the other, our conduct ceases to be praiseworthy. To us it certainly appears, that the self-entitled liberality of the present age is beginning to be, or rather that it has long been, of a morbid character; that whilst the opinions of individuals, or even of bodies of men, are regarded with an over-scrupulous and mistaken delicacy, the interests of the com-

munity, and more especially its religious interests, are often in danger of being overlooked and weakly (we might add, unfeelingly) sacrificed. If this be the case—if our liberality either has degenerated, or is in danger of degenerating, into latitudinarian laxity of thinking; if, through fear of the faults of our ancestors, we are passing into others directly opposite, and, it may be, more baneful, it is obviously wise to pause, and consider and seek a remedy.

We have been led into the foregoing remarks by a perusal of the publication whose title is prefixed to this article. In seeking for a remedy, it may sometimes be necessary to adopt a severe one: but, generally speaking, we are no friends to 'root and branch reform.' If a mild mode of cure be equally efficacious, its mildness is undoubtedly a recommendation. In morals, in particular, it may be adviseable, and is indeed for the most part right, to make straight a perverted character by bending it more or less in the opposite direction. But this presupposes the acquiescence of the individual, whose reformation is intended, in the course pursued. In order to obtain that acquiescence,—in order to persuade men thus to reform their excesses, we must proceed differently. We must allow, that the feelings or propensities which they have indulged, it is, under certain limitations, right or at least allowable to gratify; and that, whatever course of treatment individual circumstances may for a time require, it is *the mean* which we have ultimately in view. If we would dissuade from intemperance, we are not to recommend asceticism (however necessary temporary abstinence may be); but to acknowledge that the appetites may be indulged to a certain extent; nay, to insist, that the very object which the dissolute man proposes to himself, would be much more effectually promoted by gratifying his desires with moderation. A similar remark applies to those feelings, upon which the virtue of liberality is founded. To recommend their entire subjugation, would be to recommend a reign of tyranny and uncharitableness. Laxity of sentiment will be most effectually removed, not by promoting bigotry, nor yet by any compromise of principle, but by enforcing the duties of true moderation. When an individual's mind is impressed with a general idea of propriety in certain feelings, without perceiving their due boundaries, he is apt to exaggerate their importance, and to carry them to excess: nor is such an one likely to be reclaimed by direct opposition to his conduct; but by acquiescing with him as far as he is right, by enforcing discreetly the duty which he overstates, and thus gaining from him the surrender of what is wrong, by conceding to him that which is fair and reasonable.

It is under this conviction that we hail with pleasure the publi-

cation of Mr. Whately's Lectures; although not written precisely with that view with which we could wish our readers to take them up. Desiring, indeed, as we do, to see the true members of the Church of England faithful to her cause and firm in her defence, we might at first sight regard the present volume with an eye of suspicion and fear, and say: "Is this the time for parley and concession? is it not rather a crisis to sound the trumpet of alarm in the ears of the wise and the resolute, and to put them on their guard, lest the wily manœuvring of an insinuating foe should surprise their camp, and dislodge them in their sleep?" But maturer attention will convince us that Mr. Whately comes forward in the character of a true friend; and that the mild and candid measures which he recommends, combined with that firmness and fidelity which he takes occasion to enforce, constitute the only wise plan of defending and promoting the Christian cause of our venerable establishment. We speak now to those who agree with us in valuing and in venerating the Church of England; and we speak to them with the view of reminding them that, as she disowns the support of bigotry, and grieves when the sword of rage and intolerance is drawn in her defence, so does she fear on account of those who think lightly of her blessings, who care not if her buttresses be removed, or who slumber within her walls while her foes are numerous, and awake, and active. It is the attention of such, more particularly, that we would call to the work now before us; as one from which they may derive some useful incitements to zeal, and many excellent hints and rules for its proper regulation.

It seems to be a growing fashion to think that the maxim—"the country of the brave is in every clime,"—whether true or false in itself, is at least applicable to religion; and that every community which calls itself Christian, is the Church of Christ. Connected with this subject, the late Earl of Chatham has some excellent remarks. Speaking of the political maxim, "How dangerous," he exclaims, "is it to trust frail corrupt man with such an aphorism! What fatal casuistry is it big with! How many a villain might and has masked himself in the sayings of ancient illustrious exiles, while he was, in fact, dissolving all the nearest and dearest ties that hold society together, and spurning all laws, divine and human! How easy the transition from this political to some impious ecclesiastical aphorisms! If all soils are alike to the brave and virtuous, so may all churches and modes of worship: that is, *all will be equally neglected and violated.*" That charity is due to mankind at large, and in a peculiar manner to all who confess the name of Christ, however erroneous their views may be, is undeniable: but are we therefore to conclude, that this general feeling admits not of farther degrees? and that,

excepting the charities of domestic life, there are no other more public connexions, within the sphere of which the general warmth of Christian charity may be concentrated and increased?

Looking to the constitution of our nature, we find in ourselves, and observe in others, a tendency to form societies within the great family of the human race, within the political community, and again under still narrower limitations, whenever an agreement of sentiments in some common object excites our mutual sympathy, and calls for our combined co-operation. It is "the use and abuse" of this principle "in matters of religion," that forms the professed subject of Mr. Whately's lectures. To the principle itself, which wants "in our language a well established and precisely appropriate name," he gives that of *party feeling*, "not as completely unexceptionable, but as appearing, on the whole, the best that could be found, without resorting to a foreign language." "The discussion of the subject falls naturally under three heads: I. The description of party-feeling as to its use and abuse: II. The rules and cautions to be observed generally for securing the advantages and avoiding the evils in question: III. The application of these rules to the present state of the church in this country." (Intro. p. xix.)

It will be seen in the sequel that we do not consider the plan here proposed to have been altogether satisfactorily realized. We will endeavour to present our readers with a compendious view of what has been actually done in the detail of the work. The subject of Mr. Whately's Lectures is *not*, we conceive, *party-feeling*, but more properly, a portion only of this subject, or *party-spirit*, his object being "to offer some remarks on the evils which arise from the perversions and the inordinate violence of party-feeling, and on the means by which those evils may be prevented, or cured, or alleviated;" p. 30; in order that "the orthodox and the churchman" may be warned "against such errors in their *own* conduct, as may occasion, or aggravate, or prolong, the evils of heresy and schism in others;—to examine, in short, and guard against the faults, not so much of our opponents, as of ourselves; a subject which is not at all less necessary to be attended to, than the other, but which is not so often discussed, and is much more likely to escape our attention." (P. 31.)

"With this view," our author observes, . . . . . "it was of course necessary to characterize that natural and *allowable*\* feeling of attachment to the body we belong to, of which party-spirit is the excess; lest I should be understood as favouring the contrary extreme," &c. (Intro. p. xviii.)

This is accordingly done in the first lecture, which is upon

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\* The language here might have been much stronger. (Rev.)

"the nature and uses of party-feeling." After this introduction, the subject properly begins in the second lecture, which is upon party-spirit, considered as to—1. Its character; 2. The passions which most engender or aggravate it; 3. Its effects; and 4. The prevention or alleviation of its evils. The third lecture is occupied with the causes of party-divisions; and contains scarcely any thing besides a more diffuse treatment of the second head of the preceding lecture. In the fourth and fifth lectures our attention is directed to "the judgement and treatment of those who differ from us:" 1. Of those (as in the fourth lecture) whose difference from us is such as is "allowable among Christians;" and 2. (as in the fifth) "Of those who are guilty either of heresy or schism." The sixth lecture contains "cautions respecting the subject-matter of our" religious "discussions;" most of them of great value, but several (we were surprised to see) almost transcribed from some late publications of the learned head of the college to which Mr. Whately belongs. The seventh and eighth lectures comprise "the application of the rules" which have been given "to the present state of the Church in this country;" the seventh having reference to the "Dissenters," and the eighth to "the divisions within the Church." How far it was necessary to separate these from the fourth and fifth, we will not stay to inquire: the result of an inquiry would probably be, that the arrangement adopted is better than the one hinted at.

As our object is not to supersede the reading of the work itself, but to recommend its perusal, we shall not enter more at large into its general plan. By referring to the volume, it will be found that the help of general analysis will not be much needed. At least, we cannot hope to be more clear in exhibiting the author's design, than he has himself intended to be, both in the introduction, and frequently in the discourses themselves, even to a degree which appears to us excessive. In oral delivery such repeated exhibitions of the course of argument may be necessary, where the audience has no other means of reviewing the path pursued, and is moreover of a fluctuating character; but much that was done under such circumstances might have been spared the press. To confess the truth, it is not by Mr. Whately's general execution of his plan that we are ourselves so much pleased or instructed, as with the excellence of his particular remarks. The general execution has the appearance of being unnecessarily dilated, so as to involve much repetition, which, by more condensation, might have been avoided. This evil of repetition is noticed by the author himself; and we have taken the liberty of pointing out what we conceive to be its source.

Besides repetition, there is frequently too elaborate an intimation of sentiments and observations, which, at the most, needed only to be suggested, and are sometimes, if not already familiar to most persons, yet sufficiently obvious to suggest themselves. To enlarge upon what is either obvious or easily suggested by the context, tends only to weaken the general effect, and to confuse the reader. To inculcate *with an air of discovery* what is familiar, is still more objectionable, as calculated only to create irritation, and to excite a prejudice against those remarks which are really instructive.

In the observations which we have just offered, we shall, perhaps, be considered hypercritical. To many the work before us may possibly appear characterised by no excellence so much as of method. At first sight we allow it has that appearance; and we suspect a love of method to be really at the foundation of that unnecessary dilation and repetition of which we have complained. There is a great profession of methodical arrangement; and such arrangement (though incomplete,) yet appears rather beautiful in the general outline. It clashes however with itself in the execution, and does not preserve that distinctness of parts which is the first requisite of method; being, in fact, much too rigidly analytical for so practical a subject; and founded, apparently, more upon general principles, than upon an attention to the particular exigencies of the case. There is much the same fault as if a geologist should arrange his subject upon chemical principles; rather than upon those of mechanical superimposition. We require to know the chemical ingredients of different beds; and it would be beautiful, doubtless, to arrange the strata according to the nature of the elements composing them: but, in giving a comprehensive view of the structure of the earth, such an arrangement would only produce confusion. We hope, therefore, that, if we shall be favoured with another edition of Mr. Whately's valuable work, we shall have the pleasure of seeing it much condensed, if not, in some respects, modified anew. For instance, the third lecture we consider, when viewed as a separate lecture, quite unnecessary; being for the most part, as we have already observed, a dilation of part of the second discourse. What is new, consists chiefly of inferences which every one would draw for himself from the statements contained in the preceding lecture. If we are told, for example, that the 'love of novelty' leads to party-spirit, we are thereby cautioned to keep it under control. The third lecture professes indeed to inform us, *how* this is to be done; but we think the point deserves to be reconsidered; as it may possibly be found that the remarks contained in it, go rather to show that such and such causes of party spirit do exist, (which was the object of the se-

cond lecture,) or, simply, that they *ought* to be controlled (which needs not to be oracularly insisted upon). We therefore cannot but think that all the valuable matter which is not distinct from the substance of the second lecture, might have been thrown into it; and that the rules which it is necessary to allude to or mention, for the sake of stopping up the springs of party spirit (and which cannot be very numerous), \* might have been interwoven with, or in some other manner attached to, the previous discourse, or those ensuing.

And not only do we consider the plan of the lectures, as far as it goes, to be drawn out upon principles too analytical, and to have been executed in consequence rather indistinctly; but we think it ought to have gone farther. We think so, in the first place, because at present the promise in the title page is not at all adequately realized; nor can we agree with Mr. Whately in believing, as he seems to do, that the excess of party feeling in a good cause, is more prevalent or more dangerous, than its defect. We conceive therefore, that when the subject of party feeling is *professedly* taken up, the evils on both sides should have been more explicitly noticed; and we should have been glad to see one lecture, at least, expressly devoted to the purpose of inquiring into the existence, and evil, and remedies, of a want of party feeling (where it is called for,) as well as of its excesses and perversions. There may be, and there doubtless is, too much party feeling in matters of religion on points whether important or otherwise; but there may be, and we conceive there is, even in the same individuals, too little of the same feeling in its proper exercise. If such be the case, the one evil demands to be noticed as explicitly and as prominently as the other, in order fully "to secure the advantages" of this principle of our nature.

We forbear to enter further into particulars of complaint, especially as some of the chief have been anticipated in the introduction to the work, and answered in a manner which to many of our readers will appear perhaps satisfactory. But we cannot leave this part of our office without stating (however reluctantly) an impression, which the present† work has left upon our minds, that it has not been written with that care, or research, or that allowance of time, which the importance of the subject, and of the circumstances under which the volume is presented to the public, seem to demand. It is hardly to be expected, that the Bampton Lectures, occurring as they do annually, should always form a work of standard excellence: but it is desirable, that, as far as possible, such should be the case; and that there-

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\* In the case before us, those given are very few. (Rev.)

† We deem it fair to state that we do not think the present course of Bampton Lectures stands alone in the respects here adverted to. (Rev.)

fore they should in each instance be a work not merely of talent or learning, but of no ordinary labour. If the good old rule as to time were herein complied with, the church would, we conceive, be a great gainer by such deliberate proceeding. At least, if nine years' previous preparation be unnecessary, is it too much to expect that the lectures should always be written before the appointment of the lecturer takes place? Would not opportunity be thus afforded of more complete revision, than one year can possibly supply? and might not our hopes increase accordingly, of seeing more durable volumes, than the precipitancy of authorship, so prevalent in the present day, allows us to look for, with any sanguine expectations, even from individuals of undoubted talent? We offer these remarks in much ignorance of the particular circumstances under which the appointments to the Bampton Lecture have taken place, and with great deference to the judgment of those with whom such appointments rest. We also beg leave to add, that, in the present instance, our observations have proceeded from the value which we set upon the work before us, and from the desire (may we say the hope?) of seeing it endued with a more *lasting* character, than it now seems to possess; and rendered likely to admonish and instruct not merely the present age, but many yet unborn.

We now proceed to a more pleasant task, that of stating what we consider to be the excellencies of Mr. Whately's work.

We have said that it contains many trite and obvious remarks. But let us not be misunderstood. This is by no means the general character of the publication. It is true that most of the observations relate to points which, from their practical importance, are familiar to most thinking men; and which do, to a certain degree, force themselves upon the consideration of the most careless, and in a coarser and less defined shape the observations themselves may have occurred to many of us; but we are not, therefore, to consider them our own. The virtues of definite thinking, or of perspicuous statement, are those of an acute and powerfully discriminating mind. It is by such virtues that we consider our author's intellectual character to be marked. His is not the glow of a vivid fancy, nor the burst of eloquent passion, but the keen vision of a penetrating intellect. There may be more splendour in thoughts that are entirely new to us; but none perhaps are so useful as those which, relating to common subjects, and possessing themselves no strange appearance, are yet conceived with unusual accuracy, and expressed with equal precision. The monument of Parian marble is an object of admiration; but the commodiously contrived and neatly executed dwelling of free-stone is a more useful work.

Of Mr. Whately's style we should say that the chief excellencies are perspicuity and purity, but more particularly the



former ; and this, be it remembered, is a great and rare virtue. It seems, indeed, to be that at which our author has aimed, to the neglect, we might almost say to the contempt, of almost all others ; for, as far as is compatible with such a characteristic, his sentences are carelessly put together, and his diction much wanting both in strength and richness. Whenever figurative language occurs, it is solely for the purpose of illustration ; and in this way it is always aptly used, and sometimes with beauty. It may be said, that what we call carelessness in the structure of sentences is attributable to an apprehension of that false elevation of style in which meaning is sacrificed to pomp, and nature is lost in an affectation of ornament. Yet is there no mean between the ruffles and hose of Elizabeth's age and the undress of the laboratory ?

But the distinguishing and most attractive feature of these lectures, is the spirit of Christian moderation which they breathe throughout, and which not merely is expressed by the will, but is realised by the understanding in the exercise of that excellent virtue which the Greeks called *συγνώμη*, and which we imperfectly express by our word candour. It is in this respect chiefly that we trust to see Mr. Whately's work becoming a vehicle of much good amongst us.

The remaining excellencies, and the remaining faults, we shall leave our readers to find out for themselves. We have said what we thought the publication demanded of us, whether from a wish to see it improved into a standard work, or from a desire of beholding those benefits communicated to others, which we have ourselves reaped, and still hope to glean, from its pages. But before we conclude we would present our readers with one or two specimens of our author's excellence in his particular observations. The first which we shall give is at the same time a striking example of the power of analyzing human character which he has displayed, and especially in the first lecture. We allude to the very masterly delineation of party-feeling there given. We certainly do not recollect to have seen this principle of action so fully and fairly recognized before. Remarks have, of course, continually been made which imply its existence ; and so it must ever be with truth. An implicit recognition of it must always be contained in those sentiments and opinions, in which the general good sense and experience of mankind acquiesce. It does not follow, however, that less credit is due to him who presents the truth more nakedly and prominently before us. He who brings out the metal in its purity is not the less to be thanked because the ore has already been observed.

“ That it is not common to take a general view of this principle in all its various bearings and modifications is evident from this, that it can hardly be said even to have name in our language. The practical

effect of a man's attachment to his country, to his faction, to his fraternity, to his sect, and the like, are so different both in nature and in importance, that our attention is drawn off from the sameness of the general feeling which is at the bottom of all, and which appears different, chiefly from its being directed to different objects." (P. 4.)

"That principle then which I am now speaking of, that party-feeling (if I may be allowed to give it such a name, in default of a more precise one), may be described as a certain limitation of the general social principle, which binds together the human species: it consists in the attachment and regard men are disposed to feel toward any class, body, or association they may belong to, in itself, and towards the fellow-members of the same, *as such*, over and above any personal regard they may have for them individually; and in a zeal for the prosperity of the society, and for the objects it peculiarly proposes, over and above what is felt for those objects in themselves, and what would be felt for them by each individual, supposing him singly to pursue them. It must be added, that men have a natural tendency to sympathise and unite with those who coincide with them in any point; and hence are led to *form* these communities or parties, as well as to feel towards those in which they may be placed, that attachment and zeal which have been just mentioned.

"Those who delight in analyzing the complex principles of our nature, and referring them to their simplest elements, may, perhaps, without much difficulty trace up that of which we are now speaking, to our natural desire of sympathy, and disposition to afford it. . . . Whether, however, this or any different theory be adopted; or whether the party-feeling we are speaking of is to be referred to any more simple principles of our nature, of which it is the necessary result; or is to be regarded as itself one of the primary elements, as it were, of the human mind, is a question of no consequence to our present object: only let its existence and universality be admitted, and its effects referred to it, as their immediate source; not to any calculations of reason upon views of expediency." (P. 5—7.)

After proving more at large the existence, and describing the nature of party-feeling, together with the abuses to which it is liable, and the uses for which it is intended, the lecturer proceeds to point out in what manner Christianity has, in the constitution of the Church,

"taken advantage of this associating and coalescing principle of our nature, and enlisted it, as it were, into her own service, by giving it a new direction; in order to secure, in the most important of all concerns, those advantages which are the final cause of its being implanted in our minds." (P. 18.)

We regret that we cannot follow our author through the whole of this part of his discussion; but we hasten to fulfil our promise of giving some farther specimens of the practical observations which the volume contains.

It will be remembered that Mr. Whately's great object is to

guard his readers, on the supposition that they are right in their creed, against the excesses and perversions of party-feeling, that is to say, against the evils of party-spirit. With this view he offers in the fourth lecture,

"some remarks on the cautions we should observe in our judgement and treatment of those who really or apparently differ from us without being in any high degree blameable." (P. 102.)

"Contrarieties of *natural temperament* ; " and certain "*varieties of acquired tastes and feelings*" will of course be included under the head of "*allowable differences among Christians*."

"In these days there are indeed no supernatural gifts (such as those which caused divisions in the primitive church at Corinth); but there is hardly perhaps less diversity: in natural or habitual tempers and qualifications, men are as different (and as likely to disagree in consequence of that difference) as the Corinthians. Men differ in mind as much as in form and features; their intellects vary in kind, probably more than in degrees of excellence; and their tastes and feelings perhaps more still." (P. 122.)

"Much as we may wonder at the envy, and strife, and mutual prejudice, which existed at Corinth or at Rome, similar injustice is practised every day in no less a degree. For how common is it for those of an ardent disposition and lively feelings (which temper will of course show itself in their religion, if they are duly impressed with it) to censure, as cold formalists, destitute of a spiritual mind, and of all true zeal and devotion, those who have not the same fervent and rapturous emotions as their own; and among these, many who, though they have a calmer and cooler temperament, and less exalted sentiments, yet possess a piety no less sincere, deep-rooted, and practical; and 'love the Lord their God with all their heart,' though that heart be not susceptible of such vivid and intense feeling as another's. These last, on the contrary, are but too apt, while they value themselves on being rational and sober-minded, to brand the other class as visionary enthusiasts and fanatics. . . . . Some again show in religious concerns an active, forward, and sanguine temper; others are more steady, quiet, and cautious in their proceedings; and each are but too apt to depreciate the others; the one, as officious and unsafe characters, the other, as lukewarm and destitute of zeal.

"Similar observations might be made with respect to a multitude of such cases, in which, either from nature or education, the temper and turn of one man will materially differ from another's; though when duly modified and regulated, neither will be in any degree blameable; but will rather conduce to the benefit of the whole body." (P. 128—130.)

Our next quotation relates to the different faults in preaching prevalent (but among different parties) within the pale of our Church. On the one hand, we behold

"the error . . . . . of attempting to *explain* too much,—of overlooking the boundaries of the human faculties;—and by presumptuously endeavouring fully to develope the most sublime and inscrutable mys-

teries of our religion, affording matter of triumph to the infidel, and of perplexity to weak brethren." (P. 265.)

Another fault observable on the same side

"is, that of those who confine themselves too much to the inculcation of a few fundamental doctrines;—whose preaching is so exclusively *elementary*, that they scarcely proceed beyond the first rudiments of the Christian faith; and are perpetually occupied in laying the foundation; while they forget to rear the superstructure: so that sometimes a multitude of discourses from a preacher of this description will be found to be, in substance, but *one*; all being strictly confined to the same topics, and differing merely in the order of their recurrence. That this fault is less pernicious than the opposite one, of *omitting* the great fundamentals of Christianity, must be distinctly acknowledged; but it is no less certain that it is a fault; and how much such a practice is at variance with that of the apostles, no one who carefully and candidly studies their writings, can doubt. In fact we may even lead our hearers into Antinomianism and the like pernicious errors, with which we are not at all affected ourselves, if we lay before them a partial and imperfect view of the doctrines of the Gospel. The preaching of the truth will not produce its appropriate effects, unless we are careful to preach the *whole* truth, as well as nothing but the truth." (P. 265, 266.)

"The most prominent fault in the preaching of persons" on the opposite side, is "that in their dread of enthusiastic and antinomian excesses, they are apt to keep in the back ground the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity; and to dwell almost exclusively on such moral precepts, as might equally well have been delivered by a Pagan or a Jew; so that while those just mentioned lay a right foundation without building upon it, these, on the contrary, are apt to build without a foundation. Nor are they justified in thinking it sufficient, if at the great festivals of our church they direct the attention of their hearers to points of faith, in appropriate and distinctly doctrinal discourses. Even a more frequent statement, proof, and inculcation, of those points of faith, is far from being sufficient, if that faith be still kept *apart* from practice, as a *distinct* consideration; instead of being made, in the most conspicuous manner, the *groundwork* of it,—the motive from which it is to spring,—the tree of which it is the fruit. If we place before us, as a model, the writings of the apostles, we shall plainly see that it is not enough that the faith should be sound, and the conduct right also, unless that conduct be made to arise *out of* that faith." (P. 267—269.)

These quotations we consider to be fairly characteristic in their spirit of the volume before us, indicating that candour and caution against excesses of party-feeling, which it displays throughout. We could wish that the author had been equally *explicit* in warning his hearers against the defect in the same feeling: but on this point we have already expressed our opinion. Yet, to do justice to Mr. Whately, we have not omitted to state, that *incidentally* he has adverted to this dangerous extreme as well as to the other; representing, however, the evils which we have in

view, as proceeding rather from an excess of party-feeling, than from a want of it; the fact being, that both causes operate to their production. There are several excellent passages on the subject of indifference in *churchmen* to the church of which they profess themselves members, combined not unfrequently with great readiness in patronizing those "who cause divisions:" but we must content ourselves with one.

"This indifference, clad in the garb of candour, is, as I have said, the most frequently met with, and the most expected, in those who are not engaged in the ministry. Laymen are indeed but too apt to consider themselves as little more than *bye-standers* in the dispute between the church and her opponents: they perhaps give her the preference indeed, but rather as a matter of taste than of conscience; or, at least, rather as umpires between two contending parties, than as making the cause their own; and many a one may be found who would allow, and even expect, in the clergy, some zeal in that cause, yet would seem to regard it as altogether *their* concern; not as one in which he himself has a common interest.

"These sentiments often arise not so much from weakness or perversity, as from thoughtlessness, and want of due attention to the subject; for every sincere and candid Christian, if he can be brought to reflect attentively on the solemnity with which the Church was instituted, as a society not of ministers merely, but of Christians at large, and on the earnestness with which its Divine Founder and his apostles inculcated the duty of preserving its unity and promoting its welfare, will hardly fail to be convinced, that if he would claim a share in the benefits of Christ's redemption, he cannot be indifferent to his institutions; and that therefore as he is not only permitted but bound to withdraw from our Church, if he finds her doctrines or institutions essentially at variance with the word of God: so if he finds her to be, in faith and practice, scriptural, he is no less bound, not only not to withdraw from her communion, but also to use his best endeavours in her cause." (P. 211, 212.)

We regret that we must refrain from farther quotation; but we trust our readers will take up the volume for themselves. Notwithstanding some defects in it, and its capability of improvement (in order at least to become a work of *standard* value), we consider it, even in its present state, one of the most *useful* productions of the kind which we have for some time had occasion to notice. As a work, the spirit and practical suggestions of which should be familiarized to the mind of the Christian, and still more to the minds of those who are engaged in the discharge of clerical duties, we conceive its value to be very great, and greater perhaps than can be duly appreciated except by such a practical consultation of it. It is in this view that we wish to hold it up to the attention of the Church-of-England Christian, as a valuable help to him under those peculiar, and peculiarly difficult, circumstances of dissent and division, in which we are now placed.

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#### ERRATA IN NO. XXXVIII.

Page 421, line from bottom 22, *for* correct, *read* connect.

— 446, ————— 14, — *is*, *read* *si*.

— 450, ————— 20, — *Gwydayl*, *read* *Gwydhill*.

— 443, last line, *for* vol. i. *read* vol. ii.

THE  
BRITISH REVIEW,  
AND  
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL,  
DECEMBER, 1822.

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ART. XII.—*A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Gloucester at the Third Visitation of that Diocese in the year 1822.* By Henry Ryder, DD. Bishop of Gloucester. Hatchard. London. 1822.

THIS is an address of a peculiar character, and which could be delivered by very few without something of absurdity attaching to it. The effect is always to a certain degree absurd, where men of unspiritual lives affect to lead others in the Christian walk; but the consistency of the Bishop of Gloucester may challenge the scrutiny of his hearers. His charge faithfully and fearlessly enumerates the obligations of the Gospel, and is altogether a conscientious statement of its practical truths. Turning out of the beaten road of doctrine and discipline, it seizes a height above human criticism, and shines afar with the reflected radiance of evangelical truth. There is nothing here to be found of the matter of which episcopal charges are wont to consist; but it is truly what a charge ought to be,—a serious and emphatic call upon the clergy to meditate upon the specific trust and deep functional responsibility of their sacred profession. The design of a judge's charge to a jury is to impress on them a proper regard to the duties of the office they have to execute; and we have always understood a bishop's charge to the clergy of his diocese, to answer best the real purpose of its institution when it points most specifically to the duties of the pastoral office.

We must frankly state, having a charge upon our own consciences to state the truth, however disinclined to speak evil of dignities, that the tendency of episcopal Charges appears to

us to be in general replete with danger to our Church Establishment. It would seem from many of them that the duty of the pastoral clergyman consisted only in a hearty hatred of all manner of schism, and in giving the widest possible range to the application of the term. And, reasoning from the apparent spirit and objects of a part of these periodical lectures, we should, speaking with all deference, be tempted to say that, owing to the unhappy dominion of certain prejudices of education, no persons are so ignorant, not only of the state of the religious world, but of the specific interests and dangers of our ecclesiastical establishment, as some of its appointed guardians. It may be, it must be, that some of our clergy depart from the proper standard of doctrine; that some are in the habit of stating fundamental truths in terms too little guarded; that some are apt to spiritualize too vaguely, and to go too much at large into delicate points for safe application: that others are wanting in a sufficient knowledge of the human heart to guide their words with discretion; that the zeal of others may exceed their prudence; and it is undoubtedly true that these defects are hurtful to the cause of religion: but are they the only, or the more pressing, dangers to which our church is exposed? And can it be questioned by any man at all observant of the signs of the times, or of the prevailing state of our parishes,—can it fail to be seen by him who counts the number in any district of its real pastoral ministers, and estimates duly the importance to a neighbourhood of a diligent and conscientious parish priest; that the great danger to the Church at this moment arises more from the want of orthodoxy of life than of opinions in her ministers,—from the want of an embodied divinity, and a spirituality substantiated and condensed in a holy consistency of behaviour. Other evils there are, and other errors require the vigilance of our spiritual overseers; but against the invaders of her forms and doctrines, the Church has her natural and political bulwarks; against the heresy of inconsistency, against practical infidelity, against the betrayers of her character, against those who live down her dignity, and loosen the ligatures on which she depends for her hold on human opinion, she has no penal securities;—nothing but the faithfulness of those who superintend her discipline, disperse her patronage, and educate her ministers. It is at these points that our Zion is principally assailable, and it is her great misfortune that her natural protectors mistake the quarter to which their defensive efforts should be principally at this moment directed: leaving unguarded the passes through which destruction is on the point of entering, they please themselves with “marking her bulwarks and telling her towers,” and with

saying "we have a strong city," while their watchmen are asleep upon the walls.

The right reverend author of the above charge is not among the number of those entrusted with the care of the Church who have thus mistaken its interests and misapprehended its danger. To set before his clergy their proper business, and to present to them the most persuasive motives and commanding obligations to the due performance of it; to impress on them the necessity of guarding rather against themselves than others; to exhort them "to do the work of an evangelist," and thereby "to make full proof of their ministry," rather than to busy themselves "with unlearned questions which gender strife," and to touch their consciences with the alarming responsibility with which they are officially charged for the souls committed to them, is the apparent design of the address of this spiritual bishop to those to whom his peculiar right of admonishing extends. Speaking scripturally of this charge we should say it is distinguished for its spirituality: morally regarding it, we should say it is characterised by honesty and liberality: in a political view of it, we should designate it as marked by discretion and propriety; and to these commendations we will add, that it is as warm and affectionate in sentiment as it is dignified and pure in diction. It is just, in short, what an evangelical bishop should write, what a candid clergy should welcome, and what a Christian nation will, if sensible of its own best interests, applaud and ratify.

With respect to the reformation of this land, we look upon it that every thing is bound up in this simple aphorism,—*purify the state of the clergy*; and the great question to be answered concerning it is, where is the process to begin? On this subject the best philosophy is prayer: there is but one that giveth success; "every good and perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights." But, under God, the great ministration of man towards this incalculably important end is the right use of patronage. Here the stream receives its first salutary or poisonous infusion. That private persons, of whose estate this right constitutes a portion or appendage, should exercise it with a single view to their worldly gain or family advancement, is less surprising than that the same abuse should be committed by the guardians of the state, who by every appointment of a weak, or prejudiced, or indolent functionary to the service of the Church, lay whole districts barren in the territory of Christ, and wither, as it were, the growth of grace in the country. The truth is, that every patron, from the king downwards, holds his power as a trust from God, and in every exercise of it is doing an act more extensively affecting

the interests of man and the glory of the Creator than any of which a human being can, in any circumstances, be capable. But the higher the patronage, the more destructive is the abuse. To send overseers into the vineyard of God who care not whether it brings forth "grapes" or "wild grapes,"—who, with the frost of their academical learning and constringent orthodoxy, interdict and starve the soil which they were deputed to cultivate; who conceive their own dignity to consist in doing nothing themselves, and checking all extra-doings in others,—who, mistake all stir in the work of the Gospel for extravagance or innovation, and rest satisfied with a clergy, however loose or Laodicean in character, so long as the letter of the rubric remains inviolate;—to commit to such persons the difficult, and dangerous, and onerous management of our Christian Protestant Establishment in this its present conjuncture, is to frustrate the dispensations of Divine mercy through the Gospel, by the best contrived human means, and upon the widest scale of operation, which the great spiritual enemy of man has had it in his power to suggest.

Nations have owed their greatest misfortunes, and most sanguinary revolutions, to the insensibility of their rulers to the signs and indications of the times. Our own civil wars, and the disastrous occurrences which have disfigured the annals of the last thirty years in France, have arisen from the same want of tact in those to whom the public affairs have been entrusted, for discerning the tendency and determination of public opinion and national character. If there be any man in the country that sees nothing in all this schooling of the multitude, this cheapening of instruction, this intellectual levelling,—nothing in the revolutionary movements of the day, which have shaken together the elements of society,—nor in the vast and augmented power of the press, to render the lower orders critical observers of their superiors, and those that hear close examiners into the pretensions of those that instruct,—all that we can say is, that the most obvious and striking appearances in the moral world do indeed address him to no purpose; but, if those who stand on a high point of observation discern nothing in the signs or aspects of things that imposes new duties, and new motives to circumspection on those that govern, and on those that teach, one hardly knows what name to bestow upon a fatuity so fatal in its consequences.

It is the characteristic folly of men in power to take counsel, as Lord Bacon expresses it, from the past rather than from the time to come. This is natural, and may be excusable under other circumstances than those of the present period in this country; but what apology can be found for the inconsistency

of a government that adopts or promotes every suggestion of ingenuity for expanding the intelligence of the common people, and, at the same time, acts as if nothing were needful to be done towards giving to the upper ranks a proportionate elevation, and to maintain the civil arrangements of society in a just correspondence with its moral relations? Putting, for a moment, all higher obligations out of sight, and having regard only to this world and its passing interests, can any thing be more apparent than the disturbing tendency of a plan of national improvement which leaves the superior portion of the community entirely out of contemplation. And yet such is the defective character of our grand modern apparatus of education. No man who has his eyes open can deny that, at this juncture, the children of the poor are, in the principles of morality and religion, under a more efficacious and specific discipline than those of the rich. We think that discipline less sound than it might be, and we have given our reasons for that opinion; but whatever may be its success or failure in reference to its professed object, the result to which it tends, with an ominous certainty, is this:—that those who occupy the superior places in society will have thereby erected against themselves a tribunal before which their characters must come, and where the judgment that will pass upon them will neither be softened by the feelings of fellowship, nor the sense of a common infirmity; but will ground itself upon the apparent reasonableness of expecting much from those to whom much has been given. This is no argument for withholding instruction from the poor, but it is a great argument for consistency of plan and purpose—for rendering our national education truly national by extending the solid parts of it to the rich—for a new spirit of moral and religious discipline in our universities—for a more specific and functional preparation of our clergy, and, above all, for a more conscientious exercise of the patronage of the Church. Human intelligence must travel much in the night; and, even along the high road of national improvement, there are pits and precipices which require the stationary public lights to be kept bright and burning, or the multitude may be easily lost,—bewildered, perhaps, by their own lanthorns, and the delusive glare of feeble substitutes.

The Bishop of Gloucester's charge now before us, points towards that right disposition of things in which alone the spiritual and moral education of the people can be hopefully constituted. We see in it a proof of the good effect of patronage discreetly exercised at that source from which, if the stream emanates impure, no medicaments, which art can supply, can



restore its salubrity. From a good beginning, things usually proceed in a right consecutive order. The agency, by which the author of this charge expects to produce the good he contemplates, is that of the clergy of his diocese; and to impress upon them an effectual feeling of the real duties of their responsible vocation is his direct and simple purpose. He appears to us to proceed upon the conviction that the natural course of instruction is downwards, and that, to render his diocese a "well-watered garden," his episcopal care must be primarily directed to his clergy as the channels through which the living streams are to be transmitted and diffused abroad. It is the great error of our day to neglect this natural course, and appointed order, for the just and efficient flow of national instruction. He who, having the patronage of a benefice in our Church, consults the safety of his own soul by setting over the souls of others a minister answering to the model sketched out in the charge now on our table, does more for the public happiness and improvement than by establishing a score of national schools, useful as, under good conduct, such institutions undoubtedly are. Parish schools, we are disposed to think, produce but little substantial benefit, unless under the superintending genius of a virtuous and zealous parish priest. We dare affirm that the success, under Providence, of the present widely extended plan of education depends upon the character of our parochial ministry. Too much is trusted to machinery. Too little is thought of the power of sympathy, and the force of example. It is the age of complex ingenuity and operose contrivance. This character and habit extends to morals as well as physics. The whole business is apt to be treated as a matter of dry calculation, as if the soul were obedient to the impulse of a ten-horse power. Considering, as we do, that what the poor are most interested in learning is precisely that which the parish clergyman is bound by his allegiance to God to teach them—the learning of the scriptures, and the application of Christian precepts, we can scarcely be persuaded that any knowledge by which society will be benefited, and the moral order of the world advanced, will be the result of the fairest looking scheme of public instruction, where the whole air of the institution is poisoned by the example of its very patrons and supporters, and the Church despoiled of its attraction and influence by the drowsiness or dissipation of the minister.

On the solemn business of the soul we cannot permit ourselves to be merry; but were it possible to be so on such a subject, one would be disposed to laugh at the ludicrous in-

consistency of men who subscribe to national and Sunday schools, and profess an earnestness in the cause of public instruction, while in the most public way they manifest their contempt of that day, with the holy observance of which the prosperity, and when we say the prosperity, we mean the moral grandeur and stability, of the nation, is absolutely bound up and identified. It will be to little purpose that the poor are taught to read, if they are thereby qualified to read in the newspapers, of audiences, journeys, political dinners, and parties, and those numerous other practices among the great, which are breaking in more and more upon the integrity of the Sabbath. There are two ways in which, peradventure, this inconsistency may be removed;—the higher sort may obey the call to greater circumspection, which they have imposed upon themselves by all this teaching of the poor; and this we will denominate the conservative mode of cure; or it may be, that out of the lessons given to the poor, all that leaven of religion may be extracted which may seem to pledge their superiors to a more respectful observance of its ordinances; and this is the radical cure.

Already this latter mode appears to be in a fair way of adoption, and we have lately heard of several *Sunday* schools in which the children are taught to write on that day. Thus the tides of business and recreation flow in upon the devoted Sabbath, and wash away by degrees the shores of its sacred territory. On the narrow insulated portion that remains to God, his sanctuary still stands, and within its awful precinct his faithful worshippers are still assembled, to keep their morning and evening watch: they have their terrors for the fate of the visible church, but they know that there is an invisible Zion whose "gates the Lord loveth too well" to suffer them to be carried away by this or any other flood; whose "foundations are upon the holy hills;" and for themselves they are comforted by the assurance that he that delivered Israel can make a wall for them on the right hand and on the left, and "bring his own again, as he did sometime from the deep of the sea."

To ward off these dangers which surround the sanctuary of our National Religion, the parochial clergy of the diocese of Gloucester are by the above excellent charge summoned and excited. It is a stirring address to their principles, to their consciences, and to their feelings of Christian honour, as volunteers in the cause of God; enforced by the character of the man that makes it, and the times in which it is made. It is a charge also, as we read it, not so intended certainly, but so in its bearing and ex-

ample, to the bench of bishops, and to all the dignitaries, lay, as well as ecclesiastical, of the land: it suggests, by its example to bishops and archbishops, the sort of interference which they should exercise, and the language they should hold to their diocesan and provincial clergy: it suggests, most undesignedly indeed, to our high public functionaries, the model of the sort of bishop which the state should give to the Church; and it suggests, by no very obscure inference, what should be the recommendation to the public and private patron in the exercise they make of their most tremendous trust and hazardous authority. "There is a charge," says Dr. Hans Hamilton, in one of his two excellent Act Sermons, preached before the University of Dublin, on Sunday the 1st of February, 1818, appointed to be delivered by the bishop to the priests on this occasion, (ordination) "which is the most serious, solemn, and weighty that can well be imagined or devised,—a charge which well deserves to be constantly imprinted on the memory and mind of every one to whom it has been delivered." After setting before them the high dignity, and weighty office and charge to which they are called, to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord, to teach and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family, he warns them of the greatness of the fault, and the horrible punishment that will ensue, if the Church, or any member thereof, take any hurt or hindrance by reason of their negligence, "to consider the end of their ministry towards the children of God, and that they see that they never cease their labour, their care, and diligence, until they have done all that lieth in them, according to their bounden duty, to bring all such as are, or shall be, committed to their charge, unto that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among them for error in religion, or viciousness of life—to beware that neither they themselves offend, nor be occasion that others offend—and seeing that they cannot by any other means compass the doing of so weighty a work pertaining to the salvation of man, but with doctrine and exhortation taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and with a life agreeable to the same, they are called upon to consider how studious they ought to be, in reading and learning the Scriptures, and in framing the manners both of themselves, and of them that specially pertain unto them, according to the rule of the same Scriptures; and for this self-same cause, how they ought to forsake and set aside, as much as they may, all worldly cares and studies—that they will, as much as lieth in them, apply themselves wholly to this one thing, and draw all their cares and studies this way."

Such is the view which, in our well-framed offices, is taken of the sort of life our clergy are professionally called upon to lead, and we have quoted the passage as a justification, as far as human precedent can be vouched as such, of the plan and purpose of the Bishop of Gloucester's charge. As a testimony of the same kind, we will place before our clerical readers a passage from Archbishop Secker, which cannot, indeed, be new to them, but of which it may not be amiss to remind them. "To these excellent offices (alluding to that above quoted, among others), we must all of us cheerfully apply ourselves, each in such degree as his station requires. If they do require pains—if they do take up time—if they are inconsistent with agreeable amusements, and even interrupt useful studies of other kinds, yet this is the business which we have solemnly chosen, and the vows of God are upon us: it is the most important and the most honourable, it ought to be the most delightful, too, of all employments; and therefore we have every reason not to seek the means of evading our duty, but of fulfilling it; and each to take the oversight of the flock of God committed to him, not by constraint, but willingly; for if we only just do what we can be punished by our superiors for neglecting, we must neither expect success nor reward." (Archb. Secker's Charges in Watson's Tracts, vol. vi. p. 10.)

Precisely in the spirit of these precedents, the Bishop of Gloucester addresses his clergy in the charge before us. Having on the first of two former occasions dilated upon the more general duties of their profession; and in a second having, with more particularity, traced the less ostensible, but scarcely less important functions which arise out of the minister's pastoral communications with his flock, he proceeds in this present discourse to "explain and urge upon his clergy the indirect teaching by example, by (as he feelingly and forcibly himself expresses his object) the elevating standard, and the attractive influence of a life consistent with the precepts, and congenial with the doctrine which they preach." We cannot think that this admonitory and explicit interference with the conduct, manners, and pursuits of his clergy, has hitherto been enough regarded as the duty of the diocesan. It is not, as we began with remarking, in the power of every bishop to take this spiritual ground with characteristic propriety; it is not every bishop whose fear of God places him sufficiently above the fear of man to dispose and qualify him for insisting upon duties of which it is an offence to human pride to be reminded; and the heads of not a few of our bishops are so full of the chimeras and spectres of sectarism,

schism, Calvinism, and other terrific forms and omens of disastrous import to our Church, as to be totally blind to the real, sensible, substantial, instant peril, in which it is placed by the unspiritual and unholy lives of its authorised ministers. The charge under review has been composed with a clear perception of these dangers. It is neither accusatory, nor exculpatory, nor laudatory, but it exhibits with great distinctness the line of conduct which not only the transcendent responsibilities of his undertaking, but a certain correctness of moral taste, exacts of a minister of the Church of England. A day passed at any country village without particular inquiry will usually let the stranger, if he is an observer of these things, into the secret of the real state of the cure. If the pastoral function is in abeyance, the misery, pollution, and blasphemy, which meet him at every turn, will speedily inform him of that fact; and, how well the sworn dispenser of God's word and sacraments, hunts, and shoots, and dances, and denounces Methodism, and approves his orthodoxy to his diocesan by his holy hatred of the Bible Society, and the evangelical clergy, will usually appear inscribed but too legibly in the characters and countenances of his straggling and repining flock.

Against these occurrences and consequences the Bishop of Gloucester opposes the just admonitions of his timely and honest address to his clergy. He seems to see that the real danger, which overhangs the Church has been much and long mistaken. He seems to see that while infidel combinations are daily strengthening themselves without, a right spirit, a pure courage, and an union of hearts, is much wanted within. He feels the immense importance of example at such a juncture; and well knowing how much, in this day of profane obloquy, the strength of our sacred Establishment consists in its character, to sustain and establish that character, and to raise its standard, and to give it consistency, and a due impression of its spiritual vocation, is the honourable, and manly, and faithful design of his pious and judicious address. His aim is to shape the course of the parish minister in the career of his *domestic* Christianity; and in doing this he affords indirectly a guide to the true use of patronage, and suggests incidentally the sketch of a complete scheme of national reform—a scheme too quiet for the patriot, too unpretending for the projector, and too practical for the theorist, but one which, if carried into execution, would be found to be instantaneously operative, would do its work without noise, would cost nothing, hazard nothing, displace nothing, accomplish every thing.

There are several circumstances by which the present time

is characterised and distinguished, that stamp a peculiar value on the Bishop of Gloucester's address at this moment. The deep cry of spiritual want has at length moved the breasts of our governors. The claims of our Established Church have been recognised. The representation so faithfully made by the publication of a pious and zealous clergyman of the scanty provision of church room within the pale of the Establishment, has awakened the legislature to the exigency of the case. The area of God's household is enlarged, and the religious character of the country is thereby greatly redeemed. This order of things is indeed excellent, if the British clergy regard it as multiplying the calls upon their zeal, as extending the sphere of their opportunities, and summoning with the voice of trumpets from the new edifices of our augmented Zion, the champions of her holy cause. If, however, the clergy feel no new impulse from this extension of their range of possible usefulness, the acquisitions of the Church may be large in brick, and mortar, and masonry, in consecrated space, and in nominal and numerical strength, but her spiritual bounds will remain the same. It is in the power of the clergy to render this addition of space a mere expansion of weakness, an increase only in measure and quantity, or to make it a conquest of territory, of which it may be said, as of the land which He once gave to his worshippers, "that the Lord God careth for it."

Another circumstance peculiar to the present time, which has rendered more critically important the duties of the clerical profession, is the universal spread of education through the land. We have already alluded to the manner in which this reacts upon the upper region of society, and puts the men of wealth and station upon their best behaviour. But to the clergy of the land it proffers a holy challenge. A new and strange moral power is set loose. The multitude, and the mass, is organised into functional, cogitative, and emphatic life. Their eyes are full upon their teachers, and the parish priest is as minutely observed in his walk through the week, as in the desk and in the pulpit. Even where the education of the poor may be of a sort not to meliorate the heart, it tends to quicken the discernment; it teaches them to discover the mote in a brother's eye, though it may not instruct them to perceive the beam in their own: without being rendered practically purer themselves, or improved in the essentials of propriety, they may be advanced in the theory of morals, and made shrewder judges of decorum in others: without any new infusion of sentiment or principle, they may be better qualified for the task of exposing their superiors, and marking their inconsistencies of con-

duot. The Church cannot, under these circumstances, afford any expense of character. It must trust to its living strength for its security, not to its prescriptive grandeur. Nor will mere caution suffice. Its safety lies in its action as well as in its circumspection. Knowledge is power, and the power which it creates is a busy fiery principle, which when not pre-engaged on the side of utility, lends itself to mischief, decomposition, and disorder. And precisely in this moral predicament stands this united kingdom. Destruction hovers over all our establishments, to be averted only by a diligent and honest use of such means of influencing opinion, and giving it a conservative direction, as are vested in individuals by the constitution, whether in politic function, or moral capacity. Patriotism, philosophy, philanthropy, liberality, and other broad and munificent principles, have combined with Christian benevolence to give to the poorer classes of society the noble present of education:—to make the bounty a blessing is the proper work of the clergy. Their province it is, and in the view which we take of it, a new one, trenching still further upon that leisure, on the misemployment of which the Bishop of Gloucester has laid his gentle interdict, to take care that the knowledge which we are thus diffusing may not turn to that which “exalteth itself against the knowledge of God;” that it may not expire or explode in pompous generalities, in presumptuous errors, or more positive mischiefs; that it may not put the stimulated thoughts upon inquiries which neither opportunity nor duty will allow; that it may not warp, or disturb, or unsettle, but rather cause all the appointments of civil and social life to range in better order round a common and commanding centre; that the instruction given may tend less to excite genius than illustrate duties; less to raise curiosity than to regulate opinion, point less to potential attainment, than to practical good: that instead of teaching many things superficially it may teach deeply and well the one thing needful; that it may increase the sum of human felicity, urge on the spiritual progression of the soul, and advance the moral order of this lower world.

So much for the special call at this juncture upon our parochial clergy, created by the present gigantic system of general education. There is still another phenomenon of the times that addresses itself peculiarly to the consciences of the clergy, and renders their profession critically important to the community. Upon the great amphitheatre of the intellectual world a contest is now in progress such as it has never before experienced. Who does not see that in the devil's kingdom there prevails an unusual stir, and effort, and commotion,—a

dismal note of preparation, a dark display of warlike apparatus, a movement every where—every principality and power, every agency and diplomacy in activity—every rusty or forgotten weapon brought down from the arsenals—alliances forming, subsidies collecting, veteran and invalid blasphemies pressed again into the service? All this, and much more, demonstrates that the powers of hell have again consulted and resolved that

Here perhaps

Some advantageous act may be achieved,  
By sudden onset, either with hell fire  
To waste this whole creation, or possess  
All as their own, and drive, as they were driven,  
The puny inhabitants; or if not drive,  
Seduce them to their party.

Against these hellish machinations the militant members of our Church are summoned to display to its utmost their evangelical courage. It is now to be seen whether those who are professedly on God's side will act with the zeal and consistency of his true servants. It is to be now seen whether they will answer the urgent and imperious call which the crisis makes upon them; whether, with such an enemy at their gates; so large a portion of them will still cherish little mean animosities, jealousies, and suspicions;—still continue to call names;—still continue to cry down all active labours as officious, irregular, and supererogatory;—still persevere in paring down clerical duty to the mere letter of the rubric;—still content themselves with executing with exactness an official service, with delivering ethical lectures, with denouncing what it would cost too much to imitate;—still continue to depend upon ancient bulwarks, and venerable towers, while the only substantial means of defence are neglected: or shall we see, in this hour of peril, the conduct of the clergy re-formed after the model recommended by the Bishop of Gloucester? Shall we see through all the ranks of our clergy a grand effort, similar, and not inferior, to that which the enemy is making?—shall we see all ill-founded jealousies sacrificed to the common interest?—shall we see an end made of the foolish uproar about Bible Societies, evangelical preachers; and shall we see one united endeavour to avert the immediate peril? Are we to hope that patronage will be frightened out of its state of apathy and abuse, the High Church roused from its deep official sleep, and the Cathedral and its close become the focus of spiritual zeal, practical piety, and Christian discipline? If this, or any thing like this, should be provoked by the present horrible combinations



against the happiness of life and the hope of the soul; but special thanks will belong to Him to whom only is known the sublime alchemy by which good is wrought out of evil, and who can: "turn the fierceness of man to his praise." Half the battle is gained before it begins, if it begins in this way: the blasphemers are "at their wits' end;" they appear, by the general teaour of their latest publications, to have exhausted their armoury. They offer a sure victory to faithful troops, and it seems as if God had decreed "that their own tongues shall make them fall."

Another summons to the British clergy peculiarly arising out of the circumstances of the special juncture at which we are arrived, is the result, more and more developed every day, of the close communication into which the travelling habits of this country are bringing us with the Continent in general, and with France in particular. The manners of the capital of that godless country are not merely such as the religious mind must contemplate with horror; they threaten the entire absorption of the better in the baser parts of our nature,—the triumph of brutal instinct over the moral sense,—the extinction of every trace of the hand that formed us in the Divine likeness. There "corruption boils and bubbles," and an atmosphere polluted from the fith and scum of ten thousand abominations is inhaled by thousands of thousands of British subjects, old and young, husbands and wives, mothers and daughters. Children, Britain's children, there receive, under the deceptive name of education, the seeds of iniquity into their minds, to vegetate and expand on their return to their own country in their florid and fatal luxuriance. The sights and shows, sanguinary, profane, obscene, are alone enough to taint the whole region around Paris. They breathe "a gross and mortal nuisance into all the air." In the deep turpitude of the interior,—in the dark recesses of profligacy, disease, and ruin, the priests and priestesses of debauchery celebrate their mysteries; immolate their victims, and crown their work. The *Sunday*, after the spectacle of the late executions in the place de Griève, was the day of the annual exhibition of horse-racing on the Champ de Mars. About 30,000 persons appear to have been present, of whom a great proportion were our own countrymen. Vice crosses you in every path, and gaming goes on from the dawn of every day, Sundays not excepted, to midnight, at places licensed, or rather farmed out by the Government. From these mysteries of iniquity many return adepts; many with their principles shaken if not subverted; many with their morals loosened, and their taste debauched; many with an indifference to distinctions, once

deemed essential, or with new distinctions borrowed from the sophistry of the passions; some we trust with a relish for the amiable, the pure, and the holy, improved by comparison; but without doubt, in this commerce of mind, the English nation is exchanging its staples for infected stuff, and wretched frippery at best. To encounter these evils, and save the mind of the country, the clergy have, as we consider these matters, another extraordinary general call upon them at this moment. But the danger to the Lord's day, as the last strong hold of Christianity, now menaced with the destruction of all its sanctity by the habits imported by travelled impiety, calls with the vehemence of unutterable importunity for the exertions of the sacred ministry; and we cannot but think that this danger adds infinitely to the weight of all that the Bishop of Gloucester's charge insists upon. The Sunday is in their hands to use or abuse, to defend or betray; and unless they surround it with the dignity and energy of their own examples and talents, covetousness and dissipation will soon share it between them: it will merge in the week, and be lost to God and man. The disregard and desecration of this day appear to us to be among the most visible evils flowing from our increased intercourse with the Continent. Though preaching may be followed with as much assiduity as ever, he must be blind to the most manifest indications of the times who does not remark the carelessness and apathy of our *sitting* and *dumb* congregations during the praying part of the service; and blinder still is he who does not perceive that the part of the day not covered by the stated offices of the Church is distinguished chiefly by greater in sobriety, and that the Romish Church is, in this instance, through the laxity and indifference of her rival, recovering the best part of her lost ground. But we hope for better things; for, of all robberies, to rob Jehovah of any part of his own peculiar day is the worst, and will probably be the most punished. He solemnly reserved it out of the life interest which he granted to us in the works of his hands. By choosing it for the celebration of the close of his two great achievements, the creation and redemption of man, he has sealed it with a double sanctification. And, after all, he has reserved it not for his own sake, but for the benefit of man, whom he has called up to a partnership in it with himself. He has made it a day for renewing with us his covenant of grace, and for recapitulating his mercies and his promises. He has made it, moreover, a most beautiful and benign season of intermission and refreshment to the creatures of his moral and natural world, easing the wearied shoulder of its burden, and the harassed intellect of its cares; and it has pleased him to stamp his own image and memorial upon this sacred gift of

leisure, that our especial recollection of his blessed Self might be associated with the sense of enjoyment.

We shall advert only to one other peculiarity in the moral predicament of the world (a peculiarity of a very different kind from that to which we have last alluded), which puts extraordinary and special obligations upon the clergy. The new æra which has begun in the Church by the increased circulation of the Scriptures in these latter times, requires it even for its own safety to be in a state of energetic activity. It must follow where the Bible leads. It surely does not become the Church of England to be afraid of this Book; but if it do not feel itself placed in any new predicament by this great event—if it do not perceive that the total population of this country is thereby taken out of a neutral state in respect of religion, and excited to an extraordinary curiosity and interest on the subject—if it will not understand the necessity of lending itself to the new state of things, and of profiting by the crisis—if a large proportion of its dignitaries will still continue to check the diffusion of scriptural knowledge, and starve the cause of Christianity—if it can be induced to listen to such misrepresentations, such gross, and we must add, insolent and calumnious misrepresentations and perversions as occur in “the Respectful Letter to the Earl of Liverpool,” by the perpetual curate of St. John’s Chapel, Hackney; then there is ground for saying that the Established Church is in danger from the Bible Societies. But if the Church of England will regard the Bible as the charter of its own foundation—if, seeing that the British and Foreign Society is doing precisely that which is doing by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, it holds out the hand of Christian fellowship, and cordially accepts its co-operation—if it will consider the wide dispersion of the Scriptures as extending the area of its own exertions, and multiplying its proper business, as well as augmenting its means, then will this grand comprehensive Christian institution, so hardly treated by Mr. Norris, be found to be in effect the very best friend the Church has gained since the Reformation.

We cannot avoid, as we pass along over this vast and varied scene, occasionally turning aside to examine some rare or remarkable object which overshadows, though it may not lie in, our path; and just such is the extraordinary production on the subject of the Bible Society, lately sent forth by the reverend gentleman last alluded to. He seems to consider a few practical indiscretions in the mode of collecting money and increasing subscriptions, exhibited in the commencement of its career, and some ill-judged and intemperate expressions, some idle and rambling illustrations, some ill-chosen allusions, some inco-

herencies, some false metaphors, a few juvenilities, and a few senilities which may have dropped occasionally from the mouths of some of its advocates in their public addressess, as justifying a sentence of condemnation from a perpetual curate of Hackney, against an incorporation of persons the most august in names and number, the most catholic in plan and purpose, and comprising the largest sum and average of moral worth that has appeared upon the stage of the world, for objects and interests uncombined with worldly advantage, since the days of primitive, unendowed Christianity.\*

\* It is very painful, at a moment so critical as the present, to find a minister of the Gospel arraigning a minister of state for advocating, in a speech as President of one of these societies, the dispersion of the Holy Scriptures, on the express ground, not only of its tending to promote Christianity throughout the world, but of its leading men to approve of our excellent Liturgy. To us it seems neither decent nor liberal in this reverend author to print a placard of his Lordship's speech on the first leaf of his pamphlet, and after expressing doubts of its authenticity, to proceed to censure it throughout, and to treat it as a proof of his Lordship's having been "imposed upon." The greatest offence is taken at a passage in the speech, in which Lord Liverpool had observed, that the operation of the Bartlett's Buildings Society was *limited*; for which opinion he assigns as a reason, that the Bible may be circulated when the Prayer Book cannot; and upon this Mr. Norris is either very incorrect, or very disingenuous. Limited, certainly, in the extent of its operation, as far as respects the Bible, the ancient society must be in comparison of the new, which last is unlimited in operation, because; it is limited as to the subjects of distribution; and this, in effect, is Lord Liverpool's proposition. It is in virtue of the distribution of the Bible *alone* that the co-operation of dissenters, and foreigners of all Christian communions, has been obtained, and this is the extension contemplated by the noble speaker: but Mr. Norris attacks the proposition as if the limitation alluded to in the speech had reference only to the subjects distributed. Having given Lord Liverpool a very magisterial correction for his having advocated a society of which Mr. Norris disapproved, he proceeds to establish its defect of principle in two ways, in each of which there is much sophistry, and a little of chicanery: first, by a dense exhibition of all the casual and scattered indiscretions, of which its friends have been guilty in speech or action; and, in the second place, by showing that ever since the Bible Society has been established, crimes have been upon the increase throughout the country. The utter absurdity of this argument, which would obviously afford an equal reason for treading back our steps in every national undertaking engaged in during the last twenty years for meliorating the state of society, is too glaring to deserve a serious confutation. It may be enough to remind our readers, that its logic applies with precisely the same force to the one society as to the other, as far as regards the distribution of the Bible. When Mr. Norris's reasoning is stripped of its contumelious verbage, and the vast accumulation of heterogeneous matter with which it is incumbered, it dwindles into this notable objection—that the Bible, when distributed by the hand of any other than a member of our National Church, must operate to the prejudice of that Church; nay, further, that it will furnish an explanation of the great increase of crime, which has marked with ignominy the last fifteen years of this great nation. Whatever mischief may be the result of this publication, we are sure it will not frighten that respectable nobleman out of his firmness and consistency, nor make Lord Liverpool afraid to avow his *imputed* speech. It is full of childish fury and unwarrantable abuse, and among men of sense will long stand as a monument of the imbecility and disingenuousness into which a sensible man may fall by being attached so much to the honour of carrying on a good work as to tolerate no extraneous contribution to its success.

In the Bishop of Gloucester's Charge we note this peculiar excellence—that it is vital, devotional, and earnest, without

We must not dismiss Mr. Norris without saying a little more on the spirit and tone of his pamphlet. It is replete with indecent railing and low abuse. If the conduct which this uncharitable priest imputes to the Bible Societies could with any justice be fixed upon them, Lord Liverpool must have been without penetration, or, rather, without ears, to have been ignorant of it; and to have known it well, and yet to have accepted the presidency of a Bible Society, would argue him a very different sort of person from that which he is known to be. Without doubt, there have been foolish speeches made at Bible Societies, but there have been foolish speeches also made in the House of Lords, and foolish speeches in the House of Commons; and the wisest assemblies upon earth have had some folly mixed up with their wisdom. Some froth will arise from the fermentation of the most intelligent minds. But the proper question is, whether there is, on the whole, to be found in the speeches and acts of these societies such an aggregation of foolish and improper things said and done as to ground a charge against them of absurdity, fanaticism, imposture, mendacity, quackery, knavery, kidnapping, extortion, fraud, spoliation of the poor, disturbance of all domestic order, and decency, and privacy, fascination, illuminism, witchcraft,—all which and more are the ingredients of the poison with which this assailant bars his arrows against those who, *by seeking God's favour, have incurred the indignation of his priest.* If the picture given by Mr. Norris be at all accurate, no associations formed in modern times for spoliation or subversion, or the spread of desolating principles, are more to be dreaded than this society, whose secret nevertheless is shared with every hamlet, and whose infernal designs have as yet providentially only broken out in spreading the Bible over the globe, and in making every tongue its own interpreter. This is all that Mr. Norris has discovered concerning it; and upon this discovery he scruples not to affirm of it, composed as we trust our readers know it to be of crowned and mitred heads, of great statesmen and profound scholars; of learned, and what is better, of pious divines, both foreign and domestic; that “it began its career with trepanning ladies into its assemblies, to be the auditors of its seductive eloquence, and inflammatory harangues, *and thus has it corrupted a generation for its own purposes.*” So that the present generation of Britons is corrupted, or about to be corrupted, by the same process by which the papal corruptions were once removed from our Church and State, and Satan is to triumph with the cross for his banner.

Alas! alas! according to Mr. Norris, victory begins to declare itself for Satan and the Bible; for mark the progress of demoralization by means of the Bible Societies. Just before the commencement of the Bible Society, Mr. Norris had observed the world to be growing rather good, for which opinion he cites and misapplies the words of an excellent bishop; but the Bible interposed itself, and stood between the soul and its salvation by inverting the tendency to good previously discernible, and bringing in a period during which “infidelity and blasphemy has been gathering confidence, and spreading their contagion in equal ratio with the Bible Society's progression.” Even the profanation of the Sabbath is traced to the same fertile source of evil. But we can proceed in this painful course no further, and request our readers to forgive us for the length of our note on a topic arising out of, but not accompanying, the subject to which our article is properly dedicated, though certainly too interesting to be passed without a strong comment. If we have imparted to our readers an uneasiness like that which we ourselves have felt, we recommend them for refreshment to the speech of the Rev. James Dunn, at the meeting of the Hibernian Bible Society, on the 18th April, 1822, wherein they will see a noble argument unfold itself in all the varieties and graces of the most consummate felicity of expression and illustration. If they are not induced to think with him that a prophetic intimation of the religious movements of our time are discoverable in Holy Writ, they will, at least, we are persuaded, “observe,” with him “that there is a providential co-operation speeding their progress, and bringing forth fruits much beyond the natural effects of human agency.” Mr. Gisborne too (a man of at least as cool a head as the minister of Hackney,) thus declared himself on the same subject: “when I consider these wonders (alluding to what had

lending the smallest colour to any irregular, unauthorised, or presumptuous feelings. He will appear eminently sober and moderate to all but those who cannot detach spirituality from fanaticism, and with such it is vain to reason. He has, withal, the merit of being precise in his terms. Nothing is denounced, nothing is enforced, but by a description that makes his meaning impossible to be misunderstood. This clearness we esteem the more, as the want of it is a prevailing defect with the clergy. While so many nick-names are exchanged at random among the ministering members of Christ's Church, it becomes a matter of increased importance to be guarded, full, and precise, in the enunciation of doctrine; and we would venture to suggest to the most spiritual part of this reverend body, the peculiar danger, at this moment, of aiming too much at strong metaphorical expression. Points of divinity will not bear this. They perish by too much human handling. They are plants, brought from a far country, which will live and flourish only in their own indigenous mould: man's curiosity and intermeddling constitute their greatest danger. As long as we keep true to Scripture, it matters not how false we are to theory. The practical excellence of the minister is to exhibit the great truths of our religion distinctly, and loosely, as they lie in Scripture; but still to exhibit them, as much as possible, in company with each other; and, above all, to refrain from attempting to coerce them into system and agreement, which is God's and not man's business. Every thing—oh, how merciful and condescending is this!—is *there* propounded with every guard against extravagance and excess. One thing is unquestionably clear, that no one part of Holy Scripture is to be sacrificed to the other; and to avoid appearing to do so, it is the part of the judicious preacher to associate in precept whatever should be combined in practice.

We found these observations upon the disposition of the times to charge upon the more spiritual part of the ministry enthusiastic and exclusive tenets, and the maintenance of doctrines leading to practical licentiousness. By this temperate, guarded; and complete exhibition of truth, in the fulness of its

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been accomplished by the Bible Society) all feelings are summed up and absorbed in one irresistible impression—*this is the finger of God!*" Now whether what is thus intimated by Mr. Dunn and Mr. Gisborne, and supported by the concurrent sentiments of so many wise, temperate, and pious men, or the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Norris, who has found counterparts of the Bible Society, in the United Irishmen, the Illuminati of Germany, the Revolutionists of France, and the fomentors of insurrection, licentiousness, and crime, all over the world, and who, in one of his publications, considered the dreadful murders committed at the east end of the metropolis some few years ago, as proper to be alluded to in describing the demoralizing effects of this institution, is most worthy of the attention of the Earl of Liverpool, his lordship's own sound intelligence will best decide.—REV.

proportions, they will either avoid being called names, or will, at least, neutralize the abuse. It behoves them also to be careful to suppress the desire to call names in return, and to correct a too hasty disposition to deal about them the terms legalists, arminians, pelagians; for the exemplification of all which Christian circumspection and honest policy we refer them to "the Life of the Rector of Aston Sandford," the noblest testimony upon Christian record of the power of the Spirit of Truth to give us "a right judgment in all things," since the days of the judicious Hooker.

In the Charge of the Bishop of Meath, delivered to his clergy, in July last, our readers will see what we mean by calling names. They will there find, by the imputation of doctrines a thousand times disclaimed, but which it still gratifies some amongst us to persevere in imputing, what description of persons are in part, if not principally, meant by the names of reproach employed by the Bishop to denounce the objects of his uninquiring hostility. Calvinists, sectaries, seceders, are the appellations employed, and, as far as they may be meant to describe those to whom they appellatively belong, we carry our disapprobation, and regret, as far as his Lordship; though his method of correction would seem to us to promise little benefit to the Church: but as certain characters are aimed at, which neither of these designations will cover, it seems as if the Bishop, by making an amalgam of them all, were resolved to spread the daubing compound over a quantity of surface equal to the range of his spiritual animosity. It would not have been quite seemly for a Bishop to make war with the *saints*, or perhaps he might at once have defined the veritable object of his attack by that word of happy irony, under which all are included that will not disprove their hypocrisy by defying their God.

We question whether more harm is not done to the church by this vague, obscure, and indiscriminate mode of attack, than by the more explicit hostility displayed in certain other episcopal charges towards a class of clergymen on whom malice has fixed the title of evangelical, that it might have to accuse them of assuming it to themselves. Under these sweeping accusations, no minister is safe but by doing nothing, or as little as he can help. Any spiritual stir, any the smallest movement of zeal on the part of a clergyman within his diocesan's jurisdiction, may bring him under one or other of his proscriptive epithets. If the unhappy man's head appears above the trenches, the misdirected artillery of his own commander may chance to punish his temerity. All this we see with great regret, because we think a minister may in

these days be a little busy in the church without injury to its interests; because we believe that people are too busy out of it to suffer it to enjoy its repose in safety; and because we have long thought that the quarrel with certain members of our National Church, called evangelical, is rather moral than doctrinal; or, in other words, that if they would do no more than others do, their divinity would be held innoxious. Their depreciation of works, when vaunted as the purchase of salvation, is the thing complained of; but in truth, the works they *do* are the things that excite the clamour, and, above all, the vital importance they annex to them in their proper scriptural relation and spiritual connexion.

We are resolved not to wet our wings in controversy upon the present occasion, and shall only observe that this class of clergymen, so often the objects of attack in episcopal charges, sons as they are of that natural infirmity which, even in our holiest things, is always pushing us on to destructive extremes, do, in general, remarkably abstain from introducing into their sermons doctrines of high and mystical import. They propose to us no faith that does not imply holiness, necessitate works, and exact consistency. They neither profess nor denounce Calvinism, but if it comes in their way they remove it with gentleness, and place it among the hidden things of God. They lament with a godly sorrow the dangerous errors of the sectaries and seceders, and the detestable tenets of the antinomian heresy. They deem it, to the last degree, pernicious and impious to flatter the people with any special privileges, or to hold out to them any speedy or summary mode of salvation, independent of moral rectitude and honest conversation; or to encourage them to expect any extraordinary assistance which may supersede the gradual process of evangelical repentance. A word more and we have done with this subject: pass through what diocese or district you please of the British empire, and find, if you can, one hundred hard working, episcopally ordained ministers of God, and then ask how they class in the church to which they belong, and you will assuredly be informed that nine-tenths of them are called evangelical, let the term import what it may.

The Right Reverend Author, with whom we are principally now concerned, was one of the class to which we have been alluding, and is now an evangelical Bishop; and our readers shall hear what are his Lordship's views of evangelical practice. They shall hear his opinions on the duties and proprieties of the clerical life, considered first, in its pursuits of business—secondly, in its relaxations and amusements. The whole is introduced in terms truly interesting and affecting. Alluding



to a former address, which had been devoted to the consideration of the proper discharge of the direct functions of their profession by "teaching and persuading every man to seek his own salvation," he thus proceeds:—

"The most important and difficult part remains: I have to explain and to urge upon you the *indirect* teaching by *example*—by the elevating standard, and the attractive influence of a life, consistent with the precepts, and congenial with the doctrine, which you preach.

"Hence, therefore, in humble imitation of St. Paul, and in glad hope that I may address many a willing follower of 'Timothy, I now adopt the remainder of the passage, and apply to each of you the exhortation: 'Take heed (not only) to thy doctrine (but) to thyself.'

"Not indeed the official authority, but the real weight and actual effect of the ministerial functions depend, in very great measure, upon the private esteem and respect, in which *He* is held, who discharges them—upon the resemblance or contrariety of his own copy to the model, which he is obliged to set before his people. Our Divine Teacher, indeed, himself enjoined his disciples to observe and do whatsoever even their most unworthy ministers bade them observe: and in exact concurrence with this scriptural injunction, our 26th Article expressly pronounces that 'we *may* use the ministry of evil men.' It declares 'that the effect of Christ's ordinance is not taken away by *their* wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such, as by faith, and rightly do receive the sacraments ministered unto them.'

"How is the dignity of the office thus magnified, and the guilt of those, who unworthily execute it, ten-fold enhanced! But such is the natural preference of evil, that, notwithstanding the decision thus made by the highest authority, what our people thus *hear*, will rarely indeed counterbalance the effect of what they *see*, and the vices, the dissipation, the worldliness, and the luke-warmness of the *man* will generally render utterly vain the prayers and the preaching of the Priest, however duly commissioned, however solemnly set apart for his office. *His* words must come from the heart, or they will never reach the heart. The precept must be accompanied and recommended by the exemplification: the picture delineated must have its counterpart, in some measure, in the picture embodied. The preacher's doctrine must be confirmed by the daily and hourly lesson of his conduct. He must be able, in his measure, to say with St. Paul, 'Be ye followers of me, even as also I am of Christ,' or he will make no 'proof of his ministry;' the very seal of his office, the charge he undertook, the title he assumed, the privileges and opportunities he enjoyed, the powers and means of usefulness he possessed, will rise up in judgment against him—not only his own, but his people's 'blood will be upon his head,' and he will inherit 'double condemnation.'—(P. 7—9.)

Upon the permissible extent to which the pursuits of business may be carried on by a clergyman, the Bishop of Gloucester presents himself to us with an aspect of great benignity,

but with his right hand upon the gospel of God. No man with any Christian candour in his mind can refuse his full assent to every word that comes from him on this delicate part of his subject. We will quote a few of his observations.

"It requires then no special gift of discernment, no nice casuistry, to set the mark of *unlawfulness* upon the pursuits of business in a clerical life. All are excluded—all trades, professions, employments, and laborious studies, which cannot fairly claim the plea of necessity, or which have not a reference direct, or decided, though indirect, to the labours and objects of the profession. If '*honest* (in themselves) and of *good report*,' they may well befit the most pious amongst our people: the laity may *thus*, 'in the fear of the Lord, and with the comfort of the Holy Ghost,' get their own living in that station, in 'which it hath pleased God to place them;' but to *us* they are forbidden. We are set apart for higher and still better things. We have our own vocation, and *in that* we can hardly be too earnest, too laborious, too much absorbed, 'spending and being spent.' Within the limits, however, and conformable to the definition above laid down, there are occupations, in which the present constitution of society seems often to require, and the purity of the Christian priesthood to permit us to be engaged.

Of such pursuits, *personal attention* to the sources of our pecuniary support, and especially the superintendence of our assigned portion of land, stands obviously the *first*. That degree of regard to our temporal concerns, which will prevent waste, and enable us to '*owe no man any thing*,' which will maintain our families in decent comfort, educate our children, and provide, if possible, some moderate inheritance for those whom we leave behind, cannot, in the present circumstances of the church, be blamed. It is not incompatible with Christian duty, or with the standard of ministerial spirituality. It is even needful to prevent many scandals and offences, which neglect and consequent distress would produce. But all beyond—the devotion of any considerable time to these objects—the indulgence of anxious solicitude—the aim at '*much goods laid up in store*,' directly overstep the boundary, and plunge us into sin. Innocent as agricultural pursuits, the primitive business of man, appear, even *they* are found to draw us down and chain us to the earth; and our *personal* occupation of land is, on that very account, justly and wisely restrained by the legislature within narrow limits. Indeed, the very nature of the property, which was from the earliest period and by scriptural authority, set apart for the subsistence of the clerical order, clearly proves the intention of secluding us, as much as may be, from worldly cares. The tythe severed, the corn in the sheaf, the hay in the mow, prepared for our use, are so many mementos of the design of the institution, in which we hold a place—endowed with *gratuitous* provision, and therefore consecrated to the *undivided* service of our God and Saviour." (P. 11—13.)

The advantages and disadvantages, coupled with the business of education in a country clergyman, is well described and compared by this judicious prelate. After admitting the

apology which the indigence of the parish priest burthened with a family not seldom offers for his engaging in the task of teaching the children of the opulent; and, on the other hand, remarking the tendency of the occupation nevertheless to divert much time from his functional employments, to exhaust the spirits and try the temper, to habituate the mind to a train of ideas, a tone of feeling, and a moral taste wholly adverse to vital religion, and to cast a deadening apathy or a sickly refinement over all his ministrations, especially in the cottage and among the poor, he brings his case of conscience to the following qualified and guarded conclusion.

“Thanks be to God, this is only a tendency, and we have examples of its complete counteraction. But we have here again, as in relation to the *former* pursuit, to cultivate a spirit and disposition, which will prevent or cure the apprehended evil, and enable us to be at once faithful shepherds to the lambs of the stranger and to the flock, who are entrusted to our ministerial care. Keep before your eyes the one thing needful, in *each* employment—the performance of Christian duty in a Christian manner. By increased industry, self-denial, and watchful economy of time, suffer not the *one* to encroach upon the *other*. Apply yourself, with special diligence and vigilant guard over your thoughts, and earnest prayer, to correct the self-exalting imaginations and the Anti-Christian frame of soul, which the merely scientific or classical reading is of itself apt to generate.” (P. 17.)

To the discharge of the functions of the magistracy by a parish minister, the objections appear to us to be of a decisive character, and the Bishop has so well described them in half a page, that we were unable, after reading it, to enter fully into the apology which he afterwards suggests for this union of office in particular cases. Speaking of the independent proprietor of land, he observes, that “it is perhaps his only way of systematically discharging his public occupations to society and to God.”

“But the many hours it may sometimes employ in preparation and performance—the secular business of other kinds and the worldly company, into which it draws us—the scenes it calls upon us to witness—the invidious share it may oblige us to take in matters, where the public interest is but little, if at all concerned, and where private feelings are sure to be irritated—the wide difference between the estimate of some offences, according as they are measured by the laws of God or by those of men—and the consequent lenity, with which some crimes are treated, against which we have to denounce the heaviest vengeance of the Lord—all these disadvantages determine some of our own order to refrain from undertaking the duties of a magistrate, and render it a matter of mature and anxious deliberation with others, whose pastoral work is their delight, and whose people’s salvation is their grand aim and predominant desire.” (P. 18, 19.)

On the subject of clerical amusements it was impossible for the Bishop to descend to particulars. Nor is this to be regretted. When a man becomes devout, vicious or silly amusements are no longer gaieties to him, but are transformed into business of the dullest and most wearisome character. A devout clergyman, especially, sets out with a tenderness for the character and office with which he is invested, that soon gives him a distinguishing taste in all that concerns it. It is a taste wholly of spiritual growth; and the mind that is without its interior discipline and refinement can no more enter into the beautiful properties which belong to the ministerial character, than a man without an ear for modulation can taste or apprehend the principles of Milton's versification. A test, however, is supplied by the Bishop to help the conscience where there may exist doubts in any particular case.

"To private Christians it has often been recommended, as the test of the lawfulness of a diversion, to consider whether, after a day or an evening thus spent, the devotions will be as heartily and satisfactorily performed; whether the train of ideas and imaginations, which it generates, will be favourable or unfavourable to a religious frame of mind; and whether the individual would be content to be summoned to his account from amid such a scene and such an occupation. To this test, in the case of a *clerical* diversion, it must surely be added: Will it tend to fit or to unfit you, not only for the punctual but for the cordial discharge of your sacred duties? Will it leave you as disposed and qualified to lead the prayers of the congregation with that lively earnestness, that 'spirit of supplication,' which becomes such matter and such expressions—with the heart obviously in the work,—with the whole soul '*drawing nigh unto God?*' Will it leave you as capable and willing to exhort and to supplicate by the bed of sickness, with the Christian sympathy of a soul, daily intent upon heavenly things, and inured to the contemplation of death and eternity? And again, How will the sight of the minister engaged in such diversions affect the feelings, with which his people view him? Will it produce in any measure on their parts a contagious indifference and lukewarmness in their common devotions, and a want of that, not only mental, but hearty assent, that *realizing reception* of the truths delivered from the pulpit, which can alone give them their full influence and power? Will the sight produce in them any suspicion of their minister's sincerity,—any mistrust of the efficacy of *his* ministrations, and, if not a contempt of his person, yet a contemptuous refusal of that reverential regard, with which the ministerial character should always be invested?" (P. 24, 25.)

After enumerating certain innocent and honourable recreations which may be indulged to the sacred profession of a clergyman, we have this amiable and elegant summing up.

"But even in relaxations and pleasures of a nature, such as has been generally decried, unexceptionable and capable of being pro-

fitable,—the *lawfulness* must depend upon the temper and disposition, with which they are pursued and enjoyed. They must be regarded as necessary *diversions*, not *deviations* from our ministerial career. The grand aim and object must still preside—‘to save ourselves and those that hear us.’ Our thoughts must be often ‘inditing of the good matter’ in the midst of our pleasures—and our conversation tending heavenwards, even when it relates primarily to earthly scenes and occupations. As in the well-wrought web the *thread* runs through and pervades the whole texture—as the *stream* will often retain through its whole course the taste of the mineral, which imbeds its spring—so there should be a prevalent cast, a perceptible savor of godliness in our moments of greatest ease and liveliness.

“The most tempting excursion, however innocent and refreshing, should be gladly sacrificed at the call of duty—the pastor should be readily re-assumed by the deeply-interested student—and the man of God should ever shine through the agreeable companion. Alone, or in company, in business, or in pleasure, in the most sublime and pathetic exercises of our profession, and in the least intellectual occupations of our lives, the predominant quality of the mind should, as much as possible, be *spirituality*—the characteristic feature of our conduct should be consistent *devotedness* to the service of Christ, and of our brethren, for whom Christ died.

“Such, my Reverend brethren, is, I trust, the scriptural portrait of the faithful minister of the gospel, however rudely and inadequately delineated—in the private walk—in the *employments* and the *relaxations* of his domestic and his social life. Such is the character, I venture to assert, neither too highly elevated nor too strongly coloured, which it becomes, which it behoves us all to endeavour to attain and to exhibit, if we would escape the shame and woe of unprofitable, and secure the praise and reward of profitable, pastors of the Church of Christ. Such is the character which the scripture, the primitive Church, the Church of England, best offspring of that parent—best copy of that original, expect and demand. Such alone will answer the requirements and fulfil the promises of our ordination service, which no modern interpretations can enervate—no modern customs excuseably transgress.” (P. 32, 33.)

Such is the Bishop of Gloucester's charge, which we were induced to take up by the singular character which, as a charge, it appeared to us to present. The more spiritual part of the ministry will not think we over-state its worth when we say that it points out a course which, if generally attended to by our parochial clergy, would go far towards renovating our National Church with new succours of health and strength, and through the Church to communicate to the state a fresh consecration of its laws and liberties.\*

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\* Will our readers allow us to add here, that we have this moment received an Irish newspaper, containing the greater part of the charge delivered on the 24th of October, by the Lord Archbishop of Dublin to the clergy of his arch-diocese. To notice any thing in this form may not be quite correct in a Critical Journal, we will therefore borrow Mr. Norris's phrase in his pamphlet on which we have

## ART. XIII.—THEORY AND PRACTICE OF GUNNERY.

1. *Tracts on Mathematical and Philosophical Subjects: comprising among numerous Important Articles, the Theory of Bridges, with several Plans of recent Improvement. Also, the Results of numerous Experiments on the Force of Gunpowder, with Applications to the modern Practice of Artillery.* By Charles Hutton, LL.D. and FRS. &c. Late Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. 3 vols. 8vo. Rivingtons, &c. London, 1812.
2. *Observations on the Motives, Errors, and Tendencies of M. Carnot's Principles of Defence; showing the Defects of his new System of Fortification, and of the Alterations he has proposed with a view to improve the Defences of existing Places.* By Colonel Sir Howard Douglas, Bart. KSC. CB. FRS. Inspector General of the Royal Military College. 8vo. Eger-ton. London, 1819.
3. *A Treatise on Naval Gunnery. Published with the Approbation and Permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.* By Colonel Sir Howard Douglas, Bart. &c. 8vo. Murray. London, 1820.
4. *Resultats de quelques Expériences faites à Woolwich avec un Pendule ballistique pesant plus de 3355 Kilogrammes.* Annales de Chimie et de Physique. Tome 5, 1817.
5. *Expériences relatives à l'Influence du Vent sur la Vitesse des Projectiles et la Justesse du Tir.* Annales de Chimie, &c. Tome 9, 1818.
6. *Mémoire sur l'Effet des Feux Verticaux proposes par M. Carnot, dans la Défense des Places fortes.* Par M. Augoyat, Capitaine au Corps Royal du Génie. 4to. Paris, 1821.

If the dissertations and treatises whose titles are placed above, related exclusively to the art of war, we should not, probably, have chosen to give an account of them in a season of profound peace. But the subject of military projectiles presents numerous topics of inquiry, as interesting to the philosopher as to the hero; and which are calculated as fully to call into exercise the investigative powers of the former in the closet, as they are to exhibit the active energies of the latter in the field.

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commented so much in a note to this article, and talk of it as his "imputed" address. From so much of it as has thus fallen in our way, we are induced to urge the perusal of it upon the clergy on either side of the channel, as a noble monument of the true spirit of church discipline, of pure episcopal counsel, of correct feeling of the dangers now threatening our ecclesiastical establishment, and of pious and perspicacious views of the means by which it is to be wisely and worthily defended.

Ever since Galileo laid the foundation of dynamics, gunnery has had a place amongst the mathematical sciences. Indeed that extraordinary man, in the fourth of his *Dialogues on Motion*, published in 1646, demonstrated that a cannon-ball, or any other projectile, would describe in its flight the curve of a parabola, except so far as the resistance of the air should cause a deviation from that track. He also proposed the means of examining the irregularities produced by that resistance; but he formed a very inadequate estimate of their extent and magnitude.

Robert Anderson, in his *Genuine Use and Effects of the Gunne*, published in 1674, as well as in his *rules To hit a Mark*, published in 1690, adopts the theory of Galileo, and courageously proposes to answer all possible objections. Blondel, also, in his *Art de jeter les Bombes*, unhesitatingly adopts the theory of the learned Florentine, and denies the necessity of modification.

Soon, however, the more extensive application of mathematics to inquiries in natural philosophy rendered it impossible to acquiesce in these erroneous results. Thus Huyghens showed that if the resistance of the air were proportional to the velocity of the moving body, the line described would be a kind of logarithmic curve. Shortly afterwards Newton demonstrated, in his *Principia*, that under certain restrictions the resistance of the air is nearly as the square of the velocity of the body moving in it; and upon this hypothesis he made some very elegant approximations to the nature of the curve described by the projectile. John Bernoulli, Herman, and Brook Taylor, entered eagerly upon the same inquiry, and made some advances. And Daniel Bernoulli, in *Comment. Acad. Petrop.* tom. 2, concludes, from experiment, that a ball which ascended only 7819 feet in the air, would have ascended 58750 feet in *vacuo*! thus proving, to the astonishment of many, the enormous resistance opposed by the air to rapid motions.

But our learned countryman, Robins, seems to have been the first who entered upon this subject with a systematic determination to avail himself of the joint aid of analytical theory and of cautious and extensive practice, and to proceed methodically through the whole range of useful inquiry. In his *New Principles of Gunnery*, published in 1742, he first investigates the explosive force of the gunpowder, and then the velocity acquired by the ball in consequence of the action of the inflamed gunpowder upon it. He proved, by indisputable experiments, that the force of inflamed powder arises from a subtile elastic matter contained in the powder, which by the ignition is set at liberty to expand itself. He then attempts to

investigate the quantity of that force, and by what law it diminishes as this elastic fluid dilates itself; as well as to what extent the expansive energy is increased or modified by heat. Thus much premised, he proceeds to investigate the velocity of a ball projected from a given tube with a given quantity of gunpowder. In order to confirm the truth of his conclusions, he contrived a machine, the Ballistic Pendulum (of which we shall say more in the sequel) by means of which the actual velocity of the ball might be ascertained: and he found a remarkable agreement between his theoretical deductions and the results of experiment. He next inquires into the resistance of the air, and proves that the law of resistance to very swift motions is considerably greater than had been imagined by previous investigators. He shows how much any ball, projected with a given velocity, will gradually lose of that velocity in consequence of the resistance of the medium; and constantly fortifies his determinations by experiments with the Ballistic Pendulum.

Mr. Robins does not investigate the nature of the curve described by a projectile in a resisting medium. That labour, however, has been since attempted by Euler, Robison, Legendre, and with great elegance by Poisson in his *Mechanics*; but the results they furnish are not sufficiently practical to be of much utility; whatever may be their ingenuity as efforts of analytical skill.

Euler translated Robins's work into the German language, and enriched it with a very elaborate commentary and notes. These again were transplanted into the English soil by Mr. Hugh Brown, in 1777; and rendered still more valuable by several additions furnished by Landen, an analyst of extraordinary talents and genius, whose profound investigations on a variety of physical subjects deserve much more careful examination and much warmer praise than they have ever yet received. Robins's *Principles*, with these successive augmentations, are, indeed, highly interesting and instructive to mathematicians, serving incidentally to illustrate many points in the transcendental branches of science. But the practical bearings of the several steps in the inquiry were by no means so constantly kept in mind as could be wished; so that there remained ample room for the exertions of a new traveller in this path of investigation.

Shortly before the appearance of Brown's translation of Euler's Robins, Dr. Hutton had been appointed to the Mathematical Professorship, in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. In him were united very extensive mathematical acquirements, remarkable calmness and patience as an investi-



gator, and an earnest desire to direct his talents to some subject of great and obvious utility in the public station he then occupied. Thus qualified and thus stimulated to exertion, he commenced in 1775 (having removed from Newcastle to Woolwich in 1773) a course of experiments on fired gunpowder and the velocities of cannon-balls. Discarding from his consideration what was obviously referable to the researches of the chemist, he still found ample scope for the most enlarged inquiry; and soon distributed his topics under the following general heads:—

1. The velocities with which balls are projected by equal charges of powder from pieces of the same weight and calibre, but of different lengths.
2. The velocities with different charges of powder, the weight and length of the gun being the same.
3. The greatest velocities due to the different lengths of gun; or to be obtained by increasing the charge so far as the cohesive force of the piece will allow.
4. The effect of varying the weight of the piece, every thing else remaining the same.
5. The penetration of balls into blocks of wood, when fired with certain velocities.
6. The velocities of balls at different distances from the muzzle of the piece, serving to determine the resistance of the medium; compared, also, with other methods of determining the air's resistance.
7. The effects of wads; of different degrees of ramming, or of compression given to the charge; of different positions of the vent; of different degrees of windage, &c.
8. The ranges and times of flight; the determinal velocity; and its use in approximating to the ranges in real practice.

In the determination of these particulars, the Doctor availed himself, jointly, of cautious experiment, and of the most judicious (sometimes refined) theoretical investigations. After pursuing his inquiry with extraordinary perseverance for many years, he has laid the result of the whole before the public in the second and third volumes of his Tracts, whose title stands at the head of this article.

It is not our intention to follow him step by step, over the entire region which he has so elaborately explored: but simply to select a few of the more interesting points, and especially those which are further elucidated by the subsequent experiments and researches recorded in the other publications which now lie before us.

An object of essential importance in these inquiries, is the velocity with which a military projectile actually moves. This

velocity being very great, that is, from 6 or 700 to 1500 or even 2000 feet in a second of time; its convenient estimation seems naturally to involve some reduction. To accomplish this, Mr. Robins invented the Ballistic Pendulum. It consists of a large block of wood, annexed to the end of an iron stem, strongly framed, and capable of oscillating freely upon a horizontal axis. This machine being at rest, a piece of ordnance is pointed directly towards the face of the block, at any assigned distance, as 20, 30, 40, 60, &c. feet, and then fired: the ball discharged from the gun strikes and enters the block, communicating to it a velocity, which is to the velocity with which the ball was moving at the moment of impact, as the weight of the ball to the sum of the weights of ball and pendulum. Referring this velocity to the centre of oscillation of the pendulum, it will rise through an appreciable arc of vibration till such velocity is extinguished. The measure of that arc will lead to the determination of the velocity, because it is evidently equal to the velocity which a body would acquire by falling freely through the versed sine of the arc shown by the experiment.

Mr. Robins's largest ballistic pendulum weighed only 97 pounds; being employed to ascertain the velocities of balls weighing about an ounce each. The smallest pendulum constructed by Dr. Hutton, weighed 600 pounds: and, as he pursued his experiments, the new pendulums were made successively larger and larger, till they reached the weight of about 2600 lbs. He also made several improvements in their construction, especially in the manner of suspension, and in that of measuring the semi-arc of vibration; employing this curious apparatus in ascertaining the velocities of balls varying in weight from one pound to six, and propelled with nearly all possible modifications of charge. It appears, farther, from *Annales de Chimie et de Physique*, tome 5, that in recent experiments at Woolwich, conducted by Dr. Gregory and the Select Committee of Artillery Officers, a ballistic pendulum, weighing 7400 pounds, was employed in determining the velocities of 6, 12, 18, and even 24 lb. balls.

What is here said will suffice to explain the general construction of this elegant apparatus. For more particular descriptions, exhibiting the minutiae of the successive improvements, the inquisitive reader may consult Robins's *New Principles of Gunnery*; Hutton's *Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 313, &c.; Sir Howard Douglas's *Naval Gunnery*, p. 38; and M. Dupin's late work on the *Military Force of Britain*; in which latter work are exhibited accurate representations of the ballistic pendulum now used at Woolwich, as well as of the ingenious *Epreuve*.

invented by Dr. Hutton, and described in the third volume of his Tracts.

It is time we should present a few of Dr. Hutton's deductions, which we shall lay before the reader in the Doctor's own words :

" 1st, It is made evident by these experiments, that gunpowder fires almost instantaneously. 2dly, The velocities communicated to shot of the same weight, with different charges of powder, are nearly as the square roots of those charges. 3dly, And when shot of different weights are fired with the same charge of powder, the velocities communicated to them are nearly in the inverse ratio of the square roots of their weights. 4thly, So that, in general, shot which are of different weights, and impelled by the firing of different charges of powder, acquire velocities which are directly as the square roots of the charges of powder, and inversely as the square roots of the weights of the shot. 5thly, It would therefore be a great improvement in artillery, occasionally to make use of shot of a long shape, or of heavier matter, as lead ; for thus the momentum of a shot, when discharged with the same charge of powder, would be increased in the ratio of the square root of the weight of the shot ; which would both augment proportionally the force of the blow with which it would strike, and the extent of the range to which it would go. 6thly, It would also be an improvement, to diminish the windage ;\* since by this means, one third or more of the quantity of powder might be saved. 7thly, When the improvements mentioned in the last two articles are considered as both taking place, it appears that about half the quantity of powder might be saved. But, important as this saving may be, it appears to be still exceeded by that of the guns : for thus a small gun may be made to have the effect and execution of another of two or three times its size in the present way, by discharging a long shot of two or three times the weight of its usual ball, or round shot ; and thus a small ship might employ shot as heavy as those of the largest now used."

Such were the conclusions from Dr. Hutton's first course of experiments in 1775 : from a more extensive series, which did not terminate till the year 1787, the following were the general results.

" From a general inspection of this second course of these experiments, it appears that all the deductions and observations made on the former course, are here corroborated and strengthened, respecting the velocities and weights of the balls, and charges of powder, &c. It further appears also that the velocity of the ball increases with the increase of charge only to a certain point, which is peculiar to each gun, where it is greatest ; and that by further increasing the charge, the velocity gradually diminishes, till the bore is quite full of powder. That this charge for the greatest velocity is greater as the gun is

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\* By the technical word *windage* is meant the difference between the diameter of a ball, and the interior diameter of the gun from which it is fired.—REV.

longer; but yet not greater in so high a proportion as the length of the gun is; so that the part of the bore filled with powder, bears a less proportion to the whole bore in the long guns, than it does in the shorter ones; the part which is filled being indeed nearly in the inverse ratio of the square root of the empty part.

"It appears that the velocity, with equal charges, always increases as the gun is longer; though the increase in velocity is but very small in comparison to the increase in length; the velocities being in a ratio somewhat less than that of the square roots of the length of the bore, but greater than that of the cube roots of the same, and is indeed nearly in the middle ratio between the two.

"It appears, from the table of ranges, that the range increases in a much lower ratio than the velocity, the gun and elevation being the same. And when this is compared with the proportion of the velocity and length of gun in the last paragraph, it is evident that we gain extremely little in the range by a great increase in the length of the gun, with the same charge of powder. In fact the range is nearly as the 5th root of the length of the bore; which is so small an increase, as to amount only to about a seventh part more range for a double length of gun.—From the same table it also appears, that the time of the ball's flight is nearly as the range; the gun and elevation being the same.

"It has been found, by these experiments, that no difference is caused in the velocity, or range, by varying the weight of the gun, nor by the use of wads, nor by different degrees of ramming, nor by firing the charge of powder in different parts of it. But that a very great difference in the velocity arises from a small degree in the windage: indeed with the usual established windage only, viz, about  $\frac{1}{16}$  of the calibre, no less than between  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the powder escapes and is lost: and as the balls are often smaller than the regulated size, it frequently happens that half the powder is lost by unnecessary windage."

It is not a little remarkable that notwithstanding the decisive manner in which Dr. Hutton recommends the diminution of windage, it should not have been adopted in practice till very lately; and that in consequence principally of the representations of Sir Howard Douglas; who, having been, as we are informed, a student at the Royal Military Academy, seems now to find an exalted pleasure in becoming the practical and experienced commentator upon the valuable labours of his former preceptor. In part the second of his *Naval Gunnery*, he points out the extraordinary anomalies in the previously received system of windage, and expatiates with great good sense upon their prejudicial effects. He satisfactorily refutes the popular objections to any change, and then proceeds thus —

"The preceding remarks on windage having been brought under the consideration of the Master General of the Ordnance in 1817, his Lordship referred the paper to the consideration of a select com-

mittee of artillery officers, who stated in their report, 'that they were very desirous that experiments should be made with a view to ascertain to what extent the benefits which I had anticipated could be realized.' The committee, therefore, proposed to the Master General to be permitted to make a course of experiments on this subject, commencing with field-artillery, and for that purpose recommended that a proportion of shot of various increased magnitudes should be provided. These measures having been approved, a course of experiments was instituted accordingly, 'founded upon the suggestions communicated by' me.

"Having first adopted an opinion, asserted in my observations, articles 49, 53, that the present mode of apportioning a part of the calibre is not so distinct and advantageous, as a fixed quantum expressed in parts of inches for all natures [of ordnance], the committee proceeded to determine what that quantum should be.

"After repeated trials with a 6-pounder, a 9-pounder, and a 12-pounder, at 300, 600, and 1200 yards, it was proved, 'that with charges of powder  $\frac{1}{4}$  less than usual, the larger shot, and smaller windage, produced rather the longest range.' 'Recourse was also had to the ballistic pendulum, to discover the proportional excess of momentum of the larger balls over the smaller; and the result, after a very satisfactory course of experiments, assisted by the scientific research and well-known mathematical abilities of Dr. Gregory of the Royal Military Academy, corroborated the trials by ranges, leaving no doubt of their accuracy.'

"In consequence of these trials the committee fixed the quantity of windage for field-guns at one-tenth of an inch; the same which I had suggested.

"Now it is clear that this improvement may either be applied to save  $\frac{1}{4}$  part of the quantity of powder provided for field-service, without diminishing the power of range, and consequently to economize, without detriment, the means of transport for ammunition; or, the alteration may be applied to produce longer ranges, if this be preferred to the economical consideration. This preference has very properly been given, and the established charges adhered to accordingly.

"A great collateral advantage has followed from this correction of windage. It was at first apprehended that the increased effects arising from the additional weight of shot and diminished windage would injure brass guns; but it is quite the reverse. With the reduced quantum of windage guns are much less injured, and will last much longer than formerly; and this has been so well ascertained, that, in consequence of this correction, it is now proposed to abandon the wooden bottoms to which shot were fixed for the purpose of saving the cylinder, substituting for them the paper cap taken off the end of the cartridge. This being put over the ball is quite sufficient to keep it from rolling or shifting, whilst, by supporting or fixing it thus, the centre of the ball coincides with the axis of the cylinder, and the space for windage is reduced to a complete annulus, which admits of the percussion from the charge being equally received, and which

prevents, or very much reduces that injury or indentation which the cylinder receives when the ball touches it on the lower part only." (Naval Gunnery, p. 82.)

An abridged account of the experiments with the ballistic pendulum, to which Sir Howard Douglas refers, is given in *Annales de Chimie et de Physique*, tome ix. p. 289, &c. We shall transcribe the results of one day, May 19th, 1818.

The day was dry, but cloudy; the thermometer stood at 13.3° centigrade (56° Fahr.), the barometer at 29.9 inches. The pendulum weighed 7008 pounds avoirdupois. The gun was a 12-pounder; its weight 2025 pounds; its length 74.25 English inches; its calibre 4.62 inches.

Number of the Exper.	Weight of the Ball.			Diameter of the Ball.		Charge of Powder.			Velocities obtained.	
	lbs.	oz.	drs.	inches.	inch.	lbs.	oz.	drs.	feet.	
1	12	12	0	4.545	0.075	3	5	6	1548	
2	12	12	7	4.54	0.080	3	5	6	1537	
3	12	11	0	4.545	0.075	3	5	6	1588	
4	12	10	1	4.54	0.080	3	5	6	1507	
5	11	11	8	4.42	0.200	4	0	0	1572	
6	11	10	4	4.418	0.202	4	0	0	1537	
7	11	12	1	4.418	0.202	4	0	0	1563	
8	11	12	1	4.418	0.202	4	0	0	1529	

Here it is evident that the velocity corresponding to a windage of .075, or  $\frac{3}{40}$  of an inch, is at a mean 1568 feet, rather exceeding 1550 feet, obtained when the windage was .20, or  $\frac{2}{10}$ ; though in the former case the charge was less by  $\frac{1}{3}$  part than in the latter.

Assuming the correctness of the results, as tabulated above, we are by no means inclined to agree with Sir Howard Douglas in recommending an adherence to the established charges, viz. of a third of the weight of the ball, after the new rate of windage is completely adopted. Supposing that, *ceteris paribus*, the initial velocity varies as the square root of the charge, a 4-pound charge with the new windage would propel a 12-pound ball with an initial velocity of about 1720 feet, a velocity which would be very effective indeed if the ball were moving through a non-resisting medium, but which experiences a most rapid retardation as the projectile passes through the air. The experiments of Dr. Hutton prove, not only that the resistance of the air becomes very enormous when the velocities exceed 1300 feet, but that the law of the resistance no longer accords nearly with the square of the velocity, but, to be correctly exhibited, requires a higher exponent. The reason is very evident. Atmospheric air rushes into a vacuum with a velocity

of about 1346 feet per second, and it, manifestly, cannot make way for a ball moving with a greater velocity than this without being condensed before it. In such cases, the air thus condensed in front of the ball, opposes its motion not only by a simple resistance, but by a force of elasticity proportional to the compression, and therefore rapidly increasing as the velocity of the projectile exceeds 1346 feet. This repulsion soon reduces the higher velocities of 16 or 1700 feet to the limit of from 1350 to 1400, and consequently renders them of scarcely any use in either increasing the horizontal range, or the effective impetus of the ball, except at comparatively small distances from the mouth of the piece. This accords with the experience of our artillery officers when employed in Spain : they found that balls fired with velocities of 1600 feet had scarcely any advantage over those propelled with velocities of 1400 in the destruction of distant objects.

Theorists have long known that the elastic force exerted by the air against *small* bodies moving with considerable velocities, may become so great in proportion to the weight, as not merely to destroy the motion communicated, but even to repel the bodies : and this, indeed, is frequently experienced when small shot are thrown from a musquet by large charges of powder, the shot being driven back in the contrary direction to that in which they were propelled. The same thing, of course, does not precisely happen in the practice of artillery ; but it is a fact strictly coincident with theory, that a smaller charge of powder, by giving the shot less initial velocity, will cause it to fly further than a greater charge, which would propel the ball with a velocity that exceeds a certain limit.

Before we entirely quit the subject of the experiments in reference to windage, we beg to call the reader's attention to a curious fact observed in the course of them.

“ On a déjà fait remarquer, en rendant compte des expériences de 1817 (voyez Annales de Phys. et de Chim. tome v. p. 386), que le circonférence de l'ouverture fait par le boulet dans la plaque mince de plomb clouée sur la face antérieure du pendule, présentait toujours une apparence de fusion.

“ Durent les nouvelles expériences, le Colonel Griffiths, le Dr. Grégory, et plusieurs autres personnes, ont en outre remarqué qu'au moment précis où le boulet frappait le pendule, il sortait une vive lumière de l'ouverture circulaire par laquelle ce projectile était entré. Cet effet avait également lieu, soit que la face choquée fût recouverte d'une feuille de plomb, de toile, ou de papier. L'ouverture faite par un premier boulet dans le pendule ayant été bouchée avec du bois, on plaça tout à côté, une once de poudre qui prit feu lorsqu'un second boulet atteignit l'appareil : la flamme provenant de l'explosion de la poudre succédait immédiatement à la lumière que le choc du projec-

elle développait. Ces effets distincts furent observés trois fois dans un même jour (le 20 Mai, 1818).

“ La lumière qui met ainsi le feu à la poudre provient-elle du frottement du projectile sur la substance qu’il traverse, ou de la brusque compression de l’air atmosphérique sur la face du pendule ? Ces deux causes ne contribuent-elles pas l’une et l’autre à l’effet observé ? Lorsqu’on décharge un fusil à vent, on aperçoit de la lumière, comme tout le monde sait, à la bouche du canon : n’est il pas permis d’en conclure que si l’on tire un canon pendant la nuit, le boulet marquera sa course dans l’atmosphère par une traînée de lumière ? ” (*Annales de Chim.* tome ix. p. 292.)

We are not aware that the experiment suggested in the last interrogatory has ever yet been tried.

A military officer of some eminence, but, as we should conjecture, sadly defective in mathematical knowledge, has recently proposed the use of short guns, especially in the service of the navy, strangely fancying that the loss of velocity and range that would attend the shortening of the gun would be more than compensated by some suggested peculiarities in the external configuration of the piece. This is utterly repugnant to correct theory, and we believe to correct practice also. The question was put to the test in the Woolwich experiments of 1817, and the result was uniformly and decidedly against the short guns. That additions to the length of the piece should occasion increased velocity of projection, is obviously the joint effect of two causes. 1st. The expansive force of the inflamed gunpowder acts longer upon the ball in a long than in a short gun, and therefore communicates a greater velocity. 2dly. In short guns no small portion of the gunpowder is carried out of the muzzle without being at all inflamed. The lengths, however, must be limited by practical considerations, as well as by the theoretical ones deducible from our quotation a few pages back from Dr. Hutton.

Sir Howard Douglas, who has the happy faculty of confirming his theoretical positions by reference to historical facts, adduces some with a view to this question which we make no apology for citing.

“ Viewing the matter purely as an artillery question, there is no doubt that preference should be given to long guns. As to its application to naval matters, I do not hesitate to recommend, that a frigate which cannot carry 8 feet 24-pounders, had better be fitted with long 18-pounders, than with 6 or 6½ feet 24-s, or with any nature of carronade, exclusively.”

“ The very mortifying situation in which the gallant Sir James Yeo found himself in September, 1813, on Lake Ontario, shows the danger of the carronade system of armament. Sir James states, in his letter of the 12th of September, ‘ the enemy’s fleet of eleven sail,



having a partial wind, succeeded in getting within range of their long 24 and 32 pounders ; and, having obtained the wind of us, I found it impossible to bring them to close action. *We remained in this mortifying situation five hours, having only six guns in the fleet that would reach the enemy. Not a carronade was fired. At sun-set a breeze sprang up from the westward, when I manœuvred to oblige the enemy to meet us on equal terms. This, however, he carefully avoided.*”

“ Captain Barclay states, in his letter of the 12th of September, 1813 :—‘ The other brig of the enemy, apparently destined to engage the Queen Charlotte, supported in like manner by two schooners, kept so far to windward as to render the Queen Charlotte’s 24-pounder carronades useless, whilst she and the Lady Prevost were exposed to a heavy and destructive fire from the Caledonian and four other schooners, armed with long and heavy guns.’ ”

Sir Howard next describes the action of the Phœbe with the American frigate Essex, as confirming the theoretical view of the business ; and adds,

“ This brilliant affair, together with the preceding facts, cannot fail to dictate the necessity of abandoning a principle of armament exposed to such perils, and to teach the importance of adapting the tactics of an operation to the comparative natures and powers of arms.” (Naval Gunnery, p. 116.)

These extracts will serve to show that this scientific and able officer does not satisfy himself with presenting the rules of his profession dry and naked, but that he teaches his readers how to avail themselves of the most striking warnings, or the most cogent encouragements, fresh as they are exhibited in the naval and military records of our country.

In reference to the resistance of the air, it is too remarkable to be omitted, in any view of the general subject, however cursory, that as on the one hand no complete theory of projectiles can ever be exhibited independently of the law and magnitude of the resistance, so, on the other, adequate experiments on balls thrown from artillery supply us with very valuable approximations to the actual measure of the resistance in the utmost variety of cases. Very careful experiments on the resistances of fluids to bodies moving in them have been made by D’Alembert, Borda, Vince, and others ; but Dr. Hutton is the first, nay the only person, so far as we are aware, who has deduced one regular connected law from two independent classes of experiments. For all the lower velocities he employed the whirling apparatus described by Robins, and made by Ellicot ; while, for all the higher velocities, from about 300 or 400 feet per second, up to 2000, he most ingeniously availed himself of the ballistic pendulum, by throwing balls into which, at different distances from the muzzle of the piece, and computing the several velocities, he inferred both the law

of the resistance and the numeral value of the co-efficients. Taking the case of balls, the following theorem, so expressed as to facilitate computation, comprises the accordant results of the two independent series of experiments :

$$\text{viz. } r = \frac{d^2}{1000} \left( \frac{3\frac{1}{10}v^2}{400} - \frac{7}{4}v \right)$$

where  $r$  denotes the resistance in avoirdupois pounds in a medium state of the atmosphere,  $d$  the diameter of the ball in inches,  $v$  its velocity in feet. Such of our readers as have not paid some attention to this class of inquiries, will be surprised on reading that a 36 lb. cannon-ball, moving with a velocity of 1600 feet per second, would experience a resistance of 418 lbs., independently of the elastic pressure on the anterior part of the ball, which would be equal to 487 lbs. more; in all, more than 900 lbs.! We most cordially recommend to all students in natural philosophy those portions of Dr. Hutton's Tracts which relate to resistances, as presenting some of the most perspicuous and instructive specimens of physical induction which we have ever seen.

The doctrine of *terminal velocities* grows out of that of resistances, and is as curious as it is important. To obtain a distinct view of this, let the following question be considered. Suppose a ball to be projected vertically upwards with a great velocity, say 1200 feet in a second, will it occupy most time in its ascent or in its descent? If the body be projected in vacuo, or in a non-resisting medium, the times occupied in the ascent and in the descent will be equal; not so, in the actual case of motion in the atmosphere. The ball, so soon as its ascending velocity is extinguished by the joint operation of the force of gravity and the resistance of the air, will begin to fall, and will continue to descend, and for an interval to increase in velocity; yet, it will never acquire the velocity with which it was projected upwards: for the velocity downwards can only increase until the relative weight that urges it in its descent is just balanced by the resistance of the air; after which, there being no further cause of acceleration, the ball will continue to descend uniformly. The greatest velocity which a globe can thus acquire by descending in the atmosphere is called its *terminal velocity*; and it is found by making the analytical expression for the air's resistance equal to that for the relative gravity of the ball. Putting  $g = 32\frac{1}{2}$  feet,  $d$  the diameter of the ball,  $\Delta$  and  $\delta$  for the densities of the ball and air respectively, we have for the terminal velocity,

$$v = \sqrt{2g \cdot \frac{4}{3}d \cdot \frac{\Delta - \delta}{\delta}}$$

Computations founded either upon this theorem, or upon actual experiments, give, when the barometer stands at 29.9 inches, for the terminal velocity of a 1 lb. ball, 247 feet—of a 4 lb. ball, 311 feet—of a 9 lb. ball, 356 feet—of an 18 lb. ball, 400 feet—of a 36 lb. ball, 450 feet—of a 13 inch shell, 534 feet. The greatest of these terminal velocities falls very far short of the original velocity of projection in the proposed case; whence it is manifest that the time of descent would far exceed the time of ascent.

It is sufficiently interesting to remark that, according to the same theory, the utmost velocity which a hailstone of a quarter of an inch in diameter *can* acquire in its descent, unless it be driven by the wind, is only  $32\frac{1}{4}$  feet; and that, in like manner, the *maximum* descending velocity of a spherical hailstone, an inch in diameter, is but  $64\frac{1}{4}$  feet. How wisely and mercifully ordered!

The knowledge of the terminal velocities of balls and shells of different sizes, enables the artillerist, by a course of reasoning which, looking back upon the space we have already occupied, we must not now attempt to develop, to approximate to the ranges, in all the most useful cases, as well as to determine the elevation which shall give the maximum range; and which, by the way, we may observe is always *less* than the usual theory of projectiles in *vacuo* assigns. The annexed theorem, which comprehends the whole of Dr. Hutton's useful table, vol. iii. p. 270, is sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Elevation for} \\ \text{max. range} \end{array} \right\} = 43^\circ - \left( \frac{\text{init. vel.}}{\text{term. vel.}} - 1 \right) 3^\circ.$$

The celebrated Carnot, in his work on the Defence of Fortified Places (a work written, as several of our readers may recollect, to please his Imperial master by demonstrating the impossibility of conquering France!) recommends that the besieged should begin to employ what he denominates *vertical fire*, upon the commencement of the construction of the third parallel, and from that period of the siege keep up an incessant discharge of musquetry, and of 4 oz. iron balls, at great elevations, upon the enemy's works, so as to form a shower of shot (*pluie de balles*) upon the trenches. He proposes that the iron balls should be discharged from a number of 12-inch mortars, two of which were to be placed in the salients of each bastion and ravelin, in the front or fronts attacked, each mortar throwing 600 balls at each discharge. M. Carnot imagined that one out of each parcel of 180 balls so thrown would hit a man, and he concluded that it would inevitably place him "*hors de combat*."

At first glance this appears a very formidable mode of defence,

But, on reasoning upon the doctrine of probabilities, it will appear that M. Carnot has estimated the number of effective balls much too highly. But it is more consonant with the tenor of this article to observe, that he altogether overlooked an essential consideration in the principles of projectile motion, and that no Frenchman of science saw the mistake, or at least attempted to point it out, till after it had been exhibited to public view in the animadversions of an English officer, six years subsequent to the publication of M. Carnot's treatise.

Sir Howard Douglas's refutation is very complete; extending, indeed, to other matters besides Carnot's blunder in reference to the vertical fire. Our quotations, however, must relate to that subject alone.

"When (says Sir Howard) I began to consider this interesting problem, as applied to vertical fire, I was soon satisfied that M. Carnot had entirely overlooked terminal velocity; and I shall show, from his own words, that this is the case."

This point he confirms; and, after computing the terminal velocity of a French 4 oz. ball, (viz. 201 feet,) he shows that a ball falling with such a velocity would not penetrate more than about one-tenth of an inch into elm timber. He then proceeds:

"Four ounce balls, discharged at elevations even considerably above  $45^{\circ}$ , to the distance of 120 yards, would not inflict a mortal wound, excepting upon an uncovered head. They would not have force sufficient to break any principal bone; there would be no penetration, but merely a contusion."

In a note Sir Howard details some experiments in confirmation of these assertions:

"A cohœorn mortar was placed 100 yards from six new deal targets laid on the ground, and two new wadmill tilts spread out near them, to estimate by the impression made on them the force with which the balls would fall.

"The first round was with the usual tin case, containing 33 four-ounce balls, with a charge of one ounce of powder, elevation  $45^{\circ}$ . The case went bodily about 130 yards without breaking.

"Loose balls were then put in over a wooden bottom. After a number of rounds with the above charge and elevation, with different numbers of four-ounce balls, it was ascertained that the cohœorn would throw 42 of them 100 yards, and that the spread was, on an average, about 10 or 12 yards. It was not very easy to hit the targets and cloths, although they covered a surface of 774 square feet; but, in one instance, 22 balls left their mark. The indentation on the surface of the deal was so small that it could not well be measured; it certainly was not more than one-twentieth of an inch deep. A ball thrown with force from the hand appeared to make an equal impression. Those which struck the wadmill tilt did not penetrate, but merely indented the ground underneath. The penetration of the balls into the ground

(which was of the softest nature of meadow) was, on an average, two inches; but the balls thrown by hand did not penetrate so far.

"The mortar was then elevated to  $75^{\circ}$ , and with 2 oz. of powder and 42 balls made nearly the same range as before; but the spread was increased to about 40 yards, so that it was very difficult to hit the surface aimed at. Several balls did, however, at length fall on the targets and wadmill tilts. The impression on the former was something increased, but still so trifling as hardly to be measured; *the balls did not go through the cloth*, and the penetration on the meadow was only increased to about three inches." (Douglas's Observations, p. 23.)

This is very decisive; and much more of what is advanced by this scientific and indefatigable officer is equally satisfactory. We have been recently informed that experiments now carrying on by "the Select Committee," will furnish a complete and practical refutation of all that M. Carnot advanced on this his new mode of defence.

M. Augoyat's memoir on the effect of vertical fires contains brief accounts of experiments made in France, at Corfu, and in Russia; all tending to show the inefficacy of M. Carnot's mode of defence. This author also quotes freely from Sir Howard Douglas; avowedly, however, and with the commendation due to his talents and activity. The memoir is followed by two notes, in one of which the author reduces to French measures some elegant approximative formulæ to the actual ranges of military projectiles, first given by Dr. Hutton in the 3d. vol. of his Tracts: the other note contains some obvious, but not uninteresting remarks on the nature and efficacy of ricochet-firing. For these we must now refer to the pamphlet itself, having nearly exhausted the space which can adequately be assigned to the present article.

We by no means present this as a complete history of the successive steps by which the theory and practice of gunnery have been improved; but have rather made it our object to select a few of the more leading and prominent points, expatiating most where there has been an obvious connexion between the matter of investigation and some interesting department of physical inquiry. By pursuing this course we hope to have rendered an acceptable service both to military men, and to the younger votaries of genuine philosophy.

In conclusion, we trust we shall not be accused of any unworthy feeling, if we remark that all, or nearly all, which is truly valuable in this department of research has been the produce of Britain. We have no wish to depreciate the labours of Bernoulli, Euler, and others, of whom we have already spoken in terms of deserved commendation; and upon whose genius and attainments we often reflect with admiration. Yet

we do not hesitate to affirm, that were it not for the *practical* turn given to the investigation by Robins, and so incessantly kept in mind, and so skilfully and elaborately carried out to its main professional applications, by Dr. Hutton, gunnery, as a branch of general science, would, to the present moment, have been a barren speculation. The great good sense evinced in all the Doctor's inquiries; his cautious abstinence, nay, we might perhaps say, his conscientious abhorrence, of the mere parade of science; his love of simplicity, and his constant aim at utility; stamp a value upon his contributions to science which it is not easy to overrate: and they who are now pursuing the same course of investigation, we believe, aspire to no higher honour than to be regarded, in this respect, as his worthy disciples.

Some of the French philosophers, we understand, affect to call in question the alleged superiority of Dr. Hutton in reference to this class of inquiries: but why, we are at a loss to conjecture. Have *they* advanced the science of projectiles? If so, we would gladly peruse the treatises or dissertations in which the improvements appear. If so, again, why do they so eagerly possess themselves of every essay, investigation, and experiment of Dr. Hutton on the subject, as soon as it is made public? Why do they in like manner, with equal eagerness obtain accounts of all ballistic experiments now conducting at Woolwich? Why do they, thus continue, according to their own adage, *porter de l'eau à la rivière*? In chemistry, in modern analysis, in astronomy practical and physical, much is due to them; and, as we have no desire to deprive them of the honour thence accruing, so neither can we consent to see our own countrymen deprived of their appropriate meed of praise. We have now lying on our table, a treatise which has been much commended in France. Its title is, *Le Mouvement Igné considéré principalement dans la Charge d'une Piece d'Artillerie*. It is intended principally as a refutation of Robins: and the copy which now lies before us was sent by one of Bonaparte's Field Marshals, to a late Master General of the Ordnance, as well deserving the attention of the British Artillery. It exhibits more positive nonsense under the semblance of philosophical discussion, than any work we ever saw, except poor Mercier's fancied refutation of the Copernican system,—so much read and admired by the Parisian loungers about twenty years ago.

That the French did not always affect to think these researches of Dr. Hutton of no consequence, is evident from this fact. During the Revolutionary horrors in 1793, when a decree was passed ordering *all* persons not born in France to quit the Republic, the great and amiable Lagrange, a native of Italy,

was a resident in Paris. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to reform the system of weights and measures; but that was not thought sufficient to detain him. Gayton advised him to claim an exemption on the pretext of his being employed in preparing a report on Dr. Hutton's investigations\* in relation to gunnery; and, being a member of the Committee of Public Safety, he actually procured for his friend an injunction *requiring* his stay, "in order to complete the calculations which he had undertaken with respect to the theory of projectiles." The avowed object of Lagrange was, to found upon Dr. Hutton's experiments and researches a more extended theory than had hitherto been offered; but we are not aware that he ever published any thing of consequence on the subject.

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ART. XIV.—*The Life of William Hey, Esq. FRS. &c.* by John Pearson, FRS. FLS. MRI.; &c. 8vo. pp. 669. London, 1822.

WE have singular satisfaction in introducing to our readers this valuable addition to British biography. It is the life of an eminent surgeon at Leeds, from the pen of another eminent surgeon in London; both of them men who have not been ashamed to exhibit to the world their conscientious opinion, that religion is a science with which all persons of whatever profession ought to be acquainted, and the practice of its precepts an art in which all ought to be skilled. The ordinary reader will, perhaps, not thank the author for having introduced into his work many surgical and medical details, not likely to be generally interesting to the public, or in all instances fit for miscellaneous perusal; but the professional reader has not an equal right to censure the introduction of those moral and spiritual topics which belong to *him* as much as to the most unscientific individual, and the importance of which will be felt, when all that relates to the mere physical welfare of the species shall be for ever forgotten. We could earnestly wish that our libraries abounded with books of this character. We possess an ample, not to say a superabundant, stock of sermons and treatises in divinity; nor is the list of books of amusing biography by any means scanty; but we have comparatively little of that useful, yet entertaining, spe-

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\* These could be no more than what were contained in the Doctor's first two papers on the subject, published in the years 1778 and 1786.

cies of reading which combines the two; which, without sermonizing (though certainly Mr. Pearson sermonizes more than would be agreeable to many readers), exhibits religion in her most attractive garb, and seduces us to our welfare by an undorned display of the practical graces of the Christian character.

The excellent individual whose memoir is now before us, was born in the village of Pudsey, near Leeds, August 23, O. S. 1736. At three years of age he was near being burned to death by his dress taking fire; and upon that occasion owed his safety to the presence of mind of a female servant. Some months afterwards, an accident more lasting in its consequences befel him, and which appeared likely to exclude him from ever pursuing with advantage the profession in which he afterwards so eminently excelled. In cutting a piece of string with the edge of the penknife directed upwards towards his face, the point, on dividing the string, penetrated his right eye, and totally destroyed its power of vision. His father was much affected with the simplicity of a remark which he made on that occasion, that "he saw light with one eye, and darkness with the other." The left eye possessed the faculty of vision, in great perfection, to the close of his life.

Mr. Hey's childhood was distinguished by great sprightliness and activity, and gave many tokens of that animation and ardour of character which were conspicuous in all his pursuits. Between the age of seven and eight years, he was sent with his brother John, well known afterwards as Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, to an academy near Wakefield, where he was particularly noticed for his industry and good conduct, by one of the classical assistants, Mr. Dodgson, afterwards Bishop of Elphin. Here he acquired, in addition to his classics, a remarkable taste for natural philosophy and scientific investigation; while under the assiduous culture of his parents, he learned to obey authority, to abhor falsehood, "to keep innocency, and take hold of the thing that is right." Habits of piety also were formed early in his mind, and became the spring of that self-government, temperance, and conscientious regard to his duties, which characterized his maturity, and of that operative devotion which "grew with his growth," and went on increasing to the end of his life.

Young Hey desired at the age of fourteen to go to sea; but concurred in the wish of his parents that he should be placed as an apprentice to a Mr. Dawson, a surgeon, at Leeds, in hopes of becoming, at some future period, the surgeon of a man of war. He continued to conduct himself well, and was particularly diligent in gaining a thorough knowledge of his profession,



even to trying experiments in his own person on the drugs which he was employed to compound; on one of which occasions he took such a dose of Matthew's opiate pill, that it was doubtful whether he would ever taste or administer another.

In 1757 he went to London to complete his professional education; but before we follow him thither, we must extract a passage illustrative of his character and habits while at Mr. Dawson's.

"During the time of his apprenticeship with Mr. Dawson, he never omitted the duty of private prayer, on rising in the morning and retiring at night. This custom exposed him to the scoffs and ridicule of his fellow-apprentice, who would introduce the servant boy into their bed-room to join with him in his mockery of this religious service; but William Hey was not to be intimidated into a dereliction of his pious habits by the impulse of shame, or the dread of contempt. He persevered steadily in his duty; and his firmness soon induced these inconsiderate young persons to desist from their improper behaviour towards him.

"About this period he began to attend the evening prayers at the parish church, whenever his engagements would permit him; and here he met a little company of pious young men, with whom he soon formed an acquaintance.

"Mr. Hey had not yet acquired a correct knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity; for, in a conversation with one of his young friends who was addressing him on the subject of disclaiming all merit, and relying solely on the mercy and grace of the Redeemer for salvation, he replied; "What! Are we not to do our duty?" That an objection of this nature should arise in the mind of a youth, who had not duly studied the representations made in the New Testament concerning the mediatorial office of our Saviour, is not extraordinary; but that many much older than he should, even in the present day, conceive that the doctrine of the justification of a sinner before God by faith in the merits and intercession of Jesus Christ, relaxes the obligations of christian morality, is both surprising and lamentable. It may be remarked as a striking instance of the effect of prejudice, that the same persons who evince this tender concern for personal piety, are often so inconsistent with themselves, as to object strongly against the strict and comprehensive mode of interpreting the precepts of holy living, which is commonly adopted by those who hold the doctrine of gratuitous justification. When it is affirmed, that the pardon of sin and reconciliation with God are to be sought by faith in the propitiatory sacrifice of Jesus Christ; then it is alleged, that the obligations of duty would be annulled, and the necessity of good works be surrendered: but, when the advocates of grace insist, likewise, on the indispensable necessity of conversion to God, and of living consistently in a course of righteousness and sincere obedience; it is objected, that so rigorous a conformity to the letter and spirit of Christianity is neither necessary nor binding on Christians in general. 'This devout and holy life,' say they, 'might be very suitable in

the days of the Apostles and primitive converts, but it is by no means adapted to the present state of society. Whatever may be the source of this self-contradiction, it will imply no violation of courtesy or charity to suggest, that such incongruities may frequently be traced to a defective acquaintance with the first principles of religion, and a most culpable neglect of the bible.

"William Hey was at this period in the habit of retiring, at convenient opportunities, to study the Holy Scriptures, and digest what he read by serious meditation. On one of these occasions, when he was reading the fifth chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians, his attention was forcibly arrested by the seventeenth verse; 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.' In reflecting on these words, a series of considerations arose in his mind which gave him new and more adequate conceptions of the nature and extent of christian piety. He acquired a more correct and practical understanding of his true state and condition; he saw and felt the necessity of an entire renovation in his heart and affections; he could no longer derive gratification from mixing in scenes of gaiety and amusement; the objects of ambition, vanity, and pleasure, lost their seducing influence: his thoughts were now chiefly occupied and his affections engaged, by invisible and eternal realities; his conversation and manners indicated a deep concern for the welfare of his soul, which induced his less serious companions to withdraw from his society." (P. 4—7.)

Mr. Hey, though a churchman on principle, was induced about this time to join the methodist society. The methodists at that period professed themselves churchmen, and both their preachers and people regularly attended the church service. When their habits became changed, Mr. Hey left them; or, rather, he would say, "they left him." He would frequently, in after life, express the advantage he derived from attending the evening prayers at his parish church. "I often," said he, "look with great pleasure at the place where I was accustomed to sit, and can never forget the happy moments I then enjoyed. The winter season was peculiarly pleasant to me; as the solemn gloom, which seemed increased by the few candles then lighted, tended to sober the mind, and to excite a peculiar feeling not unfriendly to devotion. I was always sure of hearing two good sermons, one from a prophet, and another from an evangelist, (alluding to the lessons) and consequently I never came empty away." Were all professed churchmen as attached to the services of their church as this avowed "methodist," our clergy would not have so often to complain of the vacant pews which distinguish a "prayer day" from a "sermon day." Mr. Hey's churchmanship afterwards became confirmed and consistent.

Mr. Hey's career while in London was marked by unwearied diligence in his application to his professional studies. His attainments in them were unusually extensive, and borrowing

great strength from his sound judgment, firm conduct, and general information, made him above a match for the contempt or ridicule with which his medical companions were disposed to treat his theological principles and strictness of deportment. A young man of religious disposition, who followed him in St. George's hospital, suffered much from the insults of his companions. Mr. Hey, many years afterwards, in a letter to one of his sons, then at Cambridge, alludes to the circumstance with a view to show the duty and importance of a religious student's devoting his mind intently to the literary pursuits of his station, "I always endeavoured," he says, "to be at the head of my class. This diligence ensured me the regard of my teachers, and preserved me from many rude attacks from my equals. This I particularly experienced when engaged in my medical studies in London, where I could not meet with one religious young man in my own profession. But as I took such pains that my fellow students were obliged to consult me in their difficulties, I preserved a considerable check upon their conduct." Mr. Pearson particularly mentions Mr. Hey's firmness of character at this period.

"It was during the period of his studies in London, that Mr. Hey undertook the very difficult task of strictly governing his thoughts; and perhaps very few persons ever exercised such a perfect control over them, as he was enabled to do, from those early days of his youth, to the end of his life. He determined that he would meditate upon a given subject, while he was walking to a certain distance, and that *then* he would turn his attention to some other topic; and he was thus accustomed to pass through the streets of London investigating the various subjects to which his thoughts had been directed by the lectures, or other professional occupations. The effects of this habit remained with him through life; and he found it of admirable use, not only in preserving him from the intrusion of a swarm of impertinent ideas, but in enabling him to form a correct judgment on many points pertaining to divine and human knowledge. The same kind of accuracy was observed in his conversation. He would often discuss a subject with a friend, as they rode in his carriage. In the midst of the conversation Mr. Hey would alight to see a patient; and although this circumstance occurred frequently, he never failed to resume the discussion at the very sentence where it had been broken off, and would thus continue an uninterrupted series of discourse to the end of the argument. An old and intimate friend of Mr. Hey expresses himself thus, on this feature of his character: 'He formed no opinions on any subject, adopted no system of thinking, or acting, without much previous and close attention to it. He never spoke at random, or uttered a sentiment that he had not well considered. This circumstance made him less agreeable as a companion, as it shed a cold and cautious reserve about him, which was felt by the extemporaneous talkers who conversed with him, and left an uneasy suspicion.

that they had said something which was foolish, or displeasing to him. Every thing that he produced was already cut and dried in his mind; so that if questioned about any thing that he had not well considered, he either said nothing, or what was undecisive and unsatisfactory." (P. 19—21.)

We must quote one passage more relative to his habits, while a student in London, for the sake of the valuable counsel which it affords to other young men similarly situated.

"Mr. Hey prescribed to himself, while yet a young student, certain rules for the regular dividing of his several employments, and the improvement of his time. He rose early in the morning, and continued this practice, when in health, to the end of his life. He so arranged his occupations, that a particular portion of the day was appropriated to each; and, as far as the nature of the various objects of his studies would admit, he adhered to the rules he had imposed on himself with the most scrupulous exactness. By this orderly succession of business, at home and abroad, the hours of every day were consecrated to an industrious pursuit of useful and important knowledge. These laudable habits, acquired early and strengthened by regular exercise, preserved him through the succeeding periods of his life, not only from the criminal misemployment of time, but gave him a facility of filling up what may be termed the *parentheses* of time, with satisfaction to himself and utility to others. The sabbath-day was strictly and entirely devoted to the service of Almighty God. He never went to the dissecting room, nor would he accept any invitation to visit on that day, that he might not be tempted to deviate from his customary practice of attending divine worship three times; nor disturb his serious frame of mind by the interruption of unprofitable conversation, or the intrusion of worldly concerns. He has been often heard to say, 'that his sabbaths were the happiest of his days, during his residence in London, and that the complete suspending of all his secular pursuits prepared him to resume his studies with renewed ardour and alacrity.' On leaving London he reflected with emotions of gratitude on the goodness of God, which had been manifested to him during his stay in that city. He had been preserved from falling by the various temptations to which his situation had necessarily exposed him. His health had suffered no interruption by his constant and intense application to study; nor had his religious principles been impaired." (P. 15—17.)

Mr. Hey, after completing his preparatory studies in London, commenced business as a surgeon in Leeds. For some time his practice was very circumscribed, and nearly ten years elapsed before his professional emoluments were equal to the moderate expenses of his family. Neither himself nor his friends at that period had any reason to anticipate the extensive reputation which he afterwards acquired. In addition to the ordinary obstacles which in all the learned professions bar the way to celebrity and emolument, till time and favourable

circumstances open a passage for merit, Mr. Hey had to contend with the prejudices excited among his fellow townsmen, by his strictly religious character and connexions. He had also to surmount a somewhat repulsive taciturnity, and a reserve and unbending gravity of deportment, which were ill-calculated to gain him popularity. But it is due, no less to Mr. Hey's strength of character, than to his religious principles, to add, that he greatly improved in the secondary duties of address and urbanity in his passage through the world, and that he most evinced the humanizing character of that holy religion which tells us expressly to be courteous, at a period of life when the usual excitements of cheerfulness having gradually failed, mere constitutional sweetness of temper, and the bland exterior of conventional politeness, often give place to peevish irritability.

Still Mr. Hey's surgical abilities could not fail in time to draw him from his obscurity. His biographer states that before his period, scarcely any of the capital operations in chirurgery had been performed in the populous town of Leeds. But Mr. Hey began from the first to encounter the most serious cases, and performed the operation of lithotomy no less than three times successfully in his private practice in the first year of his business. The Leeds hospital was established chiefly by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Hey. He also, in conjunction with his professional friends, formed a medical society, which was found very beneficial in affording opportunities for useful discussion, and for collecting a public medical library. Among his scientific friends, about the year 1768, we find enrolled the name of Dr. Priestley, then resident at Leeds. These two friends in philosophy were public and strenuous opponents on higher subjects. Dr. Priestley, about this time, printed and circulated very extensively, without his name, a number of penny pamphlets, calculated by their familiarity of language and argument to engage the attention and pervert the minds of half-educated persons. Mr. Hey being deeply impressed with a persuasion of the truth and infinite importance of the doctrines attacked in these publications, and not satisfied with the answers which had been printed, published two tracts in reply to his anonymous philosophical friend—the one a defence of the divinity of Christ, the other of the doctrine of the atonement. These little works have had an extensive circulation, and have been well spoken of by good biblical scholars. Dr. Priestley mentions Mr. Hey in the following terms: "The only person in Leeds who gave much attention to my experiments, was Mr. Hey, a surgeon. He was a zealous Methodist, and wrote answers to some of my theological tracts; but we always conversed with

the greatest freedom on philosophical subjects, without mentioning any thing relating to theology. When I left Leeds, he begged of me the earthen trough in which I had made all my experiments while I was there." (Memoirs of Dr. Priestley, p. 63.) Mr. Pearson declines, and so shall we, debating the point whether Mr. Hey's intimacy with Dr. Priestley was justifiable, and whether in the later periods of his life he would have formed it. A perfect knowledge of all the circumstances of the case can alone determine the question: we presume, however, that there are very few cases in which such a connexion can be considered as useful or desirable. An inspired monarch determined that his companions should be, as far as practicable, in the sphere in which he was placed, the "excellent of the earth," the "saints who delight in virtue;" and Mr. Hey in general acted so decidedly upon this principle, that we are unwilling to think that he had not strong and sufficient reasons for his conduct in the present instance. It was through Dr. Priestley's recommendation of him to the Royal Society, that he was elected a member of that body. "I wish," said Dr. Priestley, "that one of the members in ten had equal pretensions to that honour."

In addition to the misfortune of the loss of his right eye, already mentioned, Mr. Hey met with another misadventure, which appeared likely to disqualify him, in a great measure, for active life, as a medical practitioner. In 1773 he contracted a lameness, by the effects of an injury in striking his knee against the stone-work of a bath, in rising out of the water; the effects of which were aggravated by a fall from his horse, a short time after. In 1778 he received another blow on the injured limb, in mounting his horse, which confirmed and increased the injury to so great a degree that his lameness became incurable, and he was never afterwards able to walk, more than across a room of ordinary size, without a crutch. The spirit in which he bore his calamity is thus described by his excellent biographer.

"At this period he was fully engaged in business; his reputation stood high as an operating surgeon; persons came from remote parts of Yorkshire to Leeds, that they might be under his immediate care; and he was frequently called to considerable distances from Leeds in cases of difficulty and danger.

"Mr. Hey had now a large family, and was soon to be the parent of an eleventh child; his rising fame presented before him a reasonable prospect of distinction and emolument, as creditable to himself as advantageous to his family. Amidst the full tide of this honour and prosperity, he was disabled from using all active exertions; the remedies which were employed by his own direction, or by the suggestions of his professional friends, were of little benefit to him; and

it appeared probable to himself, and to those who were qualified to judge of his case, that he would never regain the power of walking. Mr. Hey felt this afflictive dispensation of the Divine Providence as every considerate man, in similar circumstances, would feel it; he was deeply affected by it, but betrayed no murmuring nor discontent, no impatience, nor unmanly dejection of mind. His religious principles were now tried, and he was enabled to sustain this visitation with humble submission, and a meek acquiescence in the divine will, relying with an unsuspecting confidence upon the gracious declarations of his heavenly Father.

"In a conversation with an intimate friend, who was lamenting the apparent consequences of a disorder which menaced the extinction of his prospects of future usefulness, he said, 'If it be the will of God that I should be confined to my sofa, and He should command me to pick straws during the remainder of my life, I hope I should feel no repugnance to His good pleasure.'" (P. 46—48.)

His resignation to the awards of Divine Providence, so strikingly exhibited in this passage, was conspicuous throughout his life. Besides the loss of a tenderly attached wife, he had the melancholy affliction of seeing no less than nine of his children drop around him; some of them under circumstances peculiarly distressing, and several of them, after they had arrived at maturity, and entered upon life with every prospect of becoming the ornament and consolation of his old age. But though he felt keenly these successive bereavements, he was never heard to utter any thing approaching a murmur on such occasions. On the morning of the funeral, he would withdraw to the room where the remains of his child were placed, and there, while in solemn acts of devotion he resigned to God the gift which had been recalled, "he would express," says his biographer, "unfeigned gratitude to his Heavenly Father for the comfort he had so long enjoyed, while exercising the trust reposed in him." He was accustomed to say, on the death of his children, that "his ultimate end respecting them was answered, since he had trained them up to become inhabitants of that kingdom into which he trusted they had been mercifully received." He remarks in one of his letters to his second son, "my fond wishes would fain see an amendment in your sister's health, but her removal hence will only be the speedier possession of eternal glory. I would rather bury all my children, than see them departing from the way of truth and righteousness, though in the highest prosperity."

The professional part of Mr. Hey's life will be found particularly interesting to surgical practitioners, among whom he was well known and highly esteemed, both for his writings and his skill as an operator. We shall, however, prefer extracting a

few particulars respecting his judicial and political career, in which he proved himself as great a public blessing as by his surgical talents.

In the year 1780 he was elected an alderman of Leeds, and the next year was appointed to the office of mayor. The circle included in his jurisdiction contained at that time 80,000 souls, since augmented (as appears from the returns of 1821) to 83,251. With his characteristic vigour of mind, he applied himself to the assiduous study of the law, and obtained a highly respectable share of information in those departments of legal science with which it was desirable for him to become acquainted for the discharge of his magisterial duties. He was particularly active in enforcing the laws relative to blasphemy, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and similar offences against God and society. Though greatly encouraged in his exertions by his late Majesty's proclamation, issued in June, 1787, "for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and the preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality," he unhappily had to encounter obstacles of so formidable a nature that most men would have despaired of success: every species of opposition, that private chicane and public turbulence could devise, was put in operation to prevent the execution of his wise, legal, and useful plans. He was burned in effigy; his carriage was stopped, the traces cut, one of his horses stabbed, and himself, and his wife, who was with him in the carriage, with difficulty escaped personal violence. It does not, however, appear that he gave the slightest just cause for these outrages. His conduct was cool, impartial, and, where there was any hope of amendment, as lenient as the laws of his country and his own oath and duty allowed. Half a century had now passed over his head, and his gravity and steadiness of character exempt him from any suspicion of a zeal without discretion. The judges, with one discreditable exception, upheld both his character and his exertions. The individual excepted, and whose name, for the sake of his office, is not mentioned in the narrative, saw fit, as appears from the minutes of the two counsel employed by the defendant, to charge the jury with a flippancy not often witnessed on the English bench, telling them that Mr. Hey's constables, whose conduct was in question, were "of the reforming kind;" that "reformation generally produces greater evils than it attempts to redress;" that "he did not know that 'damning eyes' was swearing;" and that the celebrated act against profane cursing and swearing, (19 Geo. 2.) appointed by law to be read publicly in every church and chapel four times every year, "was never heard of by the



public," and that "he himself had never heard of it till he came into that court!"

Mr. Hey outlived this storm; and the excellence of his motives, and the wisdom, dignity, and moderation of his conduct, were at length very generally acknowledged and appreciated. He was again chosen mayor in 1801; and though he was as firm as before in opposing whatever tended to the corruption of good morals, he escaped without public opposition or obloquy, even from the most dissolute of his fellow townsmen, who now knew too well his talents, resolution, and high reputation, to venture to oppose his plans; while from all the friends of religion and virtue he received a degree of regard and veneration which would have intoxicated a man of less sober mind, or less under the chastising influence of Christian principles. He was accustomed to remark, what every person who acts from conscientious motives, in circumstances of difficulty, must have frequently found, that "he had often incurred the greatest obloquy from those actions which had required the greatest sacrifice of feeling to perform, and to which he was conscious nothing could have impelled him but a deep sense of his duty."

His *political* exertions were not less praiseworthy than those which he made as a magistrate in the cause of morals and religion; and indeed they were closely and naturally connected. On this subject we cannot forbear adducing an extract of some length, which conveys many very important lessons, and exhibits Mr. Hey's character in a new and highly interesting light.

"Mr. Hey viewed with concern and alarm the progress of infidel principles, which had been gradually diffused with much art and assiduity through a great part of the Continent of Europe. The admission of these detestable doctrines was necessarily accompanied by a bold profligacy of manners, a hardened depravity of moral sentiment, and every noble, generous, and virtuous feeling gave way to a cold, base, narrow, intolerant selfishness, equally hostile to the principles of justice, the dictates of right reason, and the tender sympathies of humanity. The agency of this malignant leaven had been long silently exerting its influence through different portions of the corrupt mass; and, about this period, the fermentation had acquired a strength and maturity which agitated and convulsed, not the French nation only, but every government within the sphere of its influence. The first shocks and commotions were portentous indications of the explosion of a volcano, which emitted from its bowels a pestiferous vapour, pregnant with disaster, madness, and woe. The ill-constructed and unsubstantial theories of the equality of mankind, of the perfectibility of human nature, of a state of freedom incompatible

with the laws of God, and at variance with all human civil institutions, engendered a spirit of insubordination, a contempt of all authority, a disdain of those restraints, moral and social, which are so essential to personal security and the comfortable subsistence of human society. Such principles and passions quickened into life and activity, under the awe of no repressing or controlling influence, exhibited to a calm, reflecting mind the appalling spectacle of a people impelled headlong, by the fury of a wild and heated imagination, into the most preposterous schemes of ambition, into practices of refined and unparalleled inhumanity, into the wanton profanation of all that was ever held sacred and venerable; affecting a scorn of the common civilities and decencies of life, and rapidly plunging into the lowest sink of grossness, voluptuousness, and brutality.

“ Mr. Hey had studied attentively the constitution of his country, and was thoroughly persuaded that it is calculated to diffuse a beneficent influence over the people who are blessed by the possession of it surpassing that which is enjoyed by any other nation. He had drawn his political principles from the Bible, and considered the practical recognition of the Supreme Being as the great Governor of the world, with a serious regard to the exercise of religion and the obligations of christian morality, as the fundamental supports of every government, without which neither prosperity nor happiness could be reasonably expected. He was consequently surprised and alarmed by the folly and temerity of those men, who, seduced by fanciful and unsubstantial theories, and in the vehement pursuit of irrational and visionary objects, were eager to trample down all former institutions, sacred and civil, to sacrifice all that had been taught by the wisdom and experience of former ages, and to subject the highest and most important interests of mankind to the test of rash and chimerical experiments. Many of his surviving friends may perhaps recollect his remark on the murder of the French King:—‘ I am no prophet, nor shall I probably live to see it; but I greatly mistake, if those sentiments have not gone forth which will shake every throne of Europe to its base.’

“ The philosophical and political creeds which successively sprung up, were imposed and changed until the prolific faculty of French genius itself was nearly exhausted; yet these diversified and misformed productions agreed in one conspicuous tendency, that of conducting their deluded projectors into the barbarous extravagances of anarchy, and the gloomy abyss of atheism. The uninstructed, corrupt, unprincipled part of mankind, were subjects duly prepared to receive and propagate the pestilential feculence; and never were the emissaries of evil more intrepid, active, and zealous in communicating the contagion, and labouring to involve all human beings in the same miseries and horrors by which they were overwhelmed, than at this distracting period.

“ The firmness of Mr. Hey's mind seemed to be shaken; he was oppressed by an unusual dejection of spirits at the prospect of those impending storms, which threatened no less than the entire overthrow of all that was dear to men, as members of society, and the extinction of all that cheered them as candidates for immortality.

Every constituted form of civil and ecclesiastical polity, all the privileges and immunities enjoyed under the sanction of a well-regulated government, and the very existence of religion as the guide of life and the foundation of our most exalted hopes, seemed to be marked for subversion; and it required the utmost exertion of his faith in the power and goodness of God to sustain his mind, under the conflicting emotions by which it was agitated. Mr. Hey was induced by the circumstances of the times, to engage zealously in such patriotic exertions as tended to obstruct the licentious and wicked designs of the enemies of government, and the promoters of disorder and infidelity. He became a politician indeed; but his patriotism was pure and disinterested; he loved his country, he was the friend of peace and good order, and of those civil and religious privileges which belong essentially to our free and happy constitution, and are inseparably connected with a duly regulated liberty. He was no friend to harsh and violent counsels, no favourer of arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings; he was not a rash, partial, unguarded declaimer against the persons or the measures which he disapproved; but he laboured to convince the judgment by sound argument, and to gain the heart by friendly expostulation and mild persuasion.

“Mr. Hey conferred at this juncture with the principal persons of the town of Leeds, on the state and condition of our national affairs, and pointed out the dangers to which the country was exposed, in so clear and convincing a manner, that they were roused to exertion, and both steadily and effectually co-operated with him in opposing levelling and revolutionary principles, and in exciting and cherishing a spirit of loyalty to the government, and affection to the best interests of the state. He maintained a correspondence with several members of the House of Commons, and not unfrequently suggested measures which were finally adopted by the government. Committees often met at his house to deliberate on the best methods of averting and repelling the baleful influence of democratical and atheistical principles, and all the vigour and energy of his character were summoned into action, and directed to the great purposes of promoting the safety and welfare of his country. The patriotism of Mr. Hey being conducted and hallowed by the spirit of Christianity, his exertions for the peace and happiness of the kingdom were combined with regular, solemn, and private intercession with Almighty God; he likewise composed a form of prayer, with which he and his religious friends agreed to supplicate the divine mercy, on a certain evening in every week; and during a period of twenty years he imposed on himself the observance of days of fasting and humiliation in addition to those appointed by the legislature. He considered religion as the grand bulwark of a state, and often expressed it as his opinion, ‘that a truly righteous nation would be invincible; for,’ he observed, ‘although men, as individuals, were reserved to the judgment of the last day, yet, as nations could have no existence at that period, collectively, they were rewarded or punished in this world, according to their works.’ As the political principles of Mr. Hey were founded upon the Bible, so the means he employed, and the measures he adopted to

further the great and good designs which he pursued, were consonant with the spirit and genius of Christianity." (P. 134—141.)

Mr. Pearson has devoted a very interesting section to a description of Mr. Hey's "zeal and public spirit in promoting whatever promised benefit to the true interests of mankind." His exertions relative to the slave trade, the Bible Society, the education of the poor, the "Church Missionary Society," and a variety of other beneficial institutions, general and local, were unwearied, and were far beyond what his numerous engagements seemed to render practicable. The following circumstances strikingly exhibit his character at the age of eighty-two years—a period of life at which men are not generally either very zealous in planning new designs of benevolence, which require much labour and pecuniary sacrifice, or very patient in listening to or acting upon arguments urged against their favourite schemes. The circumstances to which we allude were these: The Baptist Missionaries, at Serampore, in India, had stated that they had the literary means of translating the Scriptures into twenty-six new dialects; and that a thousand copies of the New Testament could be printed in each of these dialects at the moderate expense of five hundred pounds. Mr. Hey, impressed with the importance of this undertaking, conceived the generous design of immediately raising, by private subscription, the sum of *thirteen thousand pounds*, to create a fund for the proposed object. This sum he offered to place in the hands of the committee of the Bible Society, for the exclusive purpose he had in view. The committee weighed the proposal with the respect and gratitude it deserved; but, fearful of the precedent of creating a separate fund, and foreseeing many evils likely to result from the adoption of the measure, they declined accepting the gift on any other terms than those of appropriating it at their own discretion. Mr. Hey, dear as was the object to his heart, perfectly acquiesced in their opinion, and proved his charitable feeling on the occasion, by remitting to them the whole of the subscriptions already received, amounting to 1475*l.* without condition or limitation. It may be worth while to add, that the society took up the scheme on their own responsibility, and promised the sum of 500*l.* for the first thousand copies of every approved translation of the New Testament into a dialect of India, in which no translation had before been printed. Some time after, *three* suitable translations being presented to the committee, the award of 1500*l.* was voted to the claimants; and, by a painful, yet pleasing coincidence, the intelligence of the death of Mr. Hey reached the committee at the very meeting in which this award was pronounced.

Before we conduct our readers to the period of Mr. Hey's death, which we have thus anticipated, we shall quote a passage or two relative to his domestic and private conduct in the discharge of his religious duties.

"When Mr. Hey married and became the head of a family, the first arrangements of his household were modelled by that christian wisdom which had been long the governing principle of his own mind. He conceived it to be not less his duty to provide for the spiritual advantages of those over whom he presided, than to supply their bodily wants. He accordingly established the regular worship of God in his family, morning and evening; at which his apprentices, pupils, and servants, were always expected to be present; and he communicated to them, at other times, such religious instruction as he judged to be best suited to their respective capacities and situations.

"The manner in which he conducted the family devotions was serious and most impressive; he read a portion of Scripture slowly and reverently, now and then offering a very short and pious remark on any particular text that occurred. His prayer was offered up with a devout solemnity and reverence, which indicated his due recollection of the greatness and majesty of Him whom he was addressing. The whole service rarely exceeded twenty, or twenty-five minutes; for he was careful not to make the duties of religion wearisome by protracting them too long.

"On the Sunday evening he would sometimes expound part of a chapter in the Bible, or explain some portion of the service in the book of Common Prayer, or read a plain, practical sermon to his family. On some occasions he would explain and enforce the more important parts of a sermon they had been hearing; and he seldom omitted to improve any affecting incident which had occurred during the week. He was careful to awaken the attention of his family to those sacred seasons for which our church has provided particular services; he considered these appointments as favourable opportunities of impressing the minds of his family with the doctrines and events which it was the more immediate purpose of these offices to commemorate. Mr. Hey regarded it as consonant both to Scripture and the natural constitution of our minds, to celebrate remarkable events at stated times.

"The example of Mr. Hey will prove the futility of those excuses which too many persons employ to justify their neglect of the Sabbath, Few of them have half the engagements which demanded his time, and occupied his thoughts; yet they complain, that they cannot find time to attend the church, and to employ an hour or two in the instruction of their children and households in the important duties of religion. Notwithstanding his extensive practice, and being frequently obliged to visit patients at a considerable distance from Leeds, he rarely missed attending the morning and afternoon service of the church. He always saw as many of his patients as possible on the Saturday; and as they knew his habits and manner of living, they did not expect, unless in cases of necessity, to see him on the Sunday. On this day he was much in private prayer and meditation; he nei-

ther did his own pleasure, nor spake his own words ; but the intervals of public worship were filled up by conversing with his family on divine things, and instructing his servants and the children of the Sunday schools." (P. 20—23.)

The old age of Mr. Hey was green and vigorous ; his eyesight and hearing continued good ; his vocal powers were still agreeable ; and his hand-writing remained firm and distinct. He remarked, that he could enjoy all the innocent pleasures of life as much as ever ; and that he had not yet found, " though by reason of strength he had *passed* fourscore years," that his strength was as yet " labour or sorrow." We find him, within a fortnight of his death, visiting patients at the distance of ten or twelve miles from his house, " in addition to the regular duties of the day." He expired March 23, 1819, after a few days' illness. His disorder prevented his conversing with his family and friends in the same collected and instructive manner as he had done on former occasions of sickness ; but the little he said was of such a nature as to show his peace of mind, and his unclouded hopes of a blissful immortality, through faith in that Saviour whom he had so long loved and zealously endeavoured to serve.

There are many other particulars in the volume before us, which would well bear transcription or condensation ; but we must be contented to quit the subject of the narrative of the compiler, to whom the public is greatly indebted, for a highly useful and interesting record of facts and virtues, which cannot be contemplated by a rightly disposed mind without great moral benefit. Mr. Pearson's own instructive dissertations, interwoven with his work, indicate deep thought and reflection, and would appear doubly valuable, if read with attention after running over the memoir, so as to allow the mind taste and leisure for more orderly reflection than readers are accustomed to indulge in during the progress of a narrative. Medical readers will find in this volume a variety of incidental remarks and discussions connected with the duties and manners of the profession ; and we recollect no uninspired volume better adapted to be put into the hands of a young man entering on this line of life, as a manual of instruction in the moral difficulties which often occur in the exercise of his honourable vocation, and as a safeguard to his own personal conduct. The moral and theological reflections are peculiarly excellent ; and we trust that the respected author will find that best reward of his lucubrations—the consciousness of having done much good to society, and especially to the younger members of that profession of which he himself is so bright an ornament. We shall only add, that he will do well, in another edition, to give to his work a clearer order, and better chronological arrangement.

## ART. XV.—BAMFORD ON SCHOOL DISCIPLINE.

*Essays on the Discipline of Children, particularly as regards their Education; By the Rev. R. W. Bamford, of Trinity College, Cambridge. p.p. 159. London, 1822.*

WHETHER any new discoveries can be made in the theory of education, we are much inclined to doubt; but that a great practical reformation is necessary, we entertain no doubt at all; and we therefore feel indebted to those who favour the public with the results of their experience, especially when, as in the instance of the work before us, they strongly urge particular points which they have diligently elaborated, and on which their ideas, if not new, are, what is far better, well matured and practically useful.

The chief topic of Mr. Bamford's publication is the long-tolerated system of corporal castigation, as it exists in too many of our schools, public and private; a topic on which much has been said, and said ably, but which has nowhere been dilated upon with such abundance of detail, and superabundance of quotation, as in this little volume. The author's facts, reasonings, and citations, all deserve the most serious consideration.

It has often appeared to us a somewhat singular circumstance, that while in other departments of social and political life the progress of modern improvement is every where visible, the system of punishments in our schools, for the higher and middle classes of society, very generally continues nearly what it was in the darkest ages. The anomaly is the more remarkable since the introduction of the system of mutual instruction; and the preventive discipline conjoined with the administration of that system, into so many of our schools for the children of the poor. By means of the provisions of the Madras plan, the disgusting exhibition of corporal punishment is banished from these eleemosynary institutions; yet many a nobleman or gentleman who would vote for the dismissal of any master of a village or national school, who should so far forget the genius of the system as to govern his little empire by severity of punishment, instead of by constant vigilance, employment, and prevention, expresses no reluctance that his own son should undergo a weekly or daily flagellation by a duly authorised and classical hand. The plea urged by the master, and usually admitted as incontrovertible by the parent, is—the tyrant's law—necessity. This necessity is learnedly proved by argument, and fortified by prescription. In short, boys always have been flogged; and the country has long flourished under the

flogging system, a practice handed down to us by our ancestors, and incorporated among our other rights, privileges, and franchises.

Our own opinion of corporal punishments has long been, that they very rarely "bless" either, "him that gives or him that takes;" and if we had felt any doubt on the subject before, we could not have long addicted ourselves to the somewhat singular but very conclusive pages of Mr. Barnford, without coming to this opinion; not for the mere sake of sparing a few millions of our juvenile successors the tears and tortures which were the lot of their fathers, but for the purpose of improving their character, elevating their motives and principles of action, and rendering our schools somewhat more accordant than too often they at present are with the spirit of Christianity, and the habits of a wise and humane age.

We are as fully aware as the most strenuous advocate for corporal punishments, that they cannot be dispensed with unless some adequate substitute can be found to perform their office. If the problem be merely how to conduct most easily a species of intellectual "calking," wedging as much learning as possible into a given hundred boys, with the least labour of mind or body to the instructor, no method, perhaps, is superior to that of allowing them to frame their own morals and manners after their own fashion; to interfere with no practice and to check no temper, however vicious or unamiable, unless it tend directly to disturb the peace of the master, or to defeat the literary objects of the institution; and to exact no other system of duty, than that a boy shall either learn his lessons, or compensate for the same by being quietly flogged.

A similar method of managing post-horses is found to answer exceedingly well; and would, no doubt, answer still better, if, like human creatures, they had a mental capacity to discern its reasonableness. If the whole problem be, as we have said, to contrive how the exacted "tale of bricks" shall be most easily obtained, with or without straw, we do not know that a better plan can be contrived than right, severe, and indiscriminate flogging.

Our author begins with examining some of the current objections to the abolition of corporal scholastic castigation. He does not accuse all schoolmasters of intentional barbarity; he states that he himself was once a flagellarian on principle; but Dr. Bell, and his own good sense and experience, convinced him of his error, and he now endeavours to extricate his fellow-pedagogues (we use the word *reverently* and classically) from their injurious predilection. Custom, prepossession, and a supposed necessity, he considers as inclining many school-



masters to the practice, who still are aware of its disgraceful nature and frequent inutility. He states, however, that "the lowest class of masters" are accustomed "to beat without thought or calculation; the rod is the sceptre of their straightforward and simple government. The highest class of masters, (he thinks), adopt severity upon principle, for the sake of the strict obedience and industry which they imagine can on no other terms be secured. Many who view with indignation the practice of passionately chastising children, are yet friends to wholesome "legitimate whipping." Mr. Bamford indulges us with some quotations on this subject. One of his authorities (Middendorf) having uttered a preamble, that whereas many boys cannot be managed, "*nisi verbera quandoque exhibeantur et plagæ,*" &c. goes on to enact, that they be legitimately flogged, subject to the following cautionary remark, among others; "*Verum ne caput, cæterasque principes atque vitales corporis humani partes per animi impotentiam læderent, et quæ ad erudiendum ornandumque susceperant; turpes, mutilos, et ineptos ad discendum redderent; recte a majoribus nostris sanctum est, ut virgis et ferulâ præceptores uterentur, quibus ea membra contrectarent quæ a periculo maxime tuta sunt.*" We pass over the curious anatomical description which follows, to show what parts of the human frame are most naturally adapted to be the proper recipients of chastisement; and shall only remark, that the worthy gentleman quoted did not seem to be aware of the insufficiency of inserting provisos in an enactment, in the administration of which one individual is to be accuser, judge, jury, and executioner, without responsibility or appeal.

Mr. Bamford explains what he wishes, and what he does not wish, in the following passage:—

"I feel that by attempting, in any way, to reprobate the mode of corporal punishment, I shall be accused of desiring to invade the right, and diminish the authority of the master, and consequently to allow the boys a boundless and uncontrolled liberty. This is very far from my intention. No one can be a mere rigid exactor of discipline, and order, and submission, than I profess to be. I differ in the means of procuring and maintaining discipline; not whether discipline should be obtained. I acknowledge, if an offence be committed, the dignity or authority of the person, against whom the offence is committed, is to be supported and maintained, lest, if it go unpunished, his authority be despised, and his honour impaired."

"Corporal punishment is frequently considered as less objectionable in schools for the lower class of people. But look at its effect in the case of juvenile offenders, after they are relieved from the cognizance of their masters. A boy at school commits a trifling fault, which, most probably, might have been prevented: he is flogged, or

casted over the shoulders. With a restless disposition this may happen, at least, weekly. By being accustomed to it, he learns to bear it. This boy, thus hardened, comes out into the world: he gets leagued perhaps with bad company: he pilfers or swindles: he is ordered to be whipped. Now what effects may this be expected to have? None, but to make him worse. 'The punishment hardens the offender; he feels after the punishment as degraded as he can be, and is careless of reputation, and of his future actions.'

"Again, there is a cry of false humanity, you do them no harm: you had better flog children than suffer them to be vicious. If all other ways failed, rather than the child should be lost, I might reluctantly try, with Tillotson, Sturm, and others, as the last resource, what effect flogging would have; but to belabour him with a stick, or ferula, or taw—to hit him over the head—to pluck his hair—to strike him roughly on his ears, or rudely to pull them—to kick him—to torture his body in any way, for mistakes in learning, for errors in judgment, for little inconsistencies, for deviations from discipline arising from the vivacity of youth, and a neglect of its proper direction and employment, are instances of *real* humanity, which I can neither countenance nor recommend. I had rather endeavour to find some means of prevention, and become chargeable to the cry of false humanity, than practise what is truly false discipline. No steadiness of character can be produced by the rod.

"But then would you deprive all masters of its use? Is there not a mighty distinction between those, who soberly and discreetly apply it in instances of great misconduct and idleness, and those, who passionately abuse lads for some insignificant offence? With the use of the rod I make no qualifications. But yet I wish not to deprive good masters of their discretion to use what mode of correction they may please. If they faithfully labour in their vineyard, and are vigilant to oppose the radication of any evil, they will very seldom, if ever, have occasion to resort to violent measures.

"Do you wish the same licentiousness of conduct, it is said, to be allowed to boys, which so many lawless men at present practise? No, rather than that should ensue, I would recommend them to be flogged a dozen times every day. A perfect obedience and cheerful submission must be secured. I only want this to be done by rational means. I do not wish children to be treated as men; but they may be, must be used, as beings of the same nature with men. Who is there that does not spurn at the idea of flagellatory compulsion? Who, in manhood, would endure, in learning any language or science, the treatment of infancy? We condemn all despotism and feudal right in the government of men, but in the management of children, vehemently support absolute tyranny. They are compelled to obey the arbitrary mandates of those, whose qualifications to govern are frequently not the most appropriate. They are cruelly goaded up the rugged and thorny road of learning.

"But I am asked, why make so much work about a little beating? Do you think that men of learning and good manners are so lost to character, as unfeelingly to abuse children? Do they not speak

against improper whipping, as well as yourself? Not so often as I could wish : but if they do condemn undue severity, it is too often by words, and not by deeds. When in school a large majority exercise little discretion in punishing children ; and their discretion is not unfrequently guided by interest, and not by justice.

“ After all that has been said, and shall be said, unless the sentiments and habits of the country, its punishments and notions of honour, and disgrace, shall undergo great alterations, and a reformation be effected in the mode of teaching schools, it were, perhaps, in vain, to expect children to be educated without compulsion and harshness. Not only are there great defects in the internal organization and conduct of schools, and their instruction, but the moral character, and the dispositions of many masters, particularly of the middle and lower classes of schools, together with the prejudices and inconsiderateness of parents, all unite to perpetuate a multiplied source of present and future evil.”

The author's second essay relates to the subject of scholastic discipline *among the ancient Jews*. This is not only a very curious chapter in itself, but, from the frequent misapplication of the words of Solomon and other scriptural writers, is of considerable importance to a right view of the subject. Our own idea is, that those passages of scripture which seem to enjoin on parents the corporal chastisement of their children are to be taken in reference to the then prevailing modes of juvenile punishment, and are opposed solely to false tenderness and feebleness of discipline. It is preposterous to contend that Solomon meant to inculcate the duty of juvenile scourging for its own sake, or independently of the moral or other useful ends for the attainment of which it is applied, or that he would have thought his precepts slighted if those ends were secured by milder means. If it be necessary to construe and apply all such passages according to their literal import, instead of their general scope and spirit, how are we to explain those kindred expressions used to represent the moral discipline employed by the Almighty for the correction of his disobedient children? Did St. Paul think that Solomon's advice as to the corporal punishment of children was strictly applicable to Christian parents when he urged his Ephesian converts “ not to provoke their children to wrath,” but “ to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.” The scriptures every where enjoin parents to train their children by firm discipline ; but the expressions employed to enforce this point by no means extend in their spirit beyond the smallest possible degree of coercion that is requisite to effect the desired object. This may afford to be less severe in proportion as the regulations and system of the family or school are judicious, uniform, and vigilantly administered. If, however, the exhortations of Solomon *must* be con-

stated only literally, be it remembered that such an interpretation confines them to *parents*, whose faults in the discipline of their children are not usually those of too great strictness. There is no exhortation to *schoolmasters* to beware of undue lenity, and not "to let their soul spare for the crying" of their tender charge. But let us hear our author on this subject :

"Holy Writ affords us an opportunity of ascertaining the general notions of correction among the Jews. All writers, and particularly the favourers of flagellation, refer to the book of Proverbs for the authority and sanction of so wise a man as Solomon. For nearly 3000 years, masters of schools have quoted, with peculiar complacency, this friend, as they say, of scholastic severity, pluming themselves on his affording them such a reason for their barbarity, as singular wisdom and experience alone could invent ; ' He that *spareth* the rod, *hateth* his son ; but, he that *loveth* him, *chasteneth* him betimes.' That a parent shews his regard for his children by early correcting their evil inclinations, and training them up in habits of strictness, is perfectly true ; but it is fairly disputed whether the degree of parental affection can be justly defined by the literal interpretation of this passage. If, by any other means than corporal chastisement, a father should recover a wandering child, or, by vigilance and foresight, prevent the wickedness that might ensue, his affection in so doing is equally, if not in a greater degree, evinced. But that Solomon thought a parent never *could* shew his affection except by literally using the rod, or regarded its application, effectual of itself, by some inherent faculty or virtue communicated, is too absurd to suppose. Dr. Bell most admirably explains this passage, and thus affords a criterion for understanding others of a similar nature—' Equally insensible to the beauty, the spirit, and the sense of the figurative and metaphorical language of the east, those friends of exclusive flagellation, not only misunderstand, but, unhappily for the back of many a sufferer, pervert the wisdom of Solomon, by a literal interpretation of his expressive aphorism. Ascribing a peculiar charm to the rod, independently of the end for which it is used, they think it sacrilegious to attain that end by any other means. To guard against this practical misapplication of Holy Writ in the economy of a school, I observe, that the rod—the instrument of punishment—is here put for the punishment itself. \* \* \* The true sense of Solomon's aphorism will be found in this, as in every other instance, consistent with sound wisdom. It is, that when offences are committed, and those in authority do not take means to prevent the repetition, and correct the offender, his real interest and happiness are overlooked.'—Elements of Tuition, ii, 390—2.

"I cannot think, so prudent a man, and so good a judge of human nature as Solomon, would exhort parents to inflict a severity of bodily pain on infants, merely for that playful vivacity of spirits, which prompts them, oft times involuntarily, to disregard the rules of restraint. The advice he gives in principle, is excellent ; but if taken literally, and applied, as it often is, to the daily occurrences of families and schools, is liable to great objection. A most valued

*Commentator*, however, supports him with the assertion, that, 'Parents should not spare the rod, if reproof will not do, which is but necessary in very young children: because there is no other means, perhaps, to make them understand the difference between good and evil, decent and unseemly, but only to make them smart for the one, and to give them some sensible pleasure for the other.' Though this opinion may be supported by plausible reasons, yet an able and learned *schoolmaster* tells us, that, '*Nulla videatur ætas tam infirma, quæ non protinus, quid rectum pravumque sit, discat.*'—No age seems so infirm as not immediately to learn what is right and wrong, by kind admonition and early culture.—*Quin. lib. i. chap. 111.*

"But, though it seems perfectly clear, that Solomon comprehended, under the expression of rod, correction in general, as he says in another place, 'Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him;'—(*Prov. xxii. 15.*) yet it must be confessed, that the Jews, before and in the time of Solomon, did use corporal chastisement in the punishment of offenders; and that he recommended, if not severity, at least, great strictness, to parents in controlling the conduct of their children."

We pass over the remainder of this essay or chapter relating to the ancient Jewish system of education, in order to notice Essay III. on the Grecian and Roman discipline. Of Greece *Mr. Bamford* remarks:

"The punishments of the different states of Greece, doubtless, coincided with the genius and nature of the people, as well as with the temper of the instructor. Each might have its peculiar honours and degradations. Their schools were mainly modelled on the plan of their national governments. '*Sic in scholis literarum, ut in magno populo leges constituentur, et ita in puerili turba ad laudem præmia, et ad vituperationem castigatio proponatur, quemadmodum in civium conventiculis magnis solet fieri legumlatoribus.*'—*Sturm.*

"Solon, Lycurgus, and the other philosophers and schoolmasters, accommodated their principles for the management of children to their respective political constitutions. With these the modes of punishment most probably corresponded. In some states flogging might be authorised by law. It might, as in our judicial sentences, be ordered for certain trivial offences. The boy, thus suffering according to law, would find it needless to complain, either of the degree of punishment, or of the arbitrariness of its administration. It was sufficient *καταδικάζειν με ναυαγοῦναι*—*You order me to be beaten.* Thus sanctioned in the state, it would soon be introduced into their schools. There it might be also supported by rule and precedent: 'as Demosthenes says against Conon: It has been ordained by the wisdom of our ancestors that all these injuries should be redressed by law, and not by every private man's passion and caprice.'—*Grotius.*

"It is certain, however, that scholastic (as well as other) exactions were often secured, and obedience enforced, by bodily compulsion; and that deficiency of intellect and conduct was attempted to be supplied by corporal chastisements." (*P. 32, 83.*)

The extent to which this system was carried, even in places not under the obduracy of Spartan discipline, appears from the following remarks and citations :

" We complain, perhaps justly, of the severity of our modern masters ; but if the accounts are true, and I cannot doubt them, which are given of the conduct of the Sophists, who were the chief instructors among the Greeks, and subsequently among the Romans, there is much reason to regret, that they were not more frequently subjected to the restraining hand of the law. For, as Cresollius remarks, *they were wont to bind the youthful followers of learning to stakes, to lacerate them by tortures, by the wheel, by the cage, to stretch them on the rack with cords, because they were unable or unwilling to pay the masters.* From the variety of their instruments of punishment, from the vehemence and frequency of their application, we cannot but form a very low opinion of the refinement, the humanity, the authority of these famous teachers. Distinguished by their luxury, their cupidity, their irreligion, and other enormous vices, they seem, on the most trivial occasions, to have wreaked the overflowings of their distempered and irascible minds on their unoffending pupils. Custom and usurpation provided them with a systematic gradation of implements, to be employed as opportunity or passion prompted. From the golden slipper to the excoriating whip ; from the uneasy posture of the body to the writhing torture—all instruments, all measures, were applied to uphold authority, to gratify malignity, or to extort pecuniary exactions.

" *It is clear to every one*, says Cresollius, in his luminous "*Theatrum Rhetorum*," where he has collected much information on this subject, *that all these are most grievous, viz. :—τυμπανίζειν ; καταχρᾶσθαι ; κρησπιδίζειν ; στρέβλουν ; ἀγκύειν ;* item *παταλοί, ιμῶντες, ρυτίδες—to beat with various instruments ; to lacerate the body ; to bind to stakes ; to distort with the wheel ; to suffocate by twisting the neck : as are also, posts, whips, thongs.* He says, *that all masters and pedagogues throughout the world did formerly claim the right and power of severely treating those scholars that were dull, and of torturing them as with the rack.* Libanius, too, asserts, that parents commonly allowed masters *παῖναι, ἀγκύειν, στρέβλουν—to beat, writhe, and torture their children.*

" Themistius says, *that unfortunate boys, who, from orphanage or poverty, could not pay the master's remuneration, were bound to stakes or desks, and cruelly tormented.*" (P. 41, 42.)

Mr. Bamford goes on to quote a variety of authors to the same effect, and brings forward a mass of similar particulars, for which we have neither time nor taste. We must, however, extract, by way of specimen of Roman discipline, the following noble, but we presume not very authentic, catalogue of the scholastic exertions of the far-famed Orbilius, the Busby of Rome, who has come down to posterity crowned with a birchen garland, with the epithet "*plagosus*" tacked to his name by Horace, and the following description labelled over him by Suetonius, "*Fuit naturæ acerbæ, non modo in anti-sophistas,*

quos omni sermone laceravit, sed etiam in discipulos,"—and that not "sermone" merely, but in a more substantial manner, as the catalogue will abundantly show:

"Orbilius had for fifty-one years superintended a large institution in Suabia, with old-fashioned severity. One of his ushers made a calculation, from registers, which he kept, that the said Orbilius in the course of his labours had inflicted

911,500 canings,  
121,000 floggings,  
209,000 custodies,  
136,000 taps with the ruler,  
10,200 boxes on the ear,  
22,700 tasks to repeat by rote.

It was further calculated that he had made

700 boys stand on peas,  
6,000 kneel on a sharp edge of wood,  
5,000 wear the fool's cap,  
1,700 hold the rod.

"Orbilius taught in Rome, where he came in Cicero's Consulship; and was the first instructor of Horace." (P. 48, 49.)

The discipline of the children of free persons in Rome does not, however, appear to have been, generally speaking, so severe as the foregoing passages, without a counterpoise, would seem to import. Many of the best Latin and Greek writers speak of blows as fit only for brutes and slaves; as if, by the way, slaves were little better than brutes. Our author quotes several excellent passages on this subject from Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and especially from Quintilian, of the last of whom Erasmus exclaims, "Quod Ethnicus vir, ut sævum ac perniciosum exprosit, nos Christiani libenter recipimus, sævientes non solum in pueros, sed etiam in ætatem pene virilem."

We strongly advise the advocates for corporal punishments to study Quintilian, and to imbibe his truly *scholastic* spirit; we mean before *σχολή*—a place tranquil and free from external cares—degenerated, according to the pun of Diogenes, into *χολή*, a place of litigation.

Essay IV. introduces us to various English writers, a few of whose opinions we shall quote. The following curious story from the life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury in the time of William the Conqueror and William Rufus, forms a suitable introduction to the chapter. The passage is translated from the Latin memoir prefixed to Anselm's works; Cologne, 1573:

"*Quodam igitur tempore, &c.*"

"As a certain Abbot, who was accounted very religious, was once talking with Anselm, about the affairs of monastic religion, and, amongst other things, was consulting him about the boys who were

brought up in the cloisters, he added, 'What, I pray you, can be done with them? They are perverse and incorrigible: *day and night we cease not to beat them*, and yet they always become worse and worse.' At which Anselm, surprised, 'Cease ye not,' says he, 'to beat them? And how are they when they are grown up?' 'They are dull,' he says, 'and brutish.' But Anselm says, 'For what good purpose then do ye, who for men have brought up brutes, lay out all your money and care?' But he answers, 'What can we do to prevent it? We constrain them by every means to improve, but all to no purpose.' 'Constrain them, do you? Tell me, Father Abbot, I pray, if you were to set a plant in your garden, and just after, were to shut it up on every side, so that it could in no way extend its branches; and, when, after a year, you should set it free, what sort of a tree would issue thence? Useless, certainly, with crooked and entangled branches. And who would be to blame for this, but you, who so unreasonably confined it? This is just what you do with your boys: they are planted, by oblation, in the garden of the church, that they may increase and bring forth fruit to God. But ye, on all sides, so restrain them with all kinds of terrors, menaces, and blows, that they are not allowed to enjoy the smallest liberty. Therefore, indiscreetly oppressed, they breed, foment, and nourish within themselves, depraved and (like thorns) perplexed thoughts. And they so continue to cherish them, that they obstinately evade all the means which can be administered to correct them. Whence it comes to pass, that, because they perceive in you no love, no affection, no kindness, no sweetness towards them, they have no confidence afterwards of any good in you, but believe all that you do proceeds from hatred and malice against them. By this wretched means, it happens, that as they afterwards increase in age, so hatred, and the suspicion of every evil, increase in them, always prone, and bent to vice. And since they have not been bred in true charity to any one, they are able to look upon no one but with depressed brows and oblique eyes. But, for God's sake, I wish you would tell me, what is the reason that you thus torture them? Are they not men? Are they not of the same nature as yourselves? Would you wish that to be done to you, which you do to them, if, indeed, you had been what they are? But enough. Do you wish to form them to good manners solely by blows and whips? \* \* \* So if you wish your boys to possess ornate manners, it is necessary, that, instead of the depression of blows, you bestow upon them the soothing and comfort of paternal affection and gentleness.' To these things the Abbot said, 'What soothing? What comfort? We labour to constrain them to a grave and steady behaviour.' \* \* \* 'But while the mind is yet fragile in the service of God, it stands in need of tender milk, to wit, the gentleness of others, benignity, pity, cheerful encouragement, charitable support, and much of this kind.' \* \* \* The Abbot, having heard these words, groaning said, 'Truly we have erred from the truth, and the light of discretion has not shone upon us.' And then falling on the earth before his feet, he confessed that he had done wrong, that he was guilty, and requested pardon for the past, and again and again promised amendment for the future.' (P. 57—59.)



The opinion of Roger Ascham next follows; and from the learning and celebrity of that eminent man, it deserves great attention. Ascham formed the idea of writing his principal work, "The Scholemaster," published in 1571, from the following circumstance: In a conversation at which Ascham was present, "Mr. Secretaire" stated that he had "strange news" brought to him, that "divers scholars of Eaton be runne away from the schole for fear of beating." He also took occasion to wish that "a little more discretion were in many schoolmasters in using correction than commonly there is;" adding, that they many times punish rather the weakness of nature than the faults of the scholar, and that they drive persons in future life to hate literature. Mr. Peter, a man severe by nature, replied, that "the rodde onlie was the sword that must keep the schole in obedience." Mr. Wotton, "a man of mild nature, with soft voice and few words," supported the secretary, adding, that "if a rodde carie the fear of a sword, it is no marville if those that be fearfull of nature chose rather to forsake the place than to stand alwayes within the feare of a sworde *in a fonde man's handling.*" Some other persons also gave their opinion; and, among others, one Mr. Haddon, who said that the best school-master of that age was "the greatest beater;" alluding to Nicholas Udal, master of Eton school, whom one Tuper, one of his own scholars, has handed down to posterity in the following doggerel lines:

From Paul's I went,  
To Eton sent,  
To learn straightways  
The Latin phrase;  
When fifty-three  
Stripes given to me  
At once I had,

For faults but small,  
Or none at all;  
It came to pass,  
Thus beat I was;  
See, Udal, see,  
The mercy of thee,  
To me poor lad!

The opinion of Ascham will be seen in the following extract:

"In numerous places of his excellent Schoolmaster, he has severely expressed his disapprobation of flogging. He exhorts masters, 'If the childe misse either in forgetting a word, &c. I would not the master either frown or chide with him, &c. For I know, by good experience, that a childe shall take more profit of two faults, gentlee warned of, than of four things rightlie hitte.' He recommends 'cheerful admo-

nishinge, never leaving behinde juste praise for well-doing.' 'Childe not hastilie, for that shall both dull his witte, and discourage his diligence, but monish him gentelee, &c.' 'Love is fitter than feare, gentlenesse better than beating, to bring up a childe rightlie in learning.' 'Many scholemasters, some as I have seen, moe as I have heard tell, be of so crooked a nature as, when they meete with a harde witted scholar, they rather breake him than bowe him, rather marre him than mend him. For when the scholemaster is angrie with some other matter, then will he sonest faul to beat his scholar.' 'Even the wisest of your great beaters do as oft punish nature, as they do correct faultes.' 'A childe that is still, silent, &c. when he cometh to schole, he lacketh teaching, he lacketh coraging, he lacketh all things; onelie he never lacketh beating, nor any word that may move him to hate learninge, nor any deed that may drive him from learninge, or any other kinde of living. For, in very deede, fond scholemasters, by feare, do beate into them the hatred of learninge.' 'They find feare and bondage in scholes.' He beautifully illustrates the reason why, in their diversions, children are happy and gay, but in school they are generally miserable and languid. In the example of Lady Jane Grey, he admirably proves that 'love doth work more in a childe for virtue and learning, than fear.' " (P. 61, 62.)

Milton's enlightened view of this subject is well known. He was of opinion that if education were rightly managed, masters "would have more ado to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubs, from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture" than they have at present, or at least had in his day, "to hale and drag our choicest and hopefullest wits to that asinine feast of sow thistles and brambles which is commonly set before them." We think, indeed, that Milton was mistaken in supposing he could make the acquirement of Greek and Latin as delightful to our "stocks and stubs" as he intimates in this passage. Some coercion, we fear, will always be necessary to induce the generality of boys to mount that "hill-side," which Milton describes, in a flow of liquid sounds as melodious as the enchantments which he celebrates, as "laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else, so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming."

The witty Dr. South thought that "with some natures," we suppose he means "stocks and stubs," austerity must be used; for which, in his own way, he gives a reason, namely, that in the composition of youth there being a mixture of *man* and *brute*, it is requisite that while the former is *instructed* the latter should be *chastised*. He, however, thinks that to chastise discreetly, and "to the benefit of him who is so unhappy as to need it," requires more judgment than falls to the lot of most schoolmasters; "I mean," he says, "those *Plagosi Or-*

*kill, those executioners, rather than instructors, of youth, persons fitter to lay about them in a coach or cart, or to discipline boys before a Spartan altar, or rather upon it, than to do in a Christian school."* He exhorts those "pedagogical Jehus," those "furious school-drivers," to take the advice of Phœbus to Phaeton; adding, that "stripes and blows are the last and basest remedy, and scarce ever fit to be used but upon such as carry their brains in their backs, and their souls so dull and stupid as to serve for little else but to keep their bodies from putrefaction."

The discipline of English grammar schools till within the last century was extremely severe, and often indiscriminate; and even the brutality of a Busby was more frequently the subject of modified praise than of the indignation which alone it merited. Erasmus gives the following anecdote, which our author quotes, filling up the blanks with the names of Dean Colet, and his two masters of St. Paul's school, Lily and Rytwise. The anecdote is scarcely credible, and least of all as applied to such a man as the celebrated Colet, whose foundation, whatever it might have been in the days of Lily and Rytwise, has in modern times been conspicuous among our public schools for the decorum and moderation of its scholastic punishments. But the anecdote comes to us with the authority of Erasmus, and may therefore be quoted as a painful illustration of the infatuations of some of our old grammar-school masters who seemed to view corporal chastisement as valuable for its own sake, and the want of it, even when wanted for the best possible reason, that it was not deserved, as the sure road to infamy and ruin.

"I knew a Divine, indeed familiarly, of great name, to whose mind, though he had strenuously flogging masters, no cruelty towards scholars was sufficient. He thought that ALONE tended to restrain the wantonness of youth. In his indulgences towards his flock, the comedy was never finished with a joyful catastrophe: for, after they had eaten, one or another was dragged forward to be cut with rods; and, in the mean time, he exercised his cruelty even towards the innocent, to inure them to blows. I myself was once next to him, when, after dinner, according to his custom, he called to him a boy of about, I think, ten years old. He had very lately come to that school from his mother. He prefaced, by saying, 'that his mother was a woman of remarkable piety; that the boy was strongly recommended to him by her.' By and by, that he might have occasion of beating, he began to charge him with I know not what rudeness, though there was nothing like it in the boy's behaviour; and nodded to him, to whom he had committed the government of the College, (who, from his business, was called *Satelles*) that he should beat him. He immediately flogged the afflicted boy, as if he had committed sacrilege. The Divine cried out, again and again,

'Enough! enough!' but the executioner, deaf with fervour, finished not his cruelty till the boy was almost fainting. By and by, the Divine, turning to us, said, 'He hath done nothing wrong; but he must be humbled:' for that was the word he used. Who ever brought up a slave in that manner, nay, who an ass?—Erasmus de Puer. Inst." (P. 69.)

In modern times great severity of school punishment has fallen into disrepute, and is comparatively rare. But even where the change of times has effected an improvement in the degree of its application, the *principle* itself often continues unexploded, and is, perhaps, carried into effect as far as circumstances will allow. Among modern writers, Dr. Barrow of Soho school, in his celebrated work on Education, is a warm champion for "legitimate" flogging. He, however, is not insensible to some of its ill effects, and therefore would have it performed in a separate apartment, as, among other reasons, "more conducive to decorum." The "class-fellows of the offender," or the monitors are to be present; and their attendance, he says, "*should always be represented as an office of honour!*" Why not, on the same principle, require the attendance of a culprit's wife and children, as is often done in despotic countries, to witness his execution, and to listen to his groans? Among boys, *if well managed*, there is almost always a degree of public spirit and reverence for the *lex loci*, which will establish the general good opinion in favour of the master, where he acts firmly, moderately, and with good temper; it is generally when piqued into party-spirit that they think their honour concerned to take part with an offender against the common discipline. In the generality of cases the decision of a jury of either men or boys may be safely trusted, provided nothing has been done to awaken feelings in opposition to that sense of honour and justice to which they would otherwise bow.

Essay V. is entitled "Modern Correction." There are in it some excellent passages from the writings of that great friend and valuable benefactor of men and children, Dr. Bell, which we recommend to the consideration of the advocates for legitimate whipping. Dr. Bell has shown that the severity used in so many of our schools is wholly unnecessary; and though those who have been long habituated to the old system may see fit to continue it, and to flog as they were flogged, we think that no younger man is justified in embarking in the work of education without having fully made himself master of the views of Dr. Bell, and other writers of the same class, so far at least as to give their system a fair trial before he resorts to the "*ultima ratio*" of inflicting physical pain. We are not

very far from agreeing with Mr. Bamford, that every stroke is in some measure derogatory to the dignity of the master, contrary to the nature of the child, and destructive of their mutual happiness and affection. We are aware that "happiness and affection" are not terms often heard of in the scholastic vocabulary; but without them the best part of education is neglected. If a child is to be brought up as a Christian, a probationer for eternity, no system that is not founded on something more than a mere desire to make him, willing or unwilling, a scholar,—no system that is deficient in the *axi* of education, is at all calculated to answer its professed purposes.

Essay VI. entitled "Remarks on Flogging," is replete with useful suggestions and illustrative quotations, woven together in our author's somewhat desultory manner. He puts the following cases:

"Suppose the boy is of a sullen disposition, do strokes mend it? Do they make him more open, docile, and candid? Is he lively? Will they not necessarily break his liveliness? Cannot his sprightliness, his gaiety, be directed so as to be useful? Is he not persevering and exact in his games, because their variety and simplicity delight him? Can no similar pleasure be excited and enjoyed in school? What inherent virtue communicates happiness in the one, which may not be experienced in the other? If the boy be of a generous and noble spirit, how must he be galled and chagrined, by being punished for not doing what, perhaps, 'it was impossible for him to do?' What ideas can those boys entertain of their masters' justice, what dependence on their affection? What regard for their favour and honour, when they find them thus exercising an authority, which, if exercised at all, should be exercised on the guilty and impenitent alone? No master can ever expect a boy to love him, when he chastises him either carelessly or angrily. 'It depresses and alienates the minds of children to punish them for crimes they have not really committed, or even to be severe with them for slight offences. They know exactly, and better than any one, what they deserve, and seldom deserve more than what they fear; when they are chastised, they know if it is within or beyond reason; and immoderate punishments have a worse effect on them than a total impunity.' Bruyere." (P. 91, 92.)

Mr. Bamford asks in his preface what peculiar deficiency in the intellect of youth the application of bodily pain necessarily supplies. This *ratio ad absurdum* is not exactly to the point. It is not intellect, but *application* that is intended to be supplied by the dread, or the infliction, of severity. Now the great object of our author should be, and indeed is, to show, what Dr. Bell and many others have proved indisputably both by argument and fact, that *application* may be ensured by other methods. The following passage from the present Essay contains many useful hints on this subject.

"If boys don't, or as the phrase is, if they won't mind their lessons, what is to be done? Why to be sure make them. But here we differ. I think other means more than equally effectual may be used instead of personal violence. You say flog them. But why not flog them to play? Why don't you flog them to do, what is far more tedious and difficult, yet what we see them daily doing with alacrity and cheerfulness? O, you reply, because they are fond of play! Why? Are there no means of inducing them to love the gentle exercise of the mind? Is there no happy method of instruction? Are ingenuous dispositions so hard, so insensible, that no impressions can be effected? Is there in the youthful breast, no spark of energy, no desire to excel, no consciousness of improvement? Yes; but this cannot be always used: you cannot be always coaxing the boys to their duty. Certainly not. Manage them well without beating; and you will neither have occasion, nor desire to beat. Disuse the art of management, and resort to flogging, and its daily application will be necessary. But he won't mind his book! What, when there is no check upon his conduct, no exaction of performance, no attachment to learning, except what a sense of duty and distant advantage may suggest, can we blame, and severely beat a boy, because he indulges his natural vivacity, and diverts his mind from his lessons? If left to himself, in doing any thing, in which he feels no interest, is it surprising that his vigour should relax or his precision fail? It is in the economy of a school, as in all large institutions, that inspection and unceasing watchfulness, and rating of abilities, are necessary to preserve order, and secure the objects of their establishments. If boys are not strictly superintended, can we wonder that they amuse themselves by wandering from restraint? Are we astonished, that when we do not teach them to value their time, they do not feel the importance of spending every moment usefully? If by our negligence we have encouraged habits of indolence and inattention, are we not rather to blame? As 'Socrates said to one, who beat his servant for being gluttonous, covetous, and idle, did you at any time consider, whether you deserve not more to be beaten yourself?' Can we, by a momentary act of extreme punishment, correct what has been the result of time, and gradual indulgence? 'At quo tandem ore, dic quæso, bellua, tu flagris a pueris officium discipuli requiris, cum tu doctoris officium non præstes?' It surely can be no satisfaction to our own minds, that we have, after the habit was formed, or the offence committed, bestowed as much, or more correction, than would at the beginning have prevented it. Yet such is the frequent excuse. I have done all I could. The boy has been negligent. I have punished him. What could I do more? I could not beat him before he did wrong. This is their salvo. 'Nec refert si plagis non emendetur: Modo præceptores et parentes suum fecerint officium.'—Nor does it matter, if the boy is no better for the strokes; provided masters and parents have done their duty, by using the rod.

"But what if the lad be obstinate, would you not beat him? No; most likely I should not. I have seen masters, indeed, endeavour by

main force to compel a lad to submit; but I seldom, if ever, knew an obstinate boy cured by whipping. He may, after much cruelty and violence of the master, reluctantly yield; but if he discern that the master is in the least affected by his behaviour, no pains, no sufferings, can overcome him. Every boy knows how far he may act with impunity. A weak, a violent, or a passionate master, is continually troubled by the wiles of boys, whom he has punished without judgment and discretion. How soon do boys know the temper, the ingenuity, the wariness, the learning of their instructor! His conduct, in all its parts, is subject to the acute and prying observations of those, who penetrating into trifles, discern what wiser heads overlook. How do you like your new master, said I to a boy of twelve years old? 'O, we have not tried him yet.' 'It is the only drift of children,' says Bruyere, 'to find out the master's blind-side, and that of any to whom they must be subject; having found it, they build on it, and usurp over them an ascendancy, which they never part with; for what deprived their masters of their superiority will obstruct the recovery of it.' Take not then from children the power of discrimination; and be assured that when a boy is obstinate it is for some reason. Examine your conduct towards him, and his previous behaviour. He has some object in view. Either he perceives you are ill natured or passionate? He cares not to vex you. Or you are indolent? He wishes to be idle with impunity. Or you are weak? He wishes to assume authority. Or you are unjust? He will not submit. An obstinate boy is generally either very clever, or very ignorant; either wilfully impudent, or stupidly perverse. Both may be managed without beating." (P. 93—96.)

Implicit obedience should be the first rule of a school: Children should feel that a preceptor is mild and indulgent, but that he never relaxes in exacting the obedience due to his authority. If children find that the rules to which they are subjected are reasonable and equitable, yet at the same time inflexible, they will bend to them, as a Mohammedan yields to destiny, almost without knowing wherefore. Discipline being thus secured, kindness, forbearance, and affection, may be exercised without danger of weakening the foundations of authority, and to the mutual happiness of both master and scholar. And surely to a gentleman of education and benevolent principles such a mode of administering the affairs of an academy must be far more desirable than a constant scene of irritation, reproach, and warfare. We do not wonder, in the manner in which schools are too often conducted, that instructors dislike their avocation, are anxious to enjoy as many intervals of relaxation as possible, and are much disposed to seize the first opportunity of retiring from the profession altogether. But if a master would really give himself to his pupils, and make it his constant object, and his pleasure, to win their affections; and to form their characters upon the principles of true

Christian benevolence, we can conceive that even this much despised and generally avoided office would have attractions quite sufficient to counterbalance its inconveniences.

The seventh Essay, on "Some of the Causes of Corporal Punishment," traces up this alleged "necessary evil," chiefly to a defective system in the management of children, both as respects their learning and their conduct. A passage or two will put our readers in possession of Mr. Bamford's ideas on this subject.

"As long as the present arrangement of learning is continued in schools, so long will there be this fictitious necessity for using forcible means. The minds of children must be reduced to tasks alike foreign to their disposition, and prejudicial to the gentle exercise and gradual expansion of their capacity. 'Simplification and adaptation to the capacity of the scholar,' as Dr. Bell says, 'is all that is wanting.' Instead of using all the means possible for accelerating progress, and rendering the lessons attainable, by presenting every facility and excitement, preserving a vigilant and never-ceasing superintendence, and exacting constant employment, masters wait till some glaring fault is committed, and then exercise the extreme act of that authority, which should have been all along, at every step, in a more affectionate manner, and in a different way, restraining irregularities, and securing discipline. There is, as I before said, no connecting medium between the learner and the master—no superintendence of behaviour, or rule of honour, which instantly distributes to every action as it arises, its proper meed of praise, or its proper reprobation. Minor offences are disregarded, or outrageously revenged; greater are not prevented; but when committed are punished. So that on this account it appears necessary that force should be used to compel obedience, and command diligence.

"In watching the conduct of the boys, no eye is employed but the master's. Is it not impossible that one man can personally teach, and individually inspect, even 50 or 30 children, without extraordinary exertion? He sits at his desk, (*grege multo septus*) and hears each child read—What are the others doing? He has appointed no representatives to preserve order, or forward instruction, and the consequence is, the greater number are talking and idling away their time: others are lounging or sleeping: some few conning their lessons. The master looks around; enraged at their negligence, he probably begins with a large rod or cane, at one end of the desk, and lays on indiscriminately the whole length. He then returns in scowling majesty, and resumes his teaching, till he is again roused; never presuming to hope, nor daring to think, '*dedi satis superque pœnarum*'—*I have given punishments enough, and more than enough.*" (P. 118; 119.)

"A number of faults proceed from a want of a regular mode of dividing the time in schools, and enacting what is to be done within that time. If this were done, it would prevent much idleness and



disorder, secure a progressive improvement, give an interest to the studies, and instil such habits of industry, value for time, and regularity of acting, as would probably never be forgotten. But while the children are only called upon 2, 3, or 4 times a day, at uncertain intervals, without any exaction, or inspection, and while all laudable excitements are with-held, can we wonder, if even the best of masters find it necessary to use violence? Is it probable that children should of themselves feel the immense importance of giving their whole mind to useful information? (P. 123, 124.)

Mr. Bamford corroborates his opinions with the following passage from Chapman on Education.

“As masters can attend only to one of the classes at once, the other classes, and especially the younger boys, will be tempted to prattle, and to trifle away their time; their noise, too, will be very disturbing to the elder and more studious scholars, and particularly to those who are then giving an account of their lessons. Thus the attention of the teacher being diverted from the class which he is examining, he will find himself under the disagreeable necessity of using compulsive methods to silence this noise, and to check this turn for dissipation and disorder. Hence his spirits will be wasted by degrees, and his temper soured. Nor is the situation of his pupils less to be lamented. Tempted to be idle for want of proper assistance, and dispirited by the rebukes and the chastisement, which they receive or dread from time to time, they will be in danger of hardening themselves against a sense of shame, and of contracting an aversion to their book, as well as to their teacher.” 57-8. (P. 120, 121.)

Essay VIII. “On the Equitable Distribution of Punishment in Schools,” presents the following graphic pictures, which may possibly have more effect on those concerned than the most cogent arguments.

“The just distribution of punishment is of the greatest consequence in the correction of children. In some extraordinary cases of ill conduct, one might, probably, be led to pardon the master's irritation; and it would be very difficult to limit the number of strokes. But, unfortunately, those who are in the habit of constantly holding a cane or ruler in the hand, revert to it almost mechanically on the slightest occasions. It is wonderful to observe how prone they are to strike. If a boy do not give an immediate answer; if, when called, he come slower than is agreeable to the expectations and wishes of the master; if he make a blot in his copy-book, or mistake in his spelling, or stammer in his reading; if he can be caught looking off his book, smiling, or committing any *other trifling fault*; he is surprised by a tremendous blow, perhaps, on his head with a cane, or on his ears with the hand. Then if, on being taken by surprise, he burst into loud lamentations, the blow is repeated with greater vehemence, and the boy is actually beaten into silence. If, on the other hand, he has been accustomed to such salutations, and should receive the blow without many signs of emotion, it is then repeated on the score of

obstinacy, 'and of not minding whatever I say or do.' Masters, I have no doubt, would not dispassionately countenance any inconsistent scheme of punishment. They would wish to graduate the correction according to the scale of offence. But I know, by experience, when a child provokes you, or rather when you allow your passion to be raised, that, without thought, resort is instantly made to the weapon to give vent to the feelings. The criminality of the child is not balanced; he is punished, not according to what he has done, but according to the rage he has excited in our breasts. Some masters, indeed, who profess to be extremely moderate, lay down certain rules for their direction; but by attending, on all occasions, to those rules, no good end of punishment is obtained. For instance, for every blot in the copy-book is assigned one slap or cut on the hand with a cane or ruler, &c.; mis-spelling, one slap; talking, two slaps; second time, three, &c.; six slaps for fighting; nine for lying; twelve for truant-playing. Thus, when a boy has committed any of those errors and offences, he is called up; a few angry and reproachful questions are put to him, he receives his allowance, and the master has done his duty: and very angry he would be, if he were told such a mode was not calculated to prevent, amend, and deter. Other masters, without inquiry, or examination, use the stick for the most trifling aberrations. (P. 139, 140.)

It would certainly be ill judged clemency, by slight punishment, to encourage the audacity of youths. But, in our schools, whatever ill effects may have proceeded from disinclination to punish, it cannot be denied, that many dispositions have been ruined, by excess of hasty striking. Discipline and order are not procured by the cane. I have known some large schools, which were a disgrace to any nation, nurseries of disorderly habits, impudence, and other vices; and yet the masters never had their canes out of their hands, and scarcely ever spent five minutes without using them. They traversed the school-room, first thumping one boy, and then another. Here was a shriek of pain! Here a vain appeal to justice! Here a suppliant struck in the act of kneeling! Here a cry for maternal help! Here a mock shout of woe! Here the blow was received with composure; and, though the master's arm acquired force by application, and the whole school was listening to the sound of the instrument, no cry, no complaint was heard! This wanton and indiscriminate correction deprives the master of all authority. He loses his power by abusing it. If blows could avail, surely there were plenty here! Let masters then consider, before the hand is raised, what the offence is, and the circumstances which accompany its commission, and how far the cane is calculated to procure the object they have in view. The great art of commanding children is, in making them aware; that you understand and know every thing they do or design." (P. 142, 143.)

We have no room for extracts from the ninth Essay, "On Magisterial Familiarity;" or the concluding one, in which the author presses the adoption of the *leading principles*, not necessarily the details, of the Madras system as a remedy for most

of the inconveniences enumerated in his work. We are always glad to witness the extension of principles of justice, humanity, and sound wisdom, come they from where they may, from Madras, Nova Zembla, or Nootka Sound. It is much to the honour of this nation that the "New System" of Education which supersedes the necessity of corporal punishment altogether, or reduces it to its minimum, which minimum may easily be made an evanescent quantity, has so widely spread throughout this island, and from us to various parts of the world. Its effect *must*, we are convinced, ultimately be to banish all instruments of torture from our schools, public and private. The admirers of the old plan may hold out resolutely for a time; but as they die off, prejudice will subside, and human beings will begin to be governed by those higher principles which they hold in common with celestial intelligences, rather than by a disgraceful appeal to the mere brute feelings of animal nature.

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ART. XVI.—*The Life of the Rev. Thomas Scott, Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks.* By John Scott, A. M. Vicar of North Ferriby, and Minister of St. Mary's, Hull, 2d Edit. 8vo. pp. 682. Seeley. London, 1822.

THE account given us, in the above publication, of the late Reverend Thomas Scott, of Aston Sandford, is too important and interesting to bear to be kept back from our readers by any introductory observations of our own. To those who delight in the contemplation of a man without guile, and full of religious wisdom, the narrative will supply its own comment. To those who have no sympathy with these honourable specimens of our nature, Mr. Scott's life will be quite unintelligible, and any labour employed in preliminary remarks would be quite nugatory. If the facts are made first to speak for themselves, they may perhaps prevail with the reader to enter with us afterwards a little into the character which they place before us.

The first chapter of this work comprises "the first sixteen years of Mr. Scott's life," the writer's plan being to take for the basis of his work a Memoir of his Father's Life, written by himself, and brought down to the year 1812, from which period he pursues it without such assistance, as nearly as possible upon the same plan. Mr. Scott was born at Braytost, in Lancashire, on the 16th of February, 1747. His father was a

greater in humble circumstances, with a family of thirteen children, of whom Mr. Scott was the tenth. He received his early education at the endowed school of Scorton, in Yorkshire (at which place the celebrated Henry Jenkins, who lived 169 years, lies buried). The whole cost of his education was only 17*l.* a year; but he properly remarks "the effect of such long separations from near relations is far from favourable to the forming of the moral and social character," of which he then gives several instances in his own case, which show him to have passed his youthful days "without the fear of God before his eyes." In 1762, he left school for an apprenticeship at Alford, with a medical man, who was little better than an infidel, and whom he soon quitted under circumstances which, however, reflected no credit on himself, notwithstanding which, he refers his first impressions in religion to an admonition which even this irreligious master gave him, when on one occasion he reminded him that his misconduct was not only offensive to himself, but "wicked in the sight of God." On this circumstance Mr. Scott, junior, remarks:—

"How far off from himself does Almighty God often find even his most chosen instruments of good, when he first begins to form them for his service! And by what remarkable, what apparently trivial and most unexpected means does he frequently work to reclaim them from their wanderings! Who would have expected an ungodly, and even infidel man, to use such words in remonstrating with an undutiful apprentice? and much more, who could ever have anticipated the effects that were to follow from them when so used?"

It is with this period that Mr. Scott's own account of himself in his "Force of Truth," commences, as follows:—

"About my sixteenth year I began to see that I was a sinner. I was, indeed, a leper in every part, there being 'no health in me;' but, out of many external indications of inward depravity, conscience discovered and reproached me with one especially; and I was, for the first time, disquieted with apprehensions of the wrath of an offended God. My attendance at the Lord's table was expected about the same time; and though I was very ignorant of the meaning and end of that sacred ordinance, yet this circumstance, uniting with the accusations of my conscience, brought an awe upon my spirits, and interrupted my before undisturbed course of sin. Being, however, an utter stranger to the depravity and helplessness of fallen nature, I had no doubt that I could amend my life whenever I pleased. Previously therefore to communicating, I set about an unwilling reformation; and, procuring a form of prayer, I attempted to pay my secret addresses to the Majesty of heaven. Having in this manner silenced my conscience, I partook of the ordinance. I held my resolutions also, and continued my devotions, such as they were, for a short time: but they were a weariness and a task to me, and temptations

soon returning I relapsed, so that my prayer-book was thrown aside, and no more thought of, till my conscience was alarmed by the next warning given for the celebration of the Lord's supper. Then the same ground was gone over again, and with the same issue. My goodness was like the morning dew that passeth away. With little variation this was my course of life for nine years; but, in that time, I had such experience of my own weakness, and of the superior force of temptation, that I secretly concluded reformation in my case to be impracticable."

Mr. Scott's connexion with the medical profession being thus dissolved, he was actively employed under his father in the most laborious parts of his own business, and frequent illness was the consequence.

"I had now (says he) many serious thoughts of God, and of eternity, and every illness produced a sort of paroxysm of religion, in which having prayed for pardon, in an earnest but ignorant manner, I felt satisfied that I should be happy if I died; though, as soon as I was restored to health, all my religion vanished as the morning cloud."

Which passage is thus further illustrated from the "Force of Truth:"—

"Being of a reflecting turn, and much alone, aware of the uncertainty of life, I was disquieted with continual apprehensions that the more convenient season for repentance, to which I looked forward, would never arrive, especially as through an unconfirmed state of health I had many warnings, and near prospects of death and eternity. For a long time I entertained no doubt that impenitent sinners would be miserable for ever in hell; and, at some seasons such amazing reflections upon this awful subject forced themselves into my mind, that I was overpowered by them, and my fears became intolerable. At such times my extemporary cries for mercy were so earnest and persevering, that I was scarcely able to give over; though, at others, I lived without prayer of any sort; yet, in my darkest hours, though my conscience was awakened to discover more and more sinfulness, there remained a hope that I should one day repent and turn to God, without which I should probably have given way to temptations which frequently assailed me, to put an end to my own life, in proud discontent with my lot in this world, and in mad despair about another."

The second chapter embraces the period "from his apprenticeship to his ordination." After his return from Alford he became a mere drudge to his father, but even then found intervals of study, for which he had few other helps than some torn Latin books, and a Greek grammar. In 1772, a circumstance of disappointment determined him to apply for ordination. On obtaining introduction to the archdeacon, Dr. Gordon (the bishop's examining chaplain), he kindly entered into his situation and circumstances, and undertook to mention his case

to the bishop, Dr. Green, who on his first application for orders declined to ordain him, but encouraged him to apply on a future occasion. After obtaining, with much difficulty, his father's consent (which was amongst other things required by the bishop) he received Deacon's orders in 1772, and Priest's in 1773. Mr. Scott was, however, at this time far from that state of mind and heart which he afterwards deemed essential to so important a charge. We shall leave him to give his own account of it.

"The Force of Truth," he observes, "sufficiently explains the state of my heart and my conduct, as it must have appeared in the sight of God, in this most solemn concern of my ordination; and it suffices here to say, that, considered in all respects, I deliberately judge this whole transaction to have been the most atrocious wickedness of my life. But I did not at the time, in any degree, regard it in this light; nor did I, till long after, feel any remorse of conscience for my prevaricating, if not directly lying, subscriptions and declarations, and all the evil of my motives and actions in the whole concern. Yet a sermon preached by a young man, who was ordained priest at the time, on the office and duty of a minister, attracted my attention; met my approbation; and I think, on reflection, was of some use to me. I feel assured that good sermons on such occasions, concerning the ministerial office and duty, especially if preached by seniors, would produce very important effects on young men, too often thoughtlessly assuming a sacred character, without having ever been seriously admonished of their duty and responsibility."

Some passages from the *Force of Truth* may here again be advantageously noticed.

"At this period," the author says, referring to the time when he lived at home with his father, subsequently to his apprenticeship, "though I was the slave of sin, yet, my conscience not being pacified, and my principles not greatly corrupted, there seemed some hope concerning me: but at length Satan took a very effectual method of silencing my convictions, that I might sleep securely in my sins; and justly was I given over to a strong delusion to believe a lie, when I held the truth that I did know in unrighteousness. I met with a Scottish comment on the Scriptures, and greedily drank the poison, because it quieted my fears, and flattered my pride. The whole system coincided exactly with my inclinations, and the state of my mind. In reading this exposition, sin seemed to lose its native ugliness, and to appear a very small and tolerable evil; man's imperfect obedience seemed to shine with an excellency almost divine; and God appeared so entirely and necessarily merciful, that he could not make any of his creatures miserable, without contradicting his natural propensity. These things influenced my mind so powerfully, that I was enabled to consider myself, notwithstanding a few little blemishes, as upon the whole a very worthy being. At the same time, the mysteries of the gospel being explained away, or brought down to the

level of man's comprehension, by ascending to such proud and corrupt, though specious reasonings, I was, in my own opinion, in point of understanding and discernment, exalted to a superiority above the generality of mankind; and I pleased myself in looking down with contempt upon such as were weak enough to believe the orthodox doctrines. Thus I generally soothed my conscience; and, if at any time I was uneasy at the apprehension that I did not thoroughly deserve eternal happiness, and was not entirely fit for heaven, the book afforded me a soft pillow on which to lull myself to sleep. It argued, and I then thought proved, that there were no eternal torments; and it insinuated that there were no torments except for notorious sinners; and that such as should just fall short of heaven, would sink into their original nothing. With this welcome scheme I silenced all my fears.

"In this awful state of mind I attempted to obtain admission into holy orders! As far as I understood such controversies, I was nearly a Socinian and Pelagian. While I was preparing for the solemn office, I lived, as before, in known sin, and in utter neglect of prayer; my whole preparation consisting of nothing else, than an attention to those studies which were more immediately requisite for reputably passing through the previous examination.

"Thus, with a heart full of pride and wickedness, my life polluted with many unrepented, unforsaken sins; without one cry for mercy, one prayer for direction or assistance, or for a blessing upon what I was about to do; after having concealed my real sentiments under the mask of general expressions; after having subscribed Articles directly contrary to what I believed; and after having blasphemously declared in the presence of God and of the congregation, in the most solemn manner, sealing it with the Lord's supper, that I judged myself to be 'inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take that office upon me,' not knowing or believing that there was any Holy Ghost, I was ordained.

"I had considerable difficulties to surmount in obtaining admission into the ministry, arising from my peculiar circumstances; which likewise rendered my conduct the more inexcusable: and my views, as far as I can ascertain them, were these three: a desire of a less laborious and more comfortable way of procuring a maintenance than otherwise I had the prospect of; the expectation of more leisure to employ in reading; of which I was inordinately fond; and a proud conceit of my abilities, with a vain-glorious imagination that I should some time distinguish and advance myself in the literary world. These were my ruling motives in taking this bold step: motives as opposite to those which should influence men to enter on the sacred office as pride is opposite to humility, ambition to contentment in a low estate, and a willingness to be the least of all, and the servant of all; as opposite as love of self, of the world, of filthy lucre, and slothful ease, is to the love of God, of souls, and of the laborious work of the ministry. To me, therefore, be the shame of this heinous sin, and to God be all the glory of overruling it for good, I trust, both to me, and to his people, the church which he hath purchased with his own blood."

Upon this part of his father's narrative, Mr. Scott, jun. ob-

deserves, "It cannot fail to be interesting to all who take pleasure in tracing the means by which Providence accomplishes its designs, often rendering the evil passions, or evil conduct, of man subservient to the display of the goodness of God." And further, "Let me earnestly solicit a most serious attention to it, from all those of the clergy who may never yet have taken such solemn views of their own office, and of the temper with which it should be undertaken. Many persons of this class are known to have been brought to a new, and, I must be allowed to call it, a better sense of the subject, by what my father has already laid before the public concerning his own case; and my prayer is, that that case, when thus newly and more fully presented, may be attended with like effects to many more."

The notice of the following incident, minute in itself, but important in its results, closes the second chapter:

"One circumstance, very trivial in itself, was so important in its consequences that I am not willing to pass it over. At the sheep-shearing which followed my disgraceful return from Alford, in 1762, a small ewe lamb, marked with a black spot on the side, in rather a peculiar manner, attracted my notice; and my father, being probably in high good humour on the occasion, gave it me; and, though kept among his sheep, it was branded as mine. Though I was always nearly moneyless, and never possessed a guinea in my life, till I was above twenty years old, I never yielded to the temptation of selling any of the lambs which this ewe brought me; so that by management, in exchanging male lambs for young ewes, notwithstanding the loss of nine of my little flock, in one year by the rot, I possessed sixty-eight sheep, besides lambs, when I attempted to obtain orders. These, after many objections, my father purchased for £68; and this constituted the whole of my fortune. I had not a friend in the world who offered to advance me five pounds in my exigency; and I verily believe, that, if the success or failure of my application had depended upon it, no one would have been found able and willing to advance money sufficient for my expenses. When my father had granted his consent, I had no expectation, and perhaps, after all the vexation which my ill behaviour had caused him, I had no fair reason to expect that he would give any thing further. But, with this £68, I bought needful books; boarded myself for some time at Boston; procured suitable clothes; paid all travelling expenses, and those attending my ordination; and entered on my curacies possessed of twenty guineas; a sum which at that time was indeed to me considerable. On such trivial incidents do the most important events depend. Without this lamb and the sheep, which in this way I acquired, as far as I can see, my whole plan of entering into holy orders must have failed."

The third chapter comprises the time "from his ordination to his marriage," and gives a striking view of the intenseness of his studies under very contracted advantages from books and men at Stoke Goldington and Weston Underwood, of both



which parishes he was curate. His views of the ministerial character and duties were here much elevated by the perusal of Bishop Burnet's Remarks on the Clergy, of which he says :

"I was considerably instructed and impressed by it. I was convinced that my entrance into the ministry had been the result of very wrong motives ; was preceded by a very unsuitable preparation, and accompanied with very improper conduct. Some uneasiness was also excited in my mind concerning my neglect of the important duties of that high calling ; and though I was enslaved by sin, and too much engaged in other studies, and in love with this present world, to relinquish my flattering pursuit of reputation and preferment, and to change the course of my life, studies, and employments, yet, by intervals, I experienced desires and purposes at some future period to devote myself wholly to the work of the ministry in the manner to which he exhorts the clergy."

The next chapter details the important change which now took place in Mr. Scott's views on his changing the curacy of Stoke for that of Ravenstone in 1775. At this place, he says,

"I resided about two years, and it proved, as it were, a Bethel to me. (Gen. xxviii.) Here I read the Scriptures and prayed. Here I sought and, I trust, found, in a considerable measure, the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. I was not indeed brought to say with unwavering voice, as Thomas did of old, ' My Lord, and my God ; ' but I learned to count all but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ. Here first I was made the instrument of bringing several persons earnestly to ask the all-important question, ' What must I do to be saved ? ' and here I learned, in some degree, to give the scriptural answer, ' Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved. ' "

Previously, however, to this happy state of things, Mr. Scott had been much exercised with doubts and scruples relative to the necessary subscription to the articles, in prospect of some preferment which then presented itself. The Athanasian creed was his stumbling block ; and, though he afterwards came fully to discern, and unreservedly to confess, the pride and folly by which he was influenced in rejecting this " form of sound words," the result of his early struggles was, that he positively refused to subscribe, and thus, with an increasing family, deliberately gave up all hopes of advancement in the church. " My scruples (says he) remained insuperable till my view of the whole system of Christianity was entirely changed—my objections to the articles were, as I now see, *groundless* ; much self-sufficiency, undue warmth of temper, and obstinacy, were betrayed in the management of this affair, for which I ought to be humbled. But my adherence to the dictates of my conscience, and holding fast my integrity in such trying circumstances, I never did, and, I trust, never shall repent."

A correspondence with the late Rev. John Newton, which

took place at this time, led to the happiest results in convincing Mr. Scott of the unscriptural nature of his early views of the "holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity—three persons and one God." Of this correspondence his biographer observes, "Letters written in the crisis of such a conflict, which is known to have had such an issue, and laying open the whole soul of the writer, cannot fail to interest any one who takes pleasure in studying the workings of the human mind, and the operations of divine grace upon the heart."

Our limits preclude any further notice of this correspondence than to observe, that it is no small triumph of truth when a laborious student, and an acute reasoner, is brought to confess that human learning and divine wisdom are two distinct things; to submit his pride and prejudices to the humbling doctrines of the gospel of Christ, and to become a faithful preacher of those fundamental verities of the Church of England, which he once disbelieved, and on account of which he had, in the days of his ignorance, refused subscription to her articles and formularies.

We find Mr. Scott, in 1777, occupying the same house at Weston in which the poet Cowper afterwards resided, and receiving, as his patrimony on the death of his father, the humble pittance of 170*l.* It was in this year that Mr. Scott's religious inquiries were brought to a decisive result upon points of doctrine, while, in reference to the fruits of faith, greater seriousness of mind, and a more affectionate concern for the souls committed to his charge, appear to have characterised his conduct. An incident which then occurred with regard to his favourite practice of card-playing, as it determined Mr. Scott to abandon that habit, may not be without its use to others. The first person at Ravenstone to whom he had reason to believe his ministry had been decidedly useful, ventured to tell him that another person professing religion had justified card-playing as a harmless custom by observing, that Mr. Scott played at cards,

"This," says he, "smote me to the heart. I saw that if I played at cards, however soberly and quietly, the people would be encouraged by my example to go further; and if St. Paul would eat no flesh while the world stood rather than cause his weak brother to offend, it would be inexcusable in me to throw such a stumbling-block in the way of my parishioners. I declared my fixed resolution never to play at cards again; and let me observe, that the minister, who would not have his people give into such worldly conformity as he disapproves, must keep at a considerable distance from it himself. If he walk near the brink, others will fall down the precipice. When I first attended seriously to religion, I used sometimes, when I had a journey to perform on the next day, to ride a stage in the evening, after the services of the Sabbath; and I trust my time on horseback was not spent unprofitably.

But I soon found that this furnished an excuse to some of my parishioners for employing a considerable part of the Lord's day in journeys of business or convenience. I need scarcely add, that I immediately abandoned the practice on the same ground on which I resolved never more to play at cards, even before I thought so unfavourably of them as I now do."

Mr. Scott's new vicar objected at first to the length of his sermons, and afterwards to his writing so many new ones; observing, on the first point, that he knew many clergymen who preached 15, 12, and 10 minutes; to which Mr. Scott replied, that he feared they were in jest, but that he was *in earnest*. To the vicar's observation, that, for his own part, he had written, when he was ordained, 55 sermons, which had served him very well ever since, though he had been above 50 years in orders, Mr. Scott remarked, that he hoped he had during that long period grown much wiser, but that he had effectually precluded his people from profiting by his improvement.

Some interesting letters follow in the sixth chapter, illustrative of Mr. Scott's conduct under affliction, and of his anxiety for members of his family at that time in a worldly state of mind. On the loss of a child he observes:

"If I can judge by myself, and my way of thinking before I was a parent, I can fancy you saying, 'There is no such great loss, nor such a mighty resignation in being willing to part with a little infant, that seems well out of the way.' Thus I used to think; but it comes nearer a parent's heart than you can imagine: and it would be no easy matter to me to submit patiently to this loss, were it not that I assuredly believe that, as the Lord knows best what is good for me, so he is engaged by promise to make all work together for my good; and were I not also assured (which too often one cannot be concerning deceased persons,) that he is now a blessed spirit in heaven; from whence, if they in heaven have knowledge of the concerns of those they leave behind, he looks down with a mixture of pity and astonishment to see us so ignorantly, I had almost said enviously, wishing him a sharer of our vain enjoyments, embittered with numberless sorrows, and defiled by continual sins."

The loss of another child of peculiar promise suggests the following remarks:

"I have felt more than ever I felt before of that grief which springs from being bereaved of one much beloved; and my heart bleeds, if I may thus speak, at every remembrance of her. But I do not grieve as one without hope: hope of meeting her in glory, and spending a joyful eternity together. I do not grieve so as to indulge grief or complaining, or think (with Jonah) I do well to be angry, because my darling gourd is withered. God hath done well, and wisely, and graciously; and whilst my heart is pained, my judgment is satisfied. I do not now wish it otherwise. She might have lived in some way or other, to have

filled my soul with bitterness, and to have brought down my grey hairs (if I live to grey hairs) with sorrow to the grave. I do not grieve so as not to rejoice: I rejoice to recollect what I cannot now particularize of her amazing understanding and answers, teachableness and conscientiousness; which makes me not doubt that she was, in a measure, like John the Baptist, taught by the Holy Ghost from her mother's womb; for none could speak and act as she did but by the Holy Ghost: I rejoice to think that I have two children adopted into God's family, taken home to his house, and filled with his love. It is a high honour, and I ought to rejoice in it. Dearly as I love my only remaining babe, and much as I long to keep him, I had rather see him die, as my poor dear little girl did, than live rich and honoured, without he live the life of a true Christian. She has got free from all that I long to be delivered from, and has attained all that I am longing for. I shall go to her, but she shall not return to me. You mention the *supposed* loss of your sweet babes. Whilst I pray God to preserve them to you, and you to them, I cannot but advise you to rejoice in them with trembling, and to be often preparing, in thinking and praying concerning it, for a separation: for we are tenants at will concerning all our comforts. When you call them sweet innocent creatures, I hope you only mean comparatively, and to our apprehensions; not forgetting the words of our catechism, that we are 'born in sin, and the children of wrath.' The youngest needs the blood of Christ to wash away the guilt, and the spirit of Christ to cleanse away the pollution of sin: and they should be taught, as soon as they know any thing, to consider themselves as sinners, and to pray for the pardon of sin, and a new heart and nature, in and through Jesus Christ. This my poor babe did by herself alone, as duly as the morning and evening came."

Mr. Scott is next presented to us as the curate of Olney; before his becoming so, however, he had with very scanty means been enabled to administer to the temporal as well as spiritual necessities of the poor of Ravenstone then suffering from the ravages of the small-pox. After expending more in this service than a poor curate, with a rising family, was perhaps strictly justified in doing, an unexpected supply of money from distant and unknown benefactors calls forth the following remark: "This convinced me that there is no risk in expending money in an urgent case and from good motives, and that a penurious prudence, springing from weak faith, is impolicy as well as sin." Mr. Scott here adopted the plan of a week-day sermon, and observes upon the practice: "I think many pious ministers, esteeming it hardly worth while to preach to a few, forget the *ἐνκαιρῶς ἀκαιρῶς* (the 'in season and out of season,') of the apostle, and lose a most important opportunity of 'edifying' their little flock in their most holy faith. They preach the Gospel on the Sunday at large, but they do not attend to our Saviour's words, teaching them (their converts) to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

In the eighth chapter we find Mr. Scott, in his *Letters*, entering a decided protest against the errors of Antinomianism :

"Sure I am," says he, "that religion is in many places wofully verging to Antinomianism, one of the vilest hereasies that ever Satan invented; our natural pride and carnality being both humoured and fed by it, under the plausible pretence of exalting free grace, and debasing human nature. But, whilst Antinomians talk of the grace of the Gospel, they overturn all revealed religion. The whole scheme, which derogates from the honour of the divine law, cherishes the propensity of our corrupt nature to excuse self, extenuate sin, and cast blame upon God; the enmity of loose professors against searching, practical preaching, is full proof of it; and by God's grace I purpose to spend my whole life in bearing testimony against it. In this work we must expect no quarter, either from the world or some kind of professors. But we need wisdom equally with zeal and boldness. If we are faithful, we shall be called self-willed, self-important, obstinate, The clamour we may condemn, but let us watch and pray against the thing itself. They will say, we speak and act in our own spirit; let us beg of God continually that they may have no just reason to say so. They will say we are legal; but let us by preaching Christ, and dwelling clearly and fully on the glorious scheme of free redemption, and its peculiar doctrines, improving them to practical purposes, confute them. They will say that our 'scrupulosity' in practice springs from self-righteousness, and a pharisaical spirit. Let us then carefully avoid extremes; laying too much stress on little things, and censoriousness; rather condemning 'false practices by our conduct. The Arminian is not at all secured from Antinomianism, nor the Calvinist exposed to it by their several tenets; seeing both of them are Antinomian just as far as they are unsanctified, and no further; "because the carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can it be." Perhaps speculating Antinomians abound most among professed Calvinists; but Antinomians, whose sentiments influence their practice, are innumerable among Arminians. All these, in various ways, take occasion from the mercy of God to encourage themselves in wickedness. It would, therefore, be unspeakably better for all parties to examine these subjects with impartiality, meekness, and brotherly love, than reciprocally to censure, despise, and condemn one another. Upon mature deliberation I am convinced that the preaching of the present day is not practical enough, or sufficiently distinguishing between true and false experience. I, therefore, speak more fully than most do of the moral character of the Deity; of the excellency, glory, and loveliness of that character as described in the word of God. From this I deduce the reasonableness and excellency of the holy law of God, which I endeavour fully to open in its extensive requirements. Thence follows man's obligation to love God, both on account of his infinite loveliness, and of our natural relations and obligations to him. Then I demonstrate the evil of sin, as apostacy from this glorious God and King, and transgression of his perfect law. Thence I show the justice of God in the infinite, the eternal punish-

ment of sinners; it being necessary that God should mark his hatred of this hateful thing, magnify his holy law, and show his justice, that he might appear glorious in the eyes of all for ever. Thus I suppose I dig deep to lay the foundation for the Gospel of free grace; the necessity, nature, and glory of the vicarious obedience and sufferings of Emmanuel; the sufficiency of his own sacrifice, and his ability and willingness to save to the uttermost all that come. Thence I show that all who will may come, ought to come, and that all sin atrociously in not coming; that, however, it is in no natural man's heart to come, because each man is proud, selfish, worldly, and carnal; therefore, all are without excuse. But a God of sovereign grace, having mercy on whom he will, according to his own purpose, makes some willing by regeneration. This changes the prevailing bent of the heart, and henceforth the man is not only humbly willing to be justified by faith, and saved by grace, but hates and repents of sin, loves God's law, loves holiness, and leads a holy life, sincerely and progressively, though imperfectly, receiving from Christ daily grace so to do; and that all experience which has not this effect is false. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire."

Mr. Scott quitted Olney in 1785, on the earnest invitation of several persons in London, for the Chapel of the Lock Hospital; a station at that time by no means enviable on account of the parties into which its government was split, and of very inconsiderable emolument. A letter from a lady to his biographer may give some idea of the nature and extent of his Sunday labours at this period.

"At four o'clock in the morning of every alternate Sunday, winter as well as summer, the watchman gave one heavy knock at the door, and Mr. S. and an old maid-servant arose,—for he could not go out without his breakfast. He then set forth to meet a congregation at a church in Lothbury, about three miles and a half off;—I rather think the only church in London attended so early as six o'clock in the morning. I think he had from two to three hundred auditors, and administered the sacrament each time. He used to observe that, if at any time, in his early walk through the streets in the depth of winter, he was tempted to complain, the view of the newsmen equally alert, and for a very different object, changed his repinings into thanksgivings. From the city he returned home, and about ten o'clock assembled his family to prayers: immediately after which, he proceeded to the Chapel, where he performed the whole service, with the administration of the sacrament on the alternate Sundays, when he did not go to Lothbury. His sermons were most ingeniously brought into an exact hour; just about the same time, as I have heard him say, being spent in composing them. I well remember accompanying him to the afternoon church in Bread-street (nearly as far as Lothbury), after his taking his dinner without sitting down. On this occasion I hired a hackney-coach: but he desired me not to speak, as he took that time to prepare his sermon. I have calculated that he could not go much less than fourteen miles in the day, frequently the

whole of it on foot, besides the three services, and at times a fourth sermon at Long-acre Chapel, or elsewhere, on his way home in the evening: and then he concluded the whole with family prayer, and that not a very short one. Considering his bilious and asthmatic habit, this was immense labour! And all this I knew him do very soon after, if not the very next Sunday after, he had broken a rib by falling down the cabin stairs of a Margate Packet: but his heart was in his work; and I never saw a more devoted Christian. Indeed he appeared to me to have hardly a word or a thought out of the precise line of his duty: which made him somewhat formidable to weaker and more sinful beings. His trials, I should think (as you would have me honest with you), were those of temper. Never, I often remarked, was there a petition in his family prayers, for any thing but the pardon of sin, and the suppressing of corruption. His life, and labours, and devotedness, kept him from much knowledge of the world, but the strength of his judgment gave him a rapid insight into passing affairs; and upon the whole I should be inclined to say, he was one of the wisest men I ever knew. You know more than I can do of the nature and habits of his daily life. I can only say that, when fatigued with writing, he would come up stairs, where the Bible was generally open, and his relaxation seemed to be, talking over some text with those whom he found there: and I can truly declare that I never lived in a happier or more united family."

Mr. Scott, jun., in adverting to the haste with which his father's sermons appear to have been composed, observes:—

"No one who heard him would complain of crudeness or want of thought in his discourses: they were rather faulty in being overcharged with matter, and too argumentative for the generality of hearers. Indeed an eminent Chancery lawyer used to say that he heard him for professional improvement, as well as for religious edification; for that he possessed the close argumentative eloquence peculiarly requisite at the bar, and which was found to be so rare an endowment. Nor did the bustle of the streets of London occasion any interruption to his meditations: he would generally rather prepare his sermons walking, than in his study."

The 10th Chapter details at large the commencement and progress of Mr. Scott's laborious commentary on the Bible—a work which would alone transmit his name to posterity. His difficulties were great indeed, and calculated to appal any man of ordinary courage; but, in spite of every obstacle, he lived to see three editions published, and was engaged from 1818, till the commencement of his last illness, in revising another edition now printed in stereotype, and forming, perhaps, the largest work ever submitted to that process.

"It was fully prepared by himself for the press to the end of 2 Timothy iii. 2: and for the remainder he left a copy of the preceding edition, corrected, though less perfectly, to the very end of Revelation; from which the work has been finished, according to his

own final directions, and in concert with his family, under the care of a person who had been his literary assistant in carrying it on, and in whom he placed entire confidence.

"Besides these English editions, amounting to at least twelve thousand copies, I have received," (says Mr. Scott, jun.) "from an American Bookseller, of respectability, the particulars of eight editions printed within the territories of the United States, at Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Hartford, from the year 1808 to 1819, amounting to twenty-five thousand two hundred and fifty copies: besides an edition of the sacred text without notes, but with references, contents of Chapters, and introductions to the several books of scripture.

"The retail price of all the English copies, taking their number as above stated, (which I believe to be short of the truth), would, I find, amount to the sum of £67,600: that of the American copies to £132,300: making together £199,900. Probably no theological work can be pointed out, which produced, by its sale during the author's lifetime, an equal sum."

A sum of this magnitude, considered in connection with the fact so fully established by his biographer, that after the adjustment of every claim, a very inconsiderable portion of it ever found its way into the pocket of the author, who lived and died in comparative poverty, may serve to remind us that the greatest benefactors to the world have not always found their reward below. It is, however, only consistent with their professions that they should have looked for it elsewhere; and if we may judge from Mr. Scott's own correspondence, it seems that this was peculiarly his case.

The conclusion of this Chapter records the second marriage of Mr. Scott, which took place in less than the usual period after the death of his first wife, to whom he was strongly attached. His biographer, however, considers this early change in his father's situation to have been, under his peculiar circumstances, completely capable of vindication.

In 1792 Mr. Scott considered himself called upon to oppose the infidel and revolutionary doctrines then abroad, which he did in three Pamphlets.—"The Scripture Doctrine of Civil Government, and the Duties of Subjects," "The Rights of God"—and—"A Vindication of the Divine Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and their Doctrines, in Answer to Paine's Age of Reason." The first and last of these were repeatedly printed here, and in America. On sending the first to a Dissenting friend, Mr. Scott observes:—

"I think that our Constitution is like a good old clock, which wants cleaning, regulating, and oiling; but that to knock it to pieces, in order to substitute a new French watch in its place, the going of which has not been tried, would be impolitic and even ridiculous;



yet multitudes are bent upon this, and I fear bloodshed will be the consequence. I must also think that many religious and respectable Dissenters have expected too much, in a world of which the devil is styled *the god and prince*; and where protection and toleration seem the utmost that God's children can hope for. Many also, both Dissenters and others, have meddled too much with such matters; and I grieve to see that the prejudice, which this has infused into the mind of religious people in the Church, is likely to widen our unhappy divisions; for they will not make proper discriminations."

Again: "The way for the people to reform the government obviously is, by choosing, without any recompence, the most honest men they can find for members of parliament; but if the senator's votes are bought by ministers, the elector's votes are bought by senators, not only in the rotten boroughs, but in capital cities and counties; and almost every voter, like Esau, sells his birthright, and then is angry that he has it not. If we could see that the counties and large cities and towns made an honest use of their privilege, and that bribery was the effect of inadequate representation, I should then be of opinion that a reform would do good; at present, I fear it would make bad worse, at least no better: for who almost is there that does not vote from interest rather than from judgment."

"I am rather a favourer of a limited monarchy, but would not be severe on a merely speculative republican; though I think silence in that case, is a duty, while the providence of God continues us under a monarchy; and I can find nothing in history that should render any but the ambitious warrior, or the avaricious merchant, fond of a republic. I am sure that republican Greece, Rome, and Carthage, shed human blood, and multiplied crimes, to increase wealth or extend conquest, even as much as absolute monarchs: and their intestine oppressions and divisions were equally calamitous."

Again:—"As to the weight of taxes it is so great, that most of us feel and lament it: yet freedom from war in our borders, from bloody persecution, from famine, and pestilence, should render us patient and thankful."

Speaking of Bishop Watson's Answer to Paine, Mr. Scott observes:—

"I have not treated him so genteelly as the Bishop of Landaff has, who, though he said many good things, seems to give up the point as to the entire inspiration of Scripture, and pretends not to answer objections to the doctrines."

Of his Essays on the "Most important Subjects in Religion," Mr. Scott saw eight or nine editions published in England, besides those in America. This work, which was always a favourite both with its author and the public, was first published in numbers, of which Mr. S. computed that he had printed about one hundred and twenty thousand for sale and gratuitous distribution.

One important instance of the usefulness of this work in the case of a literary and philosophic character, who was by its means reclaimed from sceptical principles, and established in the practical and effectual faith of the Gospel, has, since the author's death, been announed to the world in the brief memoir of Dr. Bateman the physician, which is, however, only one among many proofs of the happy effect of his writings.

Mr. Scott is next recorded as taking a principal share in the formation of "the Church Missionary Society to Africa and the East," in 1800, in conjunction with the Rev. Messrs. Venn and Goode, and that distinguished layman Mr. Henry Thornton—a Society which, from the humblest and least promising origin, has now attained an importance which could not have been anticipated, even by its warmest friends, in the infancy of its existence.

Some voyages which Mr. Scott made between London and Margate for the benefit of his health in 1796, introduce him to the reader in a new situation.

"His conduct," says his biographer, "amid the motley groupe on board of these vessels, was strikingly characteristic, and produced a variety of interesting or amusing occurrences, of which I can furnish but a slight account. He determined, if possible, to make the scene, on which he was entering, an occasion of usefulness. Instead, therefore, of retiring within himself, in a sort of dignified silence, as a clergyman might feel inclined to do under such circumstances, he sought conversation. He observed and inquired into all that passed; made himself acquainted with the parts of the vessel, and the process of managing it, the course steered, and the various objects to be noticed. He held himself ready to take advantage of all that occurred. He rebuked immorality, and encountered scepticism and infidelity (then as at present frequently avowed), wherever they presented themselves. Thus he aimed to gain attention, and to find an opening for the instruction which he desired to convey. In general he succeeded. Frequently he entered into argument against the corrupt principles of the day, both religious and political; on which occasions, by uniting, as he could readily do, much vivacity, with his accustomed force, and always maintaining good temper, (for he determined that nothing should affront him), he generally drew a company around him, carried conviction to many by-standers, and often silenced his opponents. The discussion commonly terminated in a distribution of tracts, chiefly his own publications, which he always carried with him in travelling, for the purpose. His maxim was, that, if his books sold, he could afford such a dispersion; if they did not, he was only giving away waste paper. It may be added, that his conduct on board gained him much esteem among the sailors, who always welcomed him, and described him as the 'gentleman whom nothing could make angry.'

"Though, however, he would never be offended himself, even by scurrility and abuse, yet he sometimes deeply offended others, by

reproving their impiety, or exposing their attempts to defend what was contrary to good morals. On other occasions, the result was very different; and once, at least, at the request of the company, he expounded and prayed with them in the cabin, while the vessel lay at anchor.

"Few of us, I presume," says his son, "would feel ourselves competent to adopt such a line of conduct, in a similar situation: but let us not therefore censure what is above our reach. In one who could worthily sustain this part, and was induced to do so by zeal for God, and unfeigned love for the souls of men, I must pronounce it highly honourable. We may venture to say also that it is borne out by the highest examples. What other than this was the mode of teaching employed by the Prince of the philosophers, by one of the chief of the apostles, and by Him who was greater, beyond comparison, than all sages, and even than all inspired apostles?"

There appears occasionally much valuable matter in the correspondence by which various periods of Mr. Scott's life are illustrated by his biographer; and the following advice to that individual, when at college, may not be without its use to others.

"You have hitherto been kept greatly out of the way of worldly associates, and assure yourself you have lost nothing by it; for the more they are known, the clearer must be the conviction to every reflecting mind, that they can be of no advantage to a man in any sense, without a tenfold greater disadvantage." Endeavour, therefore, to cultivate a courteous, kind, and cheerful disposition and behaviour, towards all sorts of persons; avoiding moroseness, affectation, and singularity, in things indifferent; but admit no one to your familiarity, who does not seem to you, and to more experienced judges, to have the fear and love of God in his heart. Conciliate by an amiable deportment such as are strangers to the ways of religion, in order to allure them up to your ground; but take not a single step down upon their ground; lest instead of your drawing them out of the mire, they draw you in. If you act consistently and prudently, and by a moderate attention to your studies, in subserviency to the one thing needful; and to future usefulness, secure a reputable standing in the college; the careless or vicious may affect to despise you, but in their hearts they will respect you. I say a *moderate* application; for I apprehend that very great exertions are not only injurious to the health and spirits; tend to form a man to habits that are unpleasant, or to a kind of oddity; and exceedingly interfere with the growth of grace and every holy affection in the soul; but they counteract their own end; blunt and overstretch the mental powers; and after surprising progress for a time, incapacitate a person for making any progress at all. Ambition of distinction, more than love of knowledge, is the spur to this too eager course, but neither one nor the other should be your *primum mobile*; but a desire to acquire that competency of useful knowledge, which may fit you for glorifying God, and serving your generation. This will also teach you to take care of your health and spirits; to accustom yourself to corporal as well as mental exertion (the want of which is severely felt by most of our ministers who are academical

men); to cultivate that kind of behaviour, which may render you as acceptable as truth and conscientiousness will let a man be, in this world, the want of which is one of my principal disadvantages; and so to travel on at a sober rate, without over-pushing the horse at the beginning of the journey. Excessive eagerness in any particular study has also this disadvantage; that it is apt to render a man rather *learned* than *wise*, or *even knowing*; as over-eating renders a man *fully* but does not nourish him. They who read too much do not *digest*; they learn what others say, but they do not make it their own by reflection, or *distinguish between the precious and the vile*. But moderate study, with frequent pauses for reflection, useful conversation and exercise, adds more to real knowledge, and leaves time to apply it to practical uses. You certainly should not waste time; but stinting yourself to so much of this or the other every day, may cramp you; render your mind uncomfortable, and unfit you for the exercises of religion, without which nothing else will really prosper. I would advise you to write your own thoughts on subjects frequently, and try to get the habit of doing it in Latin: it may be of use to you some time, beyond what you now perceive. But whatever you read or write, compare all with the Bible: study divinity as a Christian, and as one intended to be a minister; and other things only in subordination to it; for this is your *general*, and your *particular* calling too."

Again:—"I think you are very right in cultivating general knowledge. I trust, however, you will not neglect the peculiar studies of the place, so as not to appear with credit on proper occasions. The object in all your studies should be, neither celebrity, advantage, nor knowledge, for its own sake; but furniture to enable you to serve God and your generation; and as much credit as may give weight to your endeavours of that kind. Any friend that has cultivated general knowledge successfully, will give you hints on the best method of doing it; and *gleaning* seems to me an important matter. Learn from every body: be selfish in this respect: get all you can, not only from superior men, but from the most inferior. But be sure you compare all your real or supposed knowledge with the word of God. If real, it will elucidate, and be elucidated by it; if not, it will be detected and exposed by the touchstone. At some time or other, I would advise you to study well the evidences of revelation; not merely in a general way, but so as to be master of the subject. Perhaps it may be soon enough at present: but it is a matter of great importance in this age especially.—Above all, cultivate personal religion. Let nothing be an excuse to your mind for being slight in that matter. Even useful labours for the good of others may be separated from diligence in the concerns of our own souls: but it is this which must bring a blessing on all else, and cause it to proceed with life and vigour."

"Of all kinds of learning, none seems more important, than an accurate knowledge of the two languages, which the Lord has honoured by giving his sacred oracles in them. As to mathematics, they doubtless have their use; but a moderate proficiency in them is enough for your purpose. I must own, I feel in my best moments, that I had rather be the author of the Discourse on Repentance, than of Sir

Isaac Newton's *Principia*; for the salvation of one soul gives joy in heaven, but we read not that angels notice philosophical discoveries. Yet learning of every kind, if attended with humility, and subordinated to the one thing needful, may be very usefully employed in the service of the truth: and some of Christ's servants should be learned men; for others can seldom have access to the learned, or to those who would be thought such: and there are many important services which learned men alone can perform."

In adverting to Mr. Wilberforce's "Practical View," Mr. Scott writes—

"It is a most noble and manly stand for the Gospel; full of good sense, and most useful observations on subjects quite out of our line; and in all respects fitted for usefulness; and, coming from such a man, it will probably be read by many thousands, who can by no means be brought to attend either to our preaching or writings. Taken in all its probable effects, I do sincerely think such a bold stand for vital Christianity has not been made in my memory. He has come out beyond all my expectations. He testifies of the noble, and amiable, and honourable, that their works are evil; and he proves his testimony beyond all denial. He gives exactly the practical view of the tendency of evangelical principles, for which I contend; only he seems afraid of Calvinism, and is not very systematical; perhaps it is so much the better. It seems, likewise, a book suited to reprove and correct some timid friends, who are at least half afraid of the Gospel, being far more prudent than the Apostles were; or we should never have been able to spell out Christian truths from their writings. But it is especially calculated to show those their mistake who preach evangelical doctrines, without a due exhibition of their practical effects. I pray God to do much good by it! and I cannot but hope that I shall get much good from it, both as a preacher and a Christian."

Mr. Scott, speaking of an imprudent marriage, observes:—

"The principles and plan of modern education are such, and I have so long made my observations on the effect of them, that I cannot but suspect the mother has, in some degree, been guilty of Eli's fault, which brings sore calamities on families, and especially on the families of religious people. *Self-will* is natural to us, and if indulged, it gathers strength with our years, and at length will brook no control. Children, like young colts, must be broken in; and the sooner the better. The child that has *early* been constrained to give up its will to that of a parent, will, without severity, be trained to a *habit of submission*, which will not easily be broken through when he is grown up, even though he want religion effectually to produce submission to God. But the *reverse* is modern education, and especially among religious people."

On recovering from illness, Mr. S. thus writes:—

"I never had so violent an attack of the asthma before. For many hours of two successive nights, it was all but absolute suffocation; and the sense and dread of that were continually present to my mind."

Yet I bless the Lord, I was not left either to murmur or despond; I had very serious apprehensions of immediate death; though I said nothing to those around me: and all my cares, plans, hopes, (as to this world,) and every thing, except my wife and children, seemed quite out of sight. I had not any *sensible* comfort; yet I thought of dying, without emotion; though the idea of dying by suffocation seemed formidable. I felt the grand concern to be safe, and was willing to leave all below, to have done with suffering, sin, and temptation. I did not feel much of what the Apostle mentions, of *DESIRING to be with Christ*; and I was convinced, for that very reason, that my Christianity was of a small growth; yet I trusted that it was genuine. I tried to commit all I loved, and all I had laboured to effect, into the Lord's hands; and I thought of recovering, as a sailor, just about to enter harbour, would of being ordered out to sea again. Yet I was willing, if the Lord saw good. This was about the state of my mind. I could confusedly recollect very many things to be humbled for, and ashamed of; but nothing that impeached the sincerity of my professed faith in Christ, and love to him; and, though conscious of very many faults, and imperfections in my ministry, I was also conscious that I had honestly sought to glorify God, and save souls, in preference to all worldly interests. My hope was that of a sinner, throughout saved by grace; yet I was satisfied, that the aim of my heart and the tenour of my conduct, since I professed the Gospel, evidenced that I had built on the sole foundation by a *living* faith. The vanity of all worldly possessions, distinctions, connexions, and enjoyments, never so forcibly impressed my mind, as on this occasion. The folly of shrinking from that hardship or suffering, which the frown or scorn of men can inflict on us, for faithfulness, appeared extreme, when I felt how easily God could inflict far sharper sufferings, if he saw good. The reality and importance of eternal things shone on the scenes around me, so that the crowds of noble and affluent sinners, following the steps of the rich man in the Gospel, appeared the most miserable of wretches. Transient pain taught me emphatically the value of deliverance from *eternal* misery, and endeared the love of the deliverer, who voluntarily endured such pain and agony for us vile sinners. The evil of sin, the happiness of the poorest true Christian, and the little consequence of the smoothness or ruggedness of the path, provided we come to heaven at last: these things, and others connected with them, have not, for many years at least, so impressed my mind. Pray for me, that I may not lose these impressions, but, if spared, may live, and preach, and pray, and write in a manner, somewhat less unsuitable to the vastly important services I am engaged in: for who can be *sufficient* for these things? May you be a wiser, holier, more faithful, and more useful minister, than ever I have been! Oh, keep the concluding scene in view every step of the way, and judge of every thing by it. The evils I have protested against in health appeared to me far, far more pernicious, as I lay gasping for breath, than before; and I seem to rejoice in the hope of entering further protests against them."

We now find Mr. Scott succeeding in 1801 to the small living of Aston Sandford, which it is shown could never have netted him 100*l.* a year! It was here that he added the Susoo and African languages to his former stock, after the age of fifty<sup>2</sup> three, for the express purpose of fitting the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society for their destinations; and it was from this small parish, consisting of only about seventy inhabitants, that he was enabled to raise above 303*l.* for that society, in six collections. The Bible Society also shared his warmest attachment, and it is thus that in a speech at High Wycombe he expresses himself concerning the precious volume distributed by that society.

"The Bible is *the light of our feet, and the lantern of our path*; our guide in youth, our comfort in old age, our antidote against the fear of death. The longer I live the more I feel for those who have not the word of God. I am growing old, and feel the infirmities of age. I know I must soon die. I am a sinner against God. I must appear before him in judgment. I must exist for ever in happiness or misery; but I can find no light, no hope, no comfort, except from the Bible, and that Saviour whom the Bible reveals to me. While, then, the Bible is our own invaluable treasure, the source of all our knowledge, hope, and comfort, let us do what we can to communicate the precious treasure to others also, all over the world. We can do but little, individually; it is true; yet great multitudes, cordially uniting, may effect much. Time was, since I can remember, when, if I had possessed the means in other respects, I should hardly have known how to *reach out* the blessing beyond my own contracted circle. But this society, and others of a similar nature, so to speak, *lengthen my arms*; and, by concurring heartily in the designs of those who conduct them, we may stretch out our hands to the inhabitants of the east and of the west of Africa, of Asia, of America, as well as of Europe, and give to them *the light of life*. Let us then do what we can while here, and so wait for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto eternal life."

The following remarks occur on family losses:—

"Whatever they may suppose who never experienced it, few things at the time, more pain the heart than the loss of a child, even when young, and especially at the time when a thousand little circumstances render it more and more interesting. This I know by experience; yet, after a time, the very events which filled my heart with anguish for a season, were looked back upon with a kind of melancholy pleasure; and when I consider what a dangerous world we live in, I can almost rejoice to think that three of my children arrived, as I fully trust, at the place of rest, without encountering the perils and tempests of the passage. My prayer used to be, as the result of my deliberate judgment, though not of my feelings, that if the Lord had any thing for my children to do, they might be spared; but that they

might not live to be the servants of sin; and to treasure up wrath; and I trust this prayer has been, or will be, fully answered. You remember to have heard me tell of the time when you were the only survivor of three children, and were dangerously ill of the same fever of which your sister had died, how my heart was almost broken; but I am persuaded this time of distress was peculiarly useful to me, and I often look back to it with admiring gratitude, when I reflect on the answer to my many prayers which, with many tears, I then offered for you; and I doubt not that you will hereafter look back on your present trial, sharp as it is, in the same manner. Really believing that every human being will exist to eternal ages, and that the children, at least of believers, dying before they are capable of committing actual sin, have the benefit of the new covenant; I consider the circumstance of being instrumental to the existence of those who shall be eternally happy as a high privilege and favour, even though they be speedily taken from us; and I look forward, sometimes, with pleasure to the period when I hope to meet again those who were early taken from me, as well as to be followed by those that survive me. It is not to be expected that parents should not feel and grieve much on these occasions; and indeed the very end of the providential dispensation would fail of being answered if they did not: but I would remind your wife especially, that grief ought no more to be indulged than any other of our passions; though many think that being inconsolable at the loss of beloved relatives is amiable, who would be shocked at the idea of indulging many other passions. Every thing in our nature wants regulating, moderating, and subordinating to the will of God; and natural affection as well as the rest. Several partialities, in which faith and submission to God greatly consist on earth, will have no place in heaven. Of this kind is patience under sharp afflictions. This is very honourable to God, edifying to our brethren, and profitable to ourselves; but without sharp affliction we should have no opportunity of exercising it. This is then an opportunity given you of experiencing and manifesting the power and excellency of your principles, which may eventually be of great importance in various ways. In reading of our Lord's miracles, the reflection often occurs to me, would not those who endured the sharpest sorrows (Mary, Martha, and Lazarus, for instance), with the full view of all the honour to Christ and all the good to mankind, which arose, and still arises, and shall for ever arise from their exquisite anguish of heart, have been willing to go through the whole again, if again such vast advantage might result from it; at least they would not, on any account, have escaped suffering what they did, now that they see all the reasons why they suffered. Yet, at the time they had no idea of the ends to be answered by their distresses, and the same wisdom and love order our troubles, both as to the nature and the result of them; which ordered theirs. *What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter.* All these things are against me! But what does Jacob now think of these transactions?

“If I may judge by myself, you will find this dispensation, in the event, greatly subservient in helping you to realize an unseen world,



and in exciting earnestness in prayer. As a minister you will often have occasion to counsel and comfort others in similar circumstances, and you will do this both with more feeling and more influence, as having experienced the painful trial yourself. Perhaps many trials are allotted us on this account (2 Cor. i. 4—6.), and this suggests an important plea in prayer, for wisdom and grace to bear and improve the trial in a proper manner. We are apt to say of this or the other creature, *this same shall comfort us*, and thus the gifts of our God insensibly draw our hearts from him; and then it becomes necessary, almost, for him to *wither our gourds*. He does so in love; and we shall know, at length, that we have cause to be thankful.—When I think of the manner in which Aaron lost his two sons, Nadab and Abihu, (Lev. x.) and David his Amnon and Absalom, and of many other instances of this kind, I am ready to say how light comparatively would the trial have been, had they lost them when infants! And yet they would have felt, in that case, the same things that you now do.”

In noticing the common objection made against insisting so much upon faith, whereby objectors urge that “good works are every thing; and that if we can but bring men to live well, we need not trouble ourselves so much about doubtful and mysterious matters.” Mr. Scott has the following illustration:—“This,” said he, “is as if a man should come into a garden, and finding the gardener busy in grafting his trees, should tell him that fruit was every thing, and that all this which he was engaged in appeared a great waste of labour;” to which the gardener would reply—“I grant that fruit is every thing, but then I know that this is the only way to obtain fruit.”

In the year 1813, Mr. Scott found himself under severe and unexpected embarrassments in respect of his Commentary. His language while this trial lasted is illustrative of his faith and patience. In the end the kindness of some friends completely relieved him from his difficulties. On this timely aid, he observes in a letter to his son—

“I do not now owe any thing which I cannot pay on demand; what I never could say since you were born! and I have something in hand, and shall receive more, besides the works. So you see, that if I have too little regarded such matters while my need was not urgent, when it is, how easily the Lord can do more for me than all my plans could have done in a course of years, and in a manner which tends to make my publications more known and circulated; and I verily believe, without in any degree deducting from my character. Oh that this may make me ashamed of all my distrust and dejection! and that it may encourage you, and many others, to go on in the work of the Lord, without anxiety on this ground. Serve him *by the day*, and trust him *by the day*; never flinch a service because nothing is paid for it; and when either you or yours want it in reality, he will pay it. You see how easily God can provide. *Trust in the Lord and*

*do good; dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.* You cannot do a better service to the world than by bequeathing to it a well-educated family. Let this be *your* case, the rest will be the Lord's. It is not agreeable to our proud hearts to become in any way or manner beggars; but my relief has been sent on such a general hint, and with such soothing tokens of respect and affection, as more than compensate all; and I only want, to crown the whole, a heart deeply and humbly thankful to God, and to those into whose hearts he has put it thus to help me."

The following passage in Mr. Scott's correspondence is of an encouraging character in cases where good seed is producing good fruit, though slowly and with interruption.

"Tenderness of conscience (a healthy state) degenerates, in many instances, into a morbid sensibility; so that the consciousness of sinful thoughts and desires mixing with more pure motives, while it ought to produce *humiliation*, proves also the source of *dejection*; as if there were any saints on earth, or ever had been, who were wholly delivered from these things: or as if it could be otherwise than that the keener our vision, the greater our watchfulness, and the deeper our hatred of every sin, the more quick must be this sensibility, and the more acute the pain which attends it till all sin be extinguished. We must not stop at the words, '*O wretched man that I am,*' but adopt the apostle's thanksgiving also."

In a letter to a young lady left at the head of a family, he writes,—

"I should particularly recommend *method* to you in your employments. If you would at all prosper in your soul, you must secure time for retirement; reading the scriptures, and helps in understanding them; and prayer, secret, particular, earnest prayer. Without this nothing will be done. This time, in your situation, will, I apprehend, be best secured, by retrenching an hour from sleep, and such things as merely relate to external decoration in the morning, before your more hurrying engagements begin; and in the evening before it be too late. But securing time in the morning is the grand thing: not that the other should be neglected, but it will necessarily be exposed to more interruptions. A plan, however, should be laid down, and adhered to with as much regularity, at least, as that about our meals. That must sometimes be broken in upon, yet not often. Above all, as much as possible, secure the whole of the Lord's day; and firmly stand out against Sunday visitings. In addition to this, if you would improve your mind and heart, learn to redeem the fragments of time. Have a book at hand, that when you are waiting perhaps for your father or friends to dinner, or on similar occasions, you may not let the little particles of time elapse, or rather heavily draw on as a burden, but take the book and read a little; and if you lift up a short prayer over what you read, so much the better. It is surprising how much I have read and learned in these fragments of time, which most people lose. *Gather up the fragments that nothing be lost.* Avoid

late visits, and the late entertainment of visitors. Even among pious persons, I scarcely know any thing more hostile to the religion of the closet; that is, the religion of the heart and soul.

What you mention in respect of original sin, lies at the bottom of all Christianity; and we never learn any thing else to much purpose, till we become deeply sensible of innate depravity; of a moral disease, which we cannot cure, and have not heart of ourselves to cure, but which the Lord alone can cure. We ought, however, to seek the cure from Him as we do health from the physician; by applying to him, trusting him, following his directions, welcoming his medicines, and avoiding what he inhibits."

We are now arrived at the closing scene of Mr. Scott's life, in reference to which, Mr. Wilson observes in his funeral sermon,

"Before I proceed to give some particulars of his most instructive and affecting departure, I must observe that I lay no stress on them as to the evidence of his state before God. It is the tenour of the life, not that of the few morbid and suffering scenes which precede dissolution, that fixes the character. We are not authorized by scripture to place any dependence on the last periods of sinking nature, through which the Christian may be called to pass to his eternal reward. The deaths of the saints described in the inspired volume, are, without exception, the concluding scenes of long and consistent previous devotedness to the service of God. Such are those of Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and David. That of Stephen is the only narrative of this kind in the New Testament which regards the article of death at all; and the circumstances in which he was placed as the first martyr of the Christian church, may well account for the exception. The great Apostle of the Gentiles, and the other inspired founders of the new dispensation, are exhibited to us in the holiness of their lives, in the calmness of their approach towards death, in the deliberate judgment they form of their past labours, in their exhortations to others to supply their vacant posts of duty, in their triumphant anticipations of their future reward, but not in the actual moments of their final conflict. It would therefore have been no subject of surprise if the last days of our lamented friend had been wholly clouded by the natural operations of disease. We should then have drawn the veil entirely over them, as in the case of many of the eminent servants of Christ in every age. But, though no importance is to be attached to these hours of fainting mortality, with reference to the acceptance and final triumph of the dying Christian, yet where it pleases God to afford one of his departing servants, as in the instance before us, such a measure of faith and self-possession, as to close a holy and most consistent life with a testimony which sealed, amidst the pains of acute disease, and in the most impressive manner, all his doctrines and instructions, during forty-five preceding years, we are called on as I think to record with gratitude the divine benefit, and to use it with humility for the confirmation of our own faith and joy."

The circumstantial account which follows is chiefly compo-

red of extracts from letters written on the spot. The following is one, written on the 11th of March 1791, at the house of Mr. Scott.

"Though I can say nothing at all favourable respecting his health, and indeed he appears to be approaching very near his end, yet thanks be to God, the clouds which overspread his mind are breaking away, and he talks with a placidity and cheerfulness greater than I have before seen since I came. He passed a very distressing night, owing to the degree of debility induced by the feverish paroxysm of yesterday; indeed I much doubted whether he would live till morning. The symptoms have, however, become more mild; and this morning he rose above his feelings of bodily uneasiness and mental depression, and seemed to *rejoice in hope of the glory of God.*

"Just as we had assembled for family worship, he sent to say that he wished us to meet in his room and join with him in the Lord's supper, as a means of grace, through which he might receive that consolation which he was seeking. It is utterly impossible to describe the deeply interesting and affecting scene. The whole family (with one exception), and an old parishioner were present. The fervour displayed by my dear father, his poor emaciated form, the tears and sobs of all present, were almost more than I could bear; with that degree of composure which was requisite to enable me to read the service so as to make him hear. In the midst of the service he fell back as if expiring, and for a moment I thought he had departed, but he revived again. The scene was trying, but it was a delightful feeling, and has done more to cheer our downcast hearts than can well be conceived. I could not but feel reminded in this sacrament of what is said of the passover in the time of Josiah (2 Kings, xxiii. 22.) *'Surely there was not holden such another.'* It seems, moreover, to have been quite a cordial to my father's spirits, who adopted on the occasion the words of the venerable Simeon in the prospect of dissolution. He is now quite calm and like himself; and can clearly discern that much of his previous uncomfortable state of mind was merely the effect of fever."

"Nearly a week subsequently, and after repeated expectations that the closing scene had arrived, another letter observes,—

"Our beloved father is still with us; and did not his pulse indicate approaching dissolution, we should scarcely think it possible that a dying man could speak and think with the energy and clearness he does. O that you were here! How would it rejoice your heart to witness his calm and heavenly spirit; his humility, faith, tenderness, and love. He seems still longing for more holiness. Never, indeed, will he be satisfied till he enters the realms of eternal bliss. The agitation of mind under which he did labour we trust is finally dispersed. He sometimes expresses a fear of the last struggle; yet, in general, speaks of it with composure and confidence. I cannot tell you how our dread of separation from him is increased: But I trust God will support us, and that we shall all derive great and lasting benefit from the scene passing before us."

In a week following, Mr. Scott, jun. writes,—

"I have now been here a week, watching over the dying bed of my dear honoured father, and daily expecting his dissolution. It is a deeply affecting and edifying scene; and what passed before I could come, was, I suppose, more interesting still. In every thing but comfort his state is even *sublimely Christian*. Such an awful sense of eternal things, of the evil of sin, and of the holiness of God; such profound self abasement; such cleaving unto Christ alone; such patience, resignation, and unlimited submission to the will of God; such a constant spirit of fervent prayer; such pouring forth of blessings on all around him; with such minute and tender attention to all their feelings, it is truly admirable to behold. His state is bright in every one's view but his own. To his own apprehension, he in great measure *walks in darkness*. I have myself scarcely witnessed a gleam of joy. His habitual temper is rather that which the words of Job describe, '*Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.*' This is often painful, sometimes it is discouraging to our feelings; yet we are sensible that there is a call upon us for unbounded gratitude and praise. I am very shy of addressing one to whom I so much look up; but occasionally the attempt to convey to his ear some sentence of God's word has succeeded; and it is so kindly and thankfully received as if very affecting. But we are obliged to keep, on these occasions, almost entirely to first principles; such as the coming of the sinner to the Saviour. A great part of his time he has prayed and thought aloud, as insensible of the presence of any fellow creature; and the train of his thoughts thus discovered has been often highly elevated. Thus, '*Posthumous reputation! the veriest bubble with which the devil ever deluded a wretched mortal. But posthumous usefulness; in that there is indeed something. That was what Moses desired, and Joshua, and David, and the prophets; the apostles also, Peter, and Paul, and John; and most of all the Lord Jesus Christ.*' Again, '*O Lord, abhor me not, though I be indeed abhorrible, and abhor myself! Say not, 'Thou filthy soul, continue filthy still; but rather say 'I will, be thou clean.'*'"

The final scene (which took place on the 16th of April) is thus described:—

"For two days my dear father coughed almost incessantly, though not violently. But on Saturday this almost entirely ceased. In consequence an increased difficulty of breathing succeeded, and we feared suffocation might take place. On Sunday night he was very ill, so as to make us apprehend his death was at hand. Yesterday morning he was, for a time, a good deal better; but the oppression returned and increased. Nothing immediate was anticipated, when his death actually approached. I had taken a walk, and on my return visited his chamber. We then all came down to tea; in the course of which it was remarked, that it did not seem quite well for him to be left attended only by a servant, as her grief appeared to distress him. I said, I would go up immediately. I did so; but Dawes, (a young friend who scarcely ever left him,) had anticipated me. He had found my father worse, dismissed the servant, and was supporting him, nearly in an

erect posture, upon his arm. I said, 'this surely cannot last long'; and Dawes replied, 'Not through the night, I think.' I looked in his face, and saw his eyes, in some degree, turn upwards, which I pointed out to Dawes, (who was rather behind him,) and he immediately said, 'You had better tell those who wish to see him again, to come.' I did so, in a calm manner, and went before them. He was sinking as quietly as an infant dropping asleep, and with a beautiful look of composure. My mother and sister wished to come in, and, on my saying there was nothing to shock them, they did so. We all looked on for a minute or two, while the last respirations quietly ebbed away—so to speak. So far from feeling shocked, it was a relief to all our minds to see such suffering, and such labour as his breathing had been, subside into such sweet peace and ease. He had been peaceful and happy, on the whole, for several days; and on Sunday, and on the morning of Monday, had said some delightful things. His mind was clear to the last moment; and, I believe, in the article of death itself, he suffered much less than for many hours, or even days before. The last effort which he made was to stretch out his hand to his servant, when she was about to leave the room.

"The following is the account of the same event, furnished to Mr. Wilson, by the faithful and affectionate young friend in whose arms my father expired:—'One of his last efforts was to give his hand to his weeping servant; which was a beautiful evidence that the tender attention to the feelings of those around him, which marked his whole illness, continued to form a prominent feature in his state of mind even to the last. After this, which took place about five minutes before his death, he appeared to be lost in prayer; but, just at the moment when he reclined his head on my breast, the expression of his countenance suddenly changed from that of prayer, and indicated, as I conceived, a transition to feelings of admiring and adoring praise, with a calmness and peace which are quite inexpressible. The idea strongly impressed upon my mind was, that the veil which intercepts eternal things from our view was removed, and that, like Stephen, he saw things invisible to mortal eye.'"

Mr. Scott is full and minute in his record of many of the dying declarations of his father.

"His wonderful knowledge of Scripture (he observes) was a source of great comfort, and the exactness with which he repeated passages after passage, frequently remarking upon emphatic words in the original, was amazing. The manner, also, in which he connected one with another was admirable. It resembled hearing a series of exquisitely selected scripture references, read with a solemnity and feeling such as one had never before witnessed.

"To his son-in-law, who came in the evening, and regretted his absence when the sacrament was administered, he said, 'It was beneficial to me—I received Christ, and he received me. I feel a composure which I did not expect last night. I have not triumphant assurance, but something which is more calm and satisfactory. I bless

God for it! And then he repeated, in the most emphatic manner, the whole twelfth chapter of Isaiah.

"He said to his servant:—'I thank you for all your kindness to me. You have been a faithful domestic, and, I hope, a conscientious one. If at any time I have been hasty and sharp, forgive me, and pray to God to forgive me; but lay the blame upon me, not upon religion.'"

"Once he appeared dying, and suffered exquisitely. *Oh!* he said, *it is hard work.* Death is a new acquaintance—a terrible one, except as Christ *giveth us the victory*, and the assurance of it. My flesh and my heart seem as if they wanted to fail, and could not. Who can tell what that tie is which binds body and soul together? How easily it is loosened in some; what a wrench and tear is it in others. Lord loosen it, if it be thy will! I hope it is not wrong to pray for a release. If it be, God forgive me! Yet if it be thy will that I should wait for days and weeks, *thou art righteous.*" On one occasion he said, *I hope; but I cannot but feel some fear; and it is such an eternal risk, of infinite importance, that the slightest fear seems to counterbalance even prevalent hope.*"

"He begged his curate to forgive him, if he had been occasionally rough and sharp. 'I meant it for your good,' but like every thing of mine, it was mixed with sin. Impute it not; however, to my religion; but to my want of more religion.'

"On another occasion he said, 'I have the last struggle to pass, and what that is, what that *wreck* is, who can tell me? Lord give me patience, fortitude, holy courage! I have heard persons treat almost with ridicule the expression, *put underneath me thy everlasting arms!*'—(Deut. xxxiii. 27.) But it is exactly what I want—everlasting arms to raise me up—to be *strengthened with might by his spirit in the inner man.* I am in full possession of all my faculties—I know I am dying—I feel the *immense*, the *infinite* importance of the crisis—*Lord Jesus receive my spirit!* Thou art all I want. None but Jesus can do help less sinners good. Blessed be God there is one Saviour, though but one in the whole universe.

"It may be remarked, in general, that his use of the language of the Lord's Prayer was continual during every part of his illness; as was likewise that of various parts of the Church Liturgy, particularly of the Communion Service, and the sentence in the Burial Service, 'Suffer me not, at my last hour, for any pains of death to fall from thee!'

"Throughout his illness, all his tempers and dispositions marked a soul ripe for heaven. His *patience* was most exemplary, though this was the grace which, almost more than any other, he feared would fail; but it increased to the end. On the only point on which any approach to impatience had been discovered, his *desire to depart*, he had become almost perfectly resigned; and though he still inquired frequently if any token for good appeared, yet, on receiving a negative answer, he only observed, 'then I must seek a fresh stock of patience!' His kindness and affection to all who approached him, were carried to the

greatest height, and showed themselves in a singularly minute attention to all their feelings, and whatever might be for their comfort, to a degree that was quite affecting; especially at a time when he was suffering so much himself, often in mind as well as body. Even in the darkest times, *'thou art righteous! Father, glorify thy name!'* solemnly enunciated, was the sentence most frequently on his lips, and marked his profound submission. His humility and sense of utter unworthiness seemed more deep than words could express. It need scarcely be said that Christ was now more precious in his eyes than ever, and his expressions of exclusive, undivided, and adoring adherence to him for salvation, if possible, more strong. At the same time, he refused the appropriation to himself of those promises which belong only to true believers in Christ, except as it could be shown that he bore the character commonly annexed to the promise—such as those that *fear the Lord, that love God, repent, believe, and obey*. When he could not trace this in himself, he would have recourse only to those which encourage even the chief of sinners to come to Christ, and assure them, that, *him that cometh he will in no wise cast out*.

In this connexion it may be remarked, that whatever dissatisfaction with himself he at any time expressed, he never intimated the least wavering as to the truths which he had spent his life in inculcating, or impeached his own sincerity and faithfulness in the discharge of his ministry.

I only add further, that he would always, when he received the sacrament, and, after a short prayer, which, during the latter part of the time, we every night offered up with him, have repeated to him the affecting commendation in the service for the visitation of the sick: *'Unto God's gracious mercy and protection we commit thee: the Lord bless thee and keep thee: the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace, both now and evermore.'* and most affecting was the solemnity with which he listened, and pronounced his *amen* to it."

The length of the foregoing extracts (in which it will be seen that we have preferred to permit Mr. Scott's biographer to speak for himself) has left us little space for any general summary of the character or labours of the deceased, indeed these appear to have been so accurately detailed by his friend, Mr. Wilson, in his funeral sermon (to which his present biographer has recourse), that we know not how we can do better than let that individual also present his views on the subject.

"We here behold," says he, "a man of strong natural powers, intrenched in the sophistries of human pride, and a determined opponent of almost all the chief truths of the Gospel, gradually convinced and subdued. We see him engaging in a laborious study of the Scripture, with opinions and prejudices firmly fixed, and reluctant to admit a humiliating scheme of theology, yet borne on, contrary to his expectations, and wishes, and worldly interest, by the simple energy



of truth. We view him arriving, to his own duty, at one doctrine after another. We behold him making every step sure as he advances; till he, at length, works out, by his own diligent and most anxious investigation of the sacred volume, all the parts of divine truth, which he afterwards discovered to be the common faith of the church of Christ, to be the foundation of all the reformed communities, and to be essentially united with every part of divine revelation. He was thus taught the apostolical doctrines of the deep fall and apostacy of man, of his impotency to any thing spiritually good, the proper atonement and satisfaction of Christ, the triunity of persons in the Godhead, regeneration and progressive sanctification by the Holy Spirit, justification by faith only, and salvation by grace. These great principles he perceived to be indissolubly connected with repentance unto life, separation from the sinful customs and spirit of the world, self-denial, and the bearing of reproach for Christ's sake; holy love to God and man; and activity in every good word and work. Further, he learnt to unite both these series of truths with dependence upon Christ for the supply of needful grace, humble trust in his promises for final victory, and an unreserved ascription of all blessings to the divine grace. Lastly, and after some interval, he embraced the doctrines relating to the secret and merciful will of God in our election in Christ Jesus, although he did not think a belief in these mysterious doctrines to be indispensable to salvation, nor consider the evidence for them, satisfactory as he deemed it, so carry with it that irresistible conviction which had attended his inquiries with respect to those essential and directly vital truths of religion before enumerated. The whole narrative of the change which led to the adoption of these views of religion is so honest, and so evidently free from enthusiasm, as to constitute a most striking testimony to the efficacy of the grace of God.

“ After he had once discovered, and embraced in all their fullness and practical application, the chief doctrines of the New Testament, he may truly be said to have *kept the faith* with undeviating constancy. During forty-five years he continued to teach, and write, and live, in the spirit of those holy principles. What he was with respect to them, in the earliest part of this period, the same he continued in the latest; except as each year added something to his conviction of their truth, and to the maturity of his judgment respecting them. There are few writers in whom consistency is so strikingly observable through so many voluminous works. He was placed at different periods of his life in many scenes of peculiar difficulty, where the currents of opinion within, as well as without his own immediate circle, might have induced him to vary or conceal the faith upon some points of importance, but nothing moved him *from his own steadfastness*. Nor was his scheme of doctrine more apostolical than his method of publicly expounding and applying it in his sermons and writings. He *kept the faith*, by ever maintaining a theology, not only pure and orthodox as to its constituent elements and general character, but scripturally exact in the arrangement, the proportions, the symmetry, the harmony of its several doctrines, and in the use to which each was, on the proper occasion, applied. In

this view, the habit which he had been led to form of studying the scripture for himself, and of diligently comparing all its parts with each other, was of essential service. He was not a man of ordinary mould. The humble submission to every part of divine revelation, the abstinence from metaphysical subtilities, the entire reliance on the inspired doctrine, in all its bearings and consequences, the candour on points really doubtful or of less vital importance, which are the characteristics of his writings, give them extraordinary value; while, for example, he firmly believed the essential and vital truths which I before noticed, he held with no less firmness the accountableness of man, the perpetual obligation of the holy law, the necessity of addressing the hearts and consciences of sinners, and of using, without reserve, the commands, cautions, and threatenings so copiously employed in the inspired books; the importance of close inquiries into the detail of private, social, and relative duties, the necessity of pointing out those imperfections of temper or practice, by which a false religion betrays its unsoundness, and of following out the grand branches of scripture morals into their proper fruits in the regulation of the life. In a word, he entered as fully into the great system of plain means and duties on the one hand, as of the mysterious doctrines of divine grace on the other. He united the Epistles of St. Paul and St. James.

“With such fidelity, we wonder not that he had, like the Apostle before him, to *fight a good fight*. He was not a man to receive the impression of his age, but to give it. On various occasions he thought it incumbent on him to come forward publicly in defence of the faith of the Gospel; a task, in the execution of which, the firmest adherence to truth, and a candid treatment of his opponents, were ever united with singular knowledge of scripture, with great acuteness of reasoning, and with a simple honesty of purpose and of principle, which it was difficult for an impartial inquirer to withstand. At the time when he first began to preach the Gospel faithfully, he found many who had habituated themselves to such statements of the grace and privileges of Christianity, as tended insensibly to injure the minds of their hearers, by inducing them to separate the duties of the Bible from its doctrines. With such fatal errors he made no compromise. His early writings were chiefly directed against this class of tenets, which, however, unintentionally on the part of some who maintained them, verged towards the Antinomian heresy. At a later period he engaged in a very different service—a contest with the adherents of infidelity. Towards the close of his days, opinions tending to magnify human merits, and in their effect, subversive of the doctrines of divine grace, attracted his notice, and were encountered by him with the same manliness of resistance which in earlier life he had opposed to errors of a contrary description. In all these instances, few will hesitate to allow that he *fought a good fight*. The prejudices with which a living controversialist cannot fail to be regarded, must of course be allowed to subside, before a calm judgment can be formed of his merits as a disputant, or in general as a writer; but, when that period shall ar-

rive, I doubt not that his laborious productions will be admitted to rank amongst the soundest theological writings of our age.

"In these and other labours *'he finished his course,'* for his attention was not absorbed in his writings. He was a laborious minister in every function of that sacred calling, and especially in the more retired walks of it. In the pulpit, indeed, an asthmatical affection, added to a strong provincial accent, an inattention to style and manner, and prolixity, rendered his discourses less attractive than those of many very inferior men; though even here, such were the richness and originality of his matter, such his evident acquaintance with Scripture, and with the human heart, and such the skill which he evinced as a Christian moralist, that by hearers of attentive and reflecting minds he was listened to, not only with respect, but with delight. But in visiting the sick, in resolving cases of conscience, in counselling young ministers, in assisting various religious and benevolent institutions, his success was peculiarly great. Indeed, if his exertions as an author were left out of consideration, his other labours for forty-five years as the chaplain of an hospital, as a parish priest, and generally as a member of society and of the Christian church, would place him on a level with most pious clergymen, however zealous, diligent, or useful.

"But his widest and most important field of usefulness, and that which I have reserved for the last topic in the consideration of his public character, was as a commentator on the Holy Scriptures. In this he may be truly said to have *finished his course*, as well as *fought a good fight*, and *kept the faith*. It is difficult to form a just estimate of a work on which such an author laboured for thirty-three years. It entitles him of itself to rank at the head of the theologians of his own time, as at once the most laborious and important writer of the day. The capital excellency of this valuable and immense undertaking perhaps consists in the following, more closely than any other, the fair and adequate meaning of every part of Scripture, without regard to the niceties of human systems: it is, in every sense of the expression, a scriptural comment. It has likewise a further and a strong recommendation in its originality. Every part of it is thought out by the author for himself, not borrowed from others. The later editions, indeed, are enriched with brief and valuable quotations from several writers of credit, but the substance of the work is entirely his own. It is not a compilation, it is an original production, in which you have the deliberate judgment of a masculine and independent mind on all the parts of Holy Scripture."

"Determination of mind in serving God formed the basis of his character, and gave strength and firmness to every other part of it. Whatever else he was, he was most decisive in religion. The fashionable opinions or practices of the day, the number or station of his opponents, the distractions, and divisions of parties, the plausible appearance of certain errors, the reputation for piety or talent of those who incautiously favoured them, made no difference to him. A powerful discriminating judgment, and an intimate acquaintance with every

part of Scripture gave such a tone of firmness to his habits of thinking and acting; that he seemed like a giant taking his course among children, regardless of their puny opposition, and bent only on the achievement of his own great objects. It must, on the other hand, be owned that he sometimes erred by want of sufficient consideration for the feelings and prejudices of others, and sometimes was betrayed into rudeness and over-confidence. I wish not to conceal his human failings, but these failings he constantly opposed, and, as he advanced in life, almost entirely subdued; whilst the sterling honesty and determination of his character, the spring of all his usefulness, remained unimpaired.

"In his domestic circle his character was most exemplary. No blot ever stained his name. A disinterestedness and unbending integrity in the midst of many difficulties so raised him in the esteem of all who knew him, as greatly to honour and recommend the Gospel he professed. He was in all respects an excellent father of a family. What he appeared in his preaching and writings, that he was amongst his children and servants. He did not neglect his private duties on the ground of public engagements; but he carried his religion into his house, and placed before his family the doctrines he taught, embodied in his own evident uprightness of conduct. This determination and consistency in personal religion instructed his children better than a thousand set lessons. It is indeed commonly found that the general behaviour and conversation of parents produce a decidedly deeper impression on the minds of the young than any formal instructions, however in themselves excellent. When children are addressed directly, their minds recoil, or at least their attention is apt to flag; but their own shrewd observations on what they see done or hear said by others, on the estimates which they perceive their parents to form of things and characters, and on the governing principles by which they judge their conduct to be regulated, sink deep into their memories, and in fact constitute by far the most effective part of education. It was on this principle that our deceased friend acted. He did not inculcate certain doctrines merely, or talk against covetousness and the love of the world, or insist on the public duties of the sabbath, or the private ones of the family, whilst the bent of his conversation was worldly, his temper selfish, his habits indulgent, and his vanity or ambition manifest under the thin guise of religious phraseology: but he exhibited to his household a holy and amiable pattern of true piety—he was a man of God—imperfect, indeed, but consistent and sincere. Accordingly, all his children became, by the divine mercy, his comforts during life, and now remain to call him blessed, and hand down his example to another generation.

"A spirit of prayer and devotion was, further, a conspicuous ornament of his character. He lived *near to God*. Intercessory prayer was his delight. He was accustomed in his family devotions to intercede earnestly for the whole church, for the government of his country, for the ministers of religion, for those preparing for the sacred office, for schools and universities, for the different nations of Christendom, for the Heathens and Jews, and for all religious institutions;

varying his supplications as circumstances seemed to dictate. As he approached the close of life, his deep humility of mind, and his zeal for the glory of his Saviour, were very affecting and edifying to those who were present on these occasions. He was the aged saint filled with the love of God and man, and supplicating for the whole human race. More especially, he had for above twenty years been constantly imploring of God that he would open some way for the conversion of the world, as well as the more extensive diffusion of genuine Christianity at home, before he saw any apparent means for the accomplishment of his desires; and, when the establishment of the Bible and Missionary Institutions seemed to afford a prospect of the consummation which he had so fervently desired, his thanksgiving to God abounded. His studious and secluded life by no means produced any indifference as to the active schemes which were formed for the salvation of mankind, nor any undue or unreasonable fastidiousness as to the means employed—faults often connected with literary habits—but whenever the end of religious societies was good, and the methods they employed lawful, he prayed most earnestly for their prosperity, and blessed God for their success; though perhaps in the details of their constitution or proceedings there might be some things which he could not fully approve. Thus were his firmness and energy softened by candour and enlarged benevolence.

“His *faith and patience under afflictions* must not be omitted. Though his constitution in itself was robust, his health was far from being good. An obstinate asthma, with exhausting bilious attacks, exposed him at times to acute sufferings for more than forty years of his life. Inflammatory fever succeeded these diseases during the last seven years, aggravated by a malady most inconvenient and alarming. He had, moreover, as those who knew his private history are well aware, painful mortifications and vexations to endure whilst he resided at Olney, and still more severe ones during a large part of the seventeen years which he spent in London. His great work, the Commentary, was also the occasion of almost constant perplexity, embarrassment, and disappointment, for nearly the whole of the first fourteen years of his labours upon it; so that almost any other person would have relinquished the undertaking in despair. To these must be added a frequent recurrence of severe domestic trials and calamities, often increased by dejection of spirits. Yet his faith and patience bore up under all. Those who observed him in scenes of peculiar difficulty, were often reminded of the words of the royal preacher, *the spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity*. This seemed to be the brief history of his life. Perhaps few writers, who ultimately attained the esteem and influence of this remarkable man for the last twenty years of his labours, ever reached such an eminence through greater discouragements of almost every description. During the twenty-five years preceding that period, he had experienced inconveniences and difficulties in a degree that can scarcely be imagined by any but his intimate friends.

“I close, continues Mr. Wilson, this review of his character by noticing the *gradual but regular advances which he made in every branch*

of real godliness, and especially in overcoming his constitutional failings. This is, after all, the best test of Christian sincerity. A man may profess almost any principles or hold any kind of conduct for a time; but to continue a self-denying course of consistent and growing piety, to apply the strict rule of the divine law honestly and unreservedly to the whole of our conduct, to cultivate carefully every branch of our duty, to resist and contend against the evil tempers and dispositions to which we are naturally most prone—and to unite all this with humble trust in the merits of our Saviour, and with unfeigned ascription of every thing good in us to his grace and mercy; this it is that makes a real renovation of heart, and stamps the genuine believer in the Gospel of Christ. And such was the individual whom we are considering. His feelings, as I have already intimated, lay on the side of roughness and severity of temper, pride of intellect, and confidence in his own powers. But from the time when he first obeyed with his whole heart the truth of the Gospel, he set himself to struggle against these, and all other evil tendencies, to study self-control, to aim at those graces which are most difficult to nature, and to employ all the motives of the Gospel to assist him in the contest; and he gradually so increased in habitual mildness, humility, and tenderness for others, as to become no less exemplary for these virtues, than he had long been for the opposite qualities of religious courage, firmness, and determination. He used to observe, that it was no excuse for a man to allege, that this or that holy temper was not his turn; for every grace ought to be, and must be the turn of every sincere Christian. I can most truly say, that during an acquaintance of about twenty-five years, which gradually matured, on my part, into a filial affection, I scarcely ever saw an instance of more evident growth in real obedience, real love to God and man, real victory over natural infirmities, in a word, real Christian holiness. In the concluding years of his life he was, as it appeared to me, obviously ripening for heaven. *He had fought a good fight, he had finished his course, he had kept the faith;* so that at last his genuine humility before God, his joy in Christ Jesus; his holy zeal for the diffusion of the Gospel, his tender affection to his family and all around him, his resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, and his exclusive trust in the merits and grace of his Saviour, seemed to leave little more to be done, but for the stroke of death to bring him to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season."

In a note to this funeral sermon, Mr. Wilson observes further:—

"His writings are full of thought—full of 'the seeds of things,' as was said of Lord Bacon's works. The ore dug up from the mine is not unalloyed indeed, but it is rich and copious, and well worthy of the process necessary to bring it into use. Take as an instance—the 'Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism,' which, in the 2d edition, I venture to call one of the first theological treatises of the day; it is pregnant with valuable matter, not merely on the questions directly discussed, but on almost every topic of doctrinal and practical

divinity. It appears to me incomparable for the acute and masterly defence of truth."

Much yet follows from the pen of Mr. Scott, jun. illustrative of his views of the character and works of his deceased father, but for this valuable matter we can only refer our readers to the work itself.

To the above passages, which we have borrowed from the published discourse of the Rev. Daniel Wilson, one of the most able as well as amiable specimens of exact character-drawing in existence, we will presume to add nothing except a remark or two by way of conclusion.

We consider the subject of this article as one of the most important pieces of biography which any nation, or any period of our own nation has produced, or been capable of producing. The sort of man whom it presents to us, though a rare and peculiar specimen, is, nevertheless, exclusively of English growth. The history of one who follows the fashions of other men in thinking and acting, is, in effect, not so much the history of what a man is, as of what he would be, or would be thought to be; but the life of a solitary and protesting individual, standing almost alone in the midst of a corrupt world, looking honestly for the rule of his actions and opinions into the oracles of Divine truth, and with a masculine and athletic mind maintaining a long and severe struggle with the prejudices and the depravities of nature and education, roving at large through the wilderness of free thought, and led by a surpassing vigour of parts and penetration to embrace all the great verities of Christian faith, is a spectacle of such singular attraction and grandeur, that we have felt it almost difficult since our perusal of these memoirs, to turn our eyes with the same interest upon the cares and business of ordinary life. No founder of a new school in the ancient world, no institutor of any new sect among the moderns, no reformer, or discoverer, or projector, ever put forth more independent thinking, nor ever followed out his subject with more intellectual freedom, than appears to have been employed by the late Rev. Thomas Scott, under the control of the strictest integrity, and the soundest capacity, to "prove what is the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." His was the march of an heroic assertor of the purest liberty of research, going on from conquest to conquest, without auxiliaries, and pushing forwards, by continued effort, the bounds of his acquisitions till the whole field was won.

The cause of truth has, from Mr. Scott's labours, derived this peculiar advantage,—that whatever in common life marks with the most decisive demonstration the influence of strong common-sense and manly discretion, manifested itself through-

out the whole practice of his religious profession. Wisdom is the word that best describes the character of his attainments and exertions. His vigorous understanding held a parallel course with his faith and piety. Those who are apt to say that the development of spiritual religion in the heart supersedes or suspends the exercise of judgment, may learn from the example of this sage and sober servant of Christ, that the highest human prudence is in harmony with the most exalted feelings to which vital religion can give birth.

With his Calvinistic opinions we have nothing to do. Our own views of this subject are upon record. Whatever high doctrines he maintained, he never pressed them upon others. They made, as far as we can learn, no part of his ordinary teaching or preaching. Whatever were his speculative opinions, they led to no consequences in his own mind but such as raised to supreme importance all the practical restraints and obligations of social and moral life. So bland was his Calvinism, and so little by him insisted upon as an essential article of faith, that we find him, in one of his letters of advice, telling a person in whose welfare he was deeply and affectionately engaged, if he discovered more Calvinism than was agreeable to him, *to skip it*.

To the Rev. John Scott, the compiler of this history, whose filial reverence for such a father is worthy of his own character, we desire to express our gratitude for his work. The honour in which he holds the subject of his memoir has made him very sparing of his accounts of others, even of those of his own family, but he could not hide from observation the testimony which the manner in which his work is executed bears to his own virtue and ability. It is a pure specimen of biography, unmixed with extraneous matter or incident to increase its bulk—the common artifice of writers in this department. He seems to have been desirous of giving to the public an unintercepted view of the great individual whose extraordinary life he has brought before us, and whose substantive excellence he has considered as entitling his memory to be treated apart and alone,—as the object of especial and undivided homage.



## ART. XVII.—INFALLIBILITY OF THE ROMISH CHURCH.

1. *The End of Religious Controversy, in a Friendly Correspondence, between a Religious Society of Protestants and a Roman Catholic Divine.* 3 vols. imperial 8vo. London, 1817.
2. *A Reply to 'The End of Religious Controversy,' as discussed in a Correspondence between a supposed Society of Protestants and the Reverend John Milner, DD. FSA. Bishop of Castabala, &c.* By the Reverend Richard Grier, AM. Vicar of Templebodane, in the Diocese of Cloyne; and Chaplain to his Excellency Earl Talbot, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. 8vo. pp. 416. Cadell. London, 1821.

BEFORE entering upon our review of the controversy between the churches of England and of Rome, which is to be the subject of the present article, it will be right to state, that the work of Dr. Milner, to which Mr. Grier replies, was published about four years ago, in London, and was entitled—*The End of Religious Controversy, in a Friendly Correspondence between a Religious Society of Protestants and a Roman Catholic Divine.* This work, "which (as Mr. Grier remarks) consists of five-hundred-and-fifty-five pages of imperial octavo, divided into three parts," was addressed to the present Bishop of St. David's, in answer to his lordship's *Protestant's Catechism*. It was written, about twenty years ago, as a sequel to Dr. Milner's controversy with the late Dr. Sturges, entitled "*Letters to a Prebendary*," but was suppressed, at the time, as he himself informs us, at the request of Bishop Horseley.—Alluding to these particulars, Mr. Grier observes, that, according to Dr. Milner's own account, "His book has lain dormant, during twice the period prescribed by the Poet, within the penetrale of his study, receiving each day such embellishments from his master-hand, as might exhibit his portraiture in its most attractive form. Nor has it been (continues Mr. Grier) among the least artful of his devices to set up a fictitious society of Protestant correspondents, and to have shaped the Letters ascribed to them in such a way as to make his own replies appear triumphant." (Pref. Rom. p. iv.) Dr. Milner's work, therefore, is to be considered by us, as containing the whole strength of the Romish church; it being a summary of all the arguments used by the Romish divines, in their writings against the Church of England. Its professed object is to

demolish the strong holds of Protestantism, and to represent the Church of Rome as invincible and triumphant.

It appeared to us rather singular that Dr. Milner's work should have remained so long unnoticed by our Protestant divines, and we were much pleased when the first hint of Mr. Grier's intended reply was communicated to the public. Having been among the foremost to read and admire his very satisfactory refutation of Ward's *Errata of the Protestant Bible*, we had great hopes that Mr. Grier's answer to Dr. Milner would prove equally satisfactory and triumphant. In this expectation, however, our regard for truth and fair dealing obliges us to acknowledge, that we have been not a little disappointed. Let not this declaration, however, be misunderstood, or conceived to convey a greater censure on Mr. Grier's performance than it is our intention to express, or than we think has been merited by him. It is not for what Mr. Grier has done that we are disposed to find fault with him, but for what he has left undone. His work, so far as it goes, is clear, judicious, and convincing; but we expected him to go farther, or to do a great deal more. In our opinion, at least, he has, in point of fact, left wholly untouched the most important part of the subject, the *cardinal* point upon which the whole controversy turns: we allude to the *infallibility* claimed by the Church of Rome. And we are the more surprised at this, because it has been pointed out to his opponents by Dr. Milner himself, as we shall speedily show, in various parts of his writings, as the very essence of this controversy. It strikes us very forcibly, that the great object to be kept in view by Protestant divines, in their controversies with those of the Church of Rome, ought to be the desire of convincing, not their Protestant readers, for they must be supposed to be convinced already, but their Roman Catholic readers and opponents. To this end their chief exertions should be directed against the infallibility of the Romish Church. As long as Roman Catholics can fancy their own church to be possessed of the infallibility which she has so long and so pertinaciously claimed, they can have no possible inducement to abandon their own for any other communion. This doctrine is, therefore, the strong hold of Popery, which Protestant divines must endeavour to batter down altogether, otherwise they must not expect to see victory crown their exertions. Under the influence, therefore, of these views, and of this conviction (both of them strengthened by a long and intimate acquaintance with Roman Catholics and their modes and habits of

thinking). it shall be our endeavour, in the present article, to supply what we deem the greatest defect in Mr. Grier's work. At some future period we may descend to more minute particulars, and endeavour to convince our Roman-Catholic opponents, that their doctrines are equally untenable, whether examined in the gross or in the detail. After some general preliminary remarks on Dr. Milner's controversial conduct, character, and pretensions, we shall confine our attention principally to a vindication of the right of private judgment in every thing regarding faith and morals, and to a refutation of the boasted infallibility of the Church of Rome.

The wise man (says Dr. Milner) has remarked in the sacred text, that "*of making many books there is no end*:" and yet we think it must be acknowledged, even by the learned and *consistent* Doctor himself, that *he has made* more books than almost nine-tenths of the numerous authors of the present very fertile and scribbling age. But, although we are of opinion that the Doctor has been rather imprudent in flinging this saying of the wise man into the face of the Bishop of St. David's, and though we cannot wholly acquit the Doctor of the charge of being frequently led on by the spirit of polemical knight-errantry, yet we are ready to allow, that he has come forth manfully to the attack, and that he has been generally engaged with no ordinary or visionary opponents. Nor has he contented himself, like many others, with levelling his artillery at some of the weak holds or outposts of the enemy, but has directed it against the very strongest bulwarks of Protestantism, and, as we trust we shall be able to show, of Christianity itself. Dr. Milner, it appears, is not to be dismayed, but renews the attack on the Church of England, which he commenced long ago in his *Letters to a Prebendary*, and that, too, with a very lowering and terrific aspect. He comes forth to the encounter, not, indeed, like a young giant refreshed, and rejoicing in his strength, but like an old one, confident of success from his polemical experience and what he deems the favourable issue of former encounters. With a very formidable array around him, of traditions and fathers—of creeds and of councils—and with an interminable reserve (in the shape of a supplementary or auxiliary host) of dark and doubtful texts, and of still more dark and doubtful comments, he presents himself with the confidence of an invincible opponent.

There is also another part of the Doctor's polemical merits which it would not be quite fair to pass by unnoticed; no man is better skilled than he seems to be in the *Parthian art* (as he has called it) of shooting behind him, when driven off

the field, the random shafts of calumny and defamation. With all these advantages, however, on Dr. Milner's side, we are far, very far indeed, from thinking him, in fair discussion, a formidable opponent: we say in *fair* discussion, which Mr. Grier has amply shown to form but a small part of the controversial lucubrations of Doctor Milner.

Our leading object in the present article being to assert and vindicate the indefeasible right of private judgment in whatever regards faith, religion, and morals, and to controvert the pretended infallibility of the Church of Rome, we proceed to defend *that right*, as the basis of the Church of England. All our inquiries on these subjects will be found ultimately to centre in, or converge to, the doctrine of infallibility; a privilege which we shall endeavour to show, and, we hope satisfactorily, to be altogether unfounded and chimerical. Private judgment becomes firmly established, as soon as the doctrine of infallibility is subverted. This, therefore, is the point to which our attention shall be principally directed; for it is evidently the great hinge upon which the entire controversy turns. Dr. Milner was, therefore, perfectly right in wishing, as he did in his "*Letters to a Prebendary*," to reduce the whole controversy between the churches of England and Rome to a *single question*. We also find him (though this point has been over-looked by Mr. Grier, as we have already said) dwelling upon the same topic, in more than one passage of his present publication; for instance, in the following words: "Before I enter into any disquisition on this all-important controversy concerning the *right rule of faith*, ON WHICH THE DETERMINATION OF EVERY OTHER DEPENDS, I will lay down these fundamental maxims, the truth of which, I think, no rational Christian will dispute."—(The end of Religious Controversy, p. 36.) After this remark, and stating these maxims, he proceeds to say:—

"By adhering to these three maxims, we shall quickly, Dear Sir, and clearly perceive the method appointed by Christ, for arriving at the knowledge of the truths which he has taught; in other words, at the *right rule of faith*. Being in possession of this rule, we shall have nothing else, of course, to do, but to make use of it for securely, and, I trust, amicably settling all our controversies. This is the only satisfactory method of composing religious differences, which I alluded to in my above mentioned letter to Dr. Sturges. To discuss them all separately would be an endless task, whereas this method reduces them at once to a single question." (Ib. p. 37.)

And again—"Before I answer your letter, allow me to congratulate with you on your advances towards the clear sight of the whole truth of Revelation. As long as you professed to hunt out the

several articles of this, one by one, through the several books of Scripture, and under all the difficulties and uncertainties which I have already shown to attend this search, the task was interminable and success hopeless. Whereas, now, by taking the Church of God for your guide, *you have but one simple inquiry to make : Which is the Church of God ?* a question that admits of being solved by ‘*men of good will,*’ with equal certainty and facility. *I say, that there is but one inquiry to be made ; Which is the true church ?* because if there is any one religious truth more clear than the rest, from reason, from the Scriptures both old and new, from the apostles’ creed, and from constant tradition, it is this, that the Catholic Church preserves the true worship of the Deity ; she being the fountain of truth, the house of faith, and the temple of God, as an ancient father of the church expresses it. *Hence it is as clear as the noon-day light, that, by solving this one question, Which is the true church ? you will at once settle every question of religious controversy, that ever has, or ever can be agitated.*” (Ib. vol. ii. p. 2, 3.)

Although we find several things that are censurable in these passages, the only remark which we deem it now necessary to make on them is, that we fully agree with Dr. Milner in thinking, that the controversy between the churches of England and Rome is reducible to a single question : on this point we accordingly agree to join issue with him. If the Church of Rome, as Dr. Milner and her advocates always contend, be *an infallible one*, she cannot be guilty of any follies, errors, or absurdities, in her doctrinal decisions ; and the fundamental tenet of Protestantism, that is, the right of private judgment in every thing respecting faith and morals, must be grounded in error : but, if this is not the case, and if the Church of Rome is as fallible as any other, both of which points we hope to be able to prove, then there is no reason to say, that the religion of Protestants is to be abandoned, as carrying us out of the safe way of salvation.

Dr. Milner (as Mr. Grier has also remarked) shows considerable dexterity in removing the seat of the war, from the territory of his own church, into those of the enemy ; a practice in which it may not be amiss, occasionally, to follow his example : and, with some gratitude for the hint, it is our intention to practise this mode of controversial warfare, in treating of the question of infallibility. Instead of deriving our polemical armour, or artillery, from the arsenals of Protestantism, we will endeavour to draw from those of the Church of Rome herself. The arsenals, to which we shall recur, are what Dr. Milner calls the infallible decrees of his general councils, and the doctrinal decisions of the Church of Rome. He ought to be aware, that the cause which

we advocate must be triumphant; if we succeed in fixing a single proof of folly, nonsense, contradiction, or absurdity, upon his Popes in their doctrinal decisions, or upon the decrees of his general councils respecting faith and morals; and this, we presume, may be very easily done. It is self-evident, if a single decision of a council, maintained by the partizans of Rome to be infallible, is proved to be foolish, nonsensical, or absurd, or even contradictory to, or inconsistent with, the decrees of any other council, held also to be infallible, that the whole fabric of infallibility is subverted, and, "like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaves not a wreck behind."

Nobody, we think, will deny that our senses were bestowed upon us by the Giver of "*every good and perfect gift*," not to lie dormant, but to be made the best use of in the business of life, for our own happiness and advantage. That man, who carries the use of any of them, or of all of the senses, to the highest degree of perfection in the practice of the arts, or in the improvement of the sciences, is always held in higher estimation, by the concurring judgments of mankind, than those by whom they are either suffered to lie waste, or to remain unimproved and uncultivated. Nobody, possessed of common sense ever thought of preferring a bad mechanic, or artist, of any kind, to a good one. If such then be really the case with respect to *the senses*, must it not, *à fortiori*, be so likewise with regard to our mental faculties and powers? And as these are, confessedly, of a much higher order than the senses, must it not be self-evident, that they also were intended to be used by us, for the improvement and benefit of our being? Now it must be universally allowed, that, of the mental faculties, the powers of *reasoning* and *judgment* are, by far, the highest in the scale of excellence, and therefore the most important. It must also be allowed, that the man, who possesses these in the greatest degree of perfection, is the most perfect and accomplished of our species. None but fools could ever think of comparing some empty, smattering logician, or some half learned divine, with Locke or Chillingworth. Without the use of our mental faculties, particularly of *judgment* and *reasoning*, we could never have ascertained the divine origin and authority of Revelation: nor could we even know, whether Paganism, Mahometanism, Deism, or Atheism itself, were not preferable to Christianity. It therefore clearly follows, that these faculties must be used by us in all our inquiries concerning faith and morals; and if concerning the origin and general evidences of Christianity, why not also, *in all cases*, where the meaning of the Scriptures may be

obscure, doubtful, or disputable? Like all other ancient writings, the Scriptures have been altered and corrupted by the ignorance, hurry, and even by the frauds, of transcribers. How were these alterations and corruptions to be detected and corrected, except by a candid, earnest, and attentive exertion of our mental powers? Besides these considerations, it deserves to be remarked, that the use of these faculties in matters of religion is no where prohibited in the New Testament: whilst it is certain that there are many passages in it from which the contrary opinion is fairly and clearly deducible. If, therefore, the Roman Catholic Church presumes to prohibit the use of these faculties, in religious inquiries, in opposition to the Scriptures, and merely on the score of its own infallibility, such an argument can have no weight in the present discussion, the object of which is, not only to question that infallibility, but also to prove that it has no existence.

It has been well remarked that private judgment is a *rule*, not *ruling*, but *ruled* by the word of God; and that as such we can never act lawfully against it in obedience to the highest mortals, it being the dictate of conscience, God's deputy in the soul, never to be contradicted. How irrational then, and impious, must it not be to require a man to believe what is not clearly revealed in Scripture? If it be clearly revealed, he cannot but believe it: but, if he does not see it contained in Scripture, it is impossible to force either his *sight* or his *faith*. Consequently *his obedience cannot be required*, without the exercise of his *private judgment*: The maxims of the blind advocates of an infallible church are, however, very different from these: they maintain, even in their catechisms, that we ought to submit our *reason*, as well as our wills, to what they call the law of God; that is, in plain English, to whatever it suits their interested views to characterise by that denomination.

That Saint Paul, whose authority is, at least, as good as that of the Church of Rome, allows the right of private judgment in religious matters, appears to us, as it has done to many before us, plain and unquestionable:—"I speak (says he) as to wise men; JUDGE YE YOURSELVES WHAT I SAY," (1 Corinth. x. 15.) And again: "JUDGE YE YOURSELVES, is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered?" (Ibid. xi. 13.) In another place he writes thus: "One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. LET EVERY MAN BE FULLY PERSUADED IN HIS OWN MIND." (Rom. xiv. 5.) St. Luke is also against the Church of Rome, for he says in the words even of Christ himself:—"Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth; but how is

*it that ye do not discern this time? YEA, AND WHY EVEN OF YOURSELVES, JUDGE YE NOT WHAT IS RIGHT?"*—(xii. 56.) And again, in the Acts: "*These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, AND SEARCHED THE SCRIPTURES DAILY, WHETHER THOSE THINGS WERE SO.*" (xvii. 11.) But we have even a still higher authority than that of any, or even of all the apostles and evangelists, on our side: for even Christ himself challenged the Jews to search the Scriptures concerning him, and therefore, in recommending the examination of them, must have allowed the undoubted right of *private judgment* in matters of religion and morals.—"*SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES* (said he); *for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me.*" (John v. 25.) To these passages we may add the words of St. Peter, the reputed head of the Roman Catholic church:—"BE READY ALWAYS TO GIVE AN ANSWER TO EVERY MAN THAT ASKETH YOU A REASON OF THE HOPE THAT IS IN YOU."—1 Peter iii. 15.)

In justice to the divines of the Church of Rome, in general, we are ready to admit that most, if not all, of those religious opinions in which they differ from the Church of England, are founded by them on certain passages of the Scriptures; in support of which, however, where holy writ is not sufficiently clear, or explicit, they bring forward also the aid of *tradition*. Their opponents of the Church of England, however, bringing an equal degree of integrity and candour, and certainly a greater share of sound learning and philosophy, to the investigation, are decidedly of opinion that the tenets and practices in question cannot be fairly deduced from, or justified by, the texts and authorities brought to support them; and, further, that the pretended traditions of the Romish divines cannot be relied on in matters of so much importance. It must therefore evidently follow, upon this view of the subject, that it is altogether a matter of doubt whether the disputed doctrines and practices are contained or not in the Scriptures; and consequently that Christians are not obliged to believe any thing positively concerning them, since the opinions of persons of the greatest integrity, candour, and learning, respecting them, are so inconsistent and various.

But the Romish divines do not suffer the matter to rest here: they bring forward an additional argument in support of their practices and opinions. The disputed doctrines and practices, say they, are certainly justified by the Scriptures and by tradition, since the Roman Catholic Church, which is *infallible* in



matters of faith and morals, has decided them to be so. When Roman Catholics are hard run in controversy, this argument is always their last shift; it becomes therefore necessary to sift it to the bottom. The matter then is brought to the issue, that the Roman Church, if it be, as it maintains itself to be, *really infallible*, must necessarily have the better side of this controversy, and that its opinions and practices, in that case, ought to be received in preference to those of its opponents: but should it, on the other hand, upon a full and fair inquiry, appear that the assumed infallibility has no foundation, then it must evidently follow that every Christian is left to the exercise of his own judgment and reason in what concerns morals and religion, just as he is upon every other subject of speculation or research; and therefore that no Christian is bound to believe any thing concerning the doctrines and practices in question, except in proportion as he may find them to be fairly or satisfactorily taught in the New Testament.

The Roman Catholics have long and loudly complained of the British legislature for depriving them of civil and political rights on the score of religion; that is, they claim, as an *indefeasible right*, the *right* or *privilege* of following the religion of *their own choice*; in other words, the religion which their *reason* and *judgment*, so far as they use them, lead them to consider as the safest and the best. In this instance, therefore, even the Roman Catholics themselves are staunch advocates for the liberty and right of *private judgment*, even in religious matters. No man, they have constantly maintained in their emancipation petitions to the legislature, has any right to controul the religious practices or opinions of another, or to hinder him from adopting or following such as he may think fit. This they affirm for this reason, that a man's religious opinions are not, and cannot be, a subject for the cognizance of his neighbours, being a matter wholly between his God and himself. In this instance therefore, at least, Roman Catholics are as great sticklers as Protestants ever were for the right of private judgment in religious concerns. In answer to this they cannot reply, that their object is civil and political power (though we know that to be the fact), as such a confession would contradict all their petitions and speeches for emancipation. Unfortunately, they will not seek the only emancipation which would do them good, which they really want, and which is entirely in their own power; we mean, an emancipation from spiritual tyranny, and from priestly bondage.

In attempting to prove the infallibility in question, the Ro-

ish divines reason in a circle, or use the circulating syllogism, which, as logicians well know, proves nothing. This dogma, it is clear, cannot be proved by reason; nor will traditional arguments be admitted to possess any weight on this subject by any well-informed or rational opponent. The doctrine, therefore, if at all susceptible of proof, must be proved by Scripture authority alone. That the passages from the New Testament, which the Romish divines adduce for this purpose, are not at all decisive or satisfactory, is clear from the fact, that all their opponents, among whom we find several scholars and divines (to say the least of them) equally well-informed and candid with themselves, agree in giving quite a different interpretation of the passages in question.—It must be therefore manifest, while persons of equal integrity and learning differ so completely with regard to the real meaning and application of those texts, that the assumed infallibility is so far from being demonstrated, that it is not rendered even probable; nor is it, accordingly, incumbent upon any rational inquirer to believe such a tenet in opposition to his own conviction or opinion. When we add to this, that we find many foolish, contradictory, and even absurd decrees in the decisions of their general councils, which, when regularly convened, they hold to be infallible, and these decrees too relating to essential points of religion and morals, we must conclude that their claim to infallibility is wholly unfounded; for, surely it is quite fair and rational to judge, as Christ has told us to do, of the tree by its fruit. The matter, therefore, stands thus in this stage of the controversy. The Romish divines say, that the infallibility of their church is proved by certain texts of Scripture: that it is so proved, however, is positively denied by their opponents availing themselves of the right of private judgment, and of the use of all their mental faculties. Thus far both parties seem to be perfectly equal: but when the Romish divines advance a step further, and affirm that the texts in question *do certainly prove the infallibility*, because their church, which is *an infallible one*, has so interpreted them, then they run into the circulating syllogism, and prove nothing. It is therefore a just remark, that “*The Catholic hierarchy, by insisting that the laity, &c. should receive the sense attached to Scripture by the church, that is by themselves, had thus resolved their authority*” (that of the Romish Church) “*into their own authority to interpret Scripture.*”—Mr. Grier has made a few remarks on this subject, which we submit to our readers: “Throughout the Letters, in which he (Dr. Milner) treats of the ‘*True and false*

*-Rules.* Dr. Milner affords repeated instances of the Popish mode of arguing in what is termed a *vicious circle*. With him the church unerringly determines the authority of Scripture, while the authority of Scripture determines the inerrability of the church. He was sensible that the objection had been before successfully made by Protestant writers; and, as if it were in anticipation of its recurrence, he endeavours to elude its force in this fanciful way: he supposes that a personage, calling himself the king's delegate, and whom from circumstances he believed to be really such, had presented him with a letter, in which the king expressed his wish that the same credit should be given his messenger's declaration as would be given his own. Here we may perceive that the delegate represents the church, and the letter the Scriptures. He (that is, the church), decides infallibly on the authority of the letter (that is the Scriptures,) while their authority confirms his infallibility. I here ask Dr. Milner, whether the case be like that of the Baptist bearing testimony to Christ, and Christ bearing testimony to the Baptist? or, whether, when he says "that the (Roman) Catholic Church follows the right rule, and the right rule infallibly leads to the (Roman) Catholic Church," Let. 60, p. 192, "he can deny that this is a mutual testimony, which, as running in the vicious circle, is destructive of itself? For, when he believes the Scriptures, because the Church bids him, and believes the Church because the Scriptures bid him, what is it but arguing in a circle, and proving the thing by itself? But I shall not weary the reader's patience with further proofs of such fatuity." (Grier's Reply, &c. p. 32, 33.)

The Romish divines, finding themselves hard pressed, attempt to get out of the straits and absurdities in which this reasoning in a circle involves them. But their mode of attempting to extricate themselves is but ill calculated to lessen their perplexities. When accused of adding unnecessarily to Christianity, and of teaching doctrines and practices not sanctioned by the Bible, they endeavour to justify themselves by saying, that their Church does not innovate upon Christianity, inasmuch as she professes to interpret the Scriptures by the authority of the fathers and by tradition. Thus, it is affirmed, by their greatest champion (Bossuet), that it is by means of tradition that we learn the true sense of Scripture. But this surely is not true, since even the fathers themselves are very far from being uniform in their interpretations of the Scriptures. "The Church," he adds, "will say, as the apostles did, (Acts xv. 28,) 'it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us,' &c." (Expos. of the Cathol. Faith,

§ 19.) But surely the cases are very far from being *identical*, or indeed similar, for this reason, to say nothing of others, that the apostles gave the best proofs of their inspiration by the numerous and striking miracles which they performed; whereas the bishops of the Church of Rome, even when assembled in their general councils, have left us none of theirs, so far as we can learn—though they have left us, on record, proofs of their ignorance, folly, and absurdities, in abundance.

The pretended infallibility of the Church of Rome being once disproved, it will necessarily follow, that the *peculiar doctrines* and practices of that Church must stand or fall in proportion as they shall appear to all candid and competent inquirers, judging and reasoning to the best of their information and abilities, to be or not to be supported by the authority of the Scriptures. The exercise, therefore, of the judging and reasoning powers of the human mind is not only requisite, but necessary.

But were we even to admit, which we never can, that certain passages of the Scriptures go the length of proving the infallibility of some particular church, we should still contend, that the Romish Church could not be meant by the church in question, as we shall speedily prove, by various examples, that this famous church has fallen into several errors. This being the case, it will follow, that the texts, addressed to St. Peter, in the gospels, or those applied by Romish divines to him and to his supposed successors, the Popes, as well as those others which they adduce to prove the infallibility of their own church, cannot be extended to the Popes, or to the Church of Rome, in times subsequent to those of the apostles.

So far as we at this moment remember, there are no more than three or four texts of Scripture that have any thing like a direct bearing upon the present question. These have, accordingly, been used to prove, that the promises of supremacy and infallibility, supposed to have been made to Peter and the other apostles, were intended to apply also to Peter's reputed successors, the Popes or Bishops of Rome, and also to the Church of Rome, in every age down to the end of the world. But it seems clear to us, as the power of working miracles was, with very few exceptions, confined to the apostles and disciples, that the privilege of infallibility, if ever it existed after Christ himself, was confined to them also. But were even the apostles themselves, highly gifted as their Divine Master made them, so privileged as to be always infallible, or free from error? To say nothing of the fallibility and weakness of Peter in thrice denying his Master, we know that this prince of the apostles, as the Romish Church calls him, was not only accused of error by St. Paul, but even pleaded guilty to the charge. (Gal. ii. 11, &c.)

With what face, then, can infallibility be ascribed to all, or to any of the Popes, supposing them to be really St. Peter's successors; or, indeed to the Church, when we have it on record that even an inspired apostle was not always infallible? When, therefore, it is thus manifest that even St. Peter could err, and that, too, after the ascension of Christ, and at a time when Christianity, being then only in its infancy, stood more in need of inspired and infallible teachers than at any subsequent period, how can infallibility be supposed to be at present necessary either in the Popes, or the Church of Rome, or indeed in any particular church? Is it at all probable, or even likely, that Christ would have bestowed the highest of all possible gifts, that of *inerrancy* or *infallibility*, upon INFERIORS, when he had not, as we know from this fact respecting St. Peter, fully bestowed it, either upon the apostles themselves, or upon their reputed head?

The individuals who assist at a general council are obliged to exercise their powers of judgment and reasoning on the various topics on which they are called to decide. The Church of Rome does not maintain that each of the members of a general council is inspired; for, in that case, the opinions of the most ignorant would be of equal weight and value with those of the most wise and learned. Now, if the use of judgment and reasoning be required (as we shall prove them to be, on the authority of the Council of Trent,) even in those who are said to be inspired and directed by the Holy Spirit, in order to form a correct decision, just as much as it is in those who pretend to no inspiration at all, may we not ask how much of the supposed infallible decisions of the Romish Church is to be ascribed to the mere natural powers of judgment and reasoning, and what portion of them is the peculiar or exclusive result of divine inspiration? At all events, whether this question admits of any adequate solution or not, it is evident, even from the words of the Council of Trent itself, that divines, whether inspired, or guided and assisted solely by their own learning and mental faculties, must always exert their powers of reasoning and judgment, to arrive at the truth in matters of religion.

It would be doing an injustice to our readers, as well as to our argument, not to take notice of the declarations of the Church of Rome on this subject. The following words form a portion of the edifying remarks of the Fathers of Trent in their second session:—" *Ipsa synodus hortatur omnes Catholicos hic congregatos, et congregandos, atque eos præsertim, qui sacrarum literarum peritiam habent, ut sedulâ meditatione diligenter secum ipsi cogitent, quibus potissimum viis et modis, ipsius synodi intentio dirigî, et optatum effectum sortiri possit.*" And again:—" *In sententiis vero*

*dicendis \* \* \* nullus\*debeat, aut immodestis vocibus perstrépere, aut tumultibus perturbare; nullus etiam falsis, vanisve, aut obstinatis disceptationibus contendere: sed, quidquid dicatur, sic mitissimâ verborum prolatione temperetur, ut nec audientes offendantur, nec recti iudicii acies perturbato animo inflectatur.*" What a pretty picture is afforded us, in these extracts and advices, even by the fathers themselves, of the scenes of violence, tumult, and disorder, which we know from history to have been frequent in the general councils. It is, surely, a very curious picture of an œcumenical synod, said to be assembled, as the Romish divines maintain all of them to have been, under the influence and immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, (or, to use the words of the Trent Fathers, "*in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata,*") to tell us, that it was necessary to lecture them about their behaviour like a parcel of disorderly or riotous schoolboys, and to advise them *not to talk indecently, or to act in too noisy, tumultuous, or disorderly a manner!* These advices and regulations remind us of those of an Empress of Russia, mentioned in Goldsmith's works, in which she commanded, *that the ladies should not come drunk to the ball-room, and that no gentleman should strike or knock down a lady at a public assembly!!*—"Each of the other is the parallel."

The real state of the facts, as the Romish divines maintain, is, that the bishops, when assembled in councils, by regular authority, are not individually infallible, for they often differ in opinion: but they give their judgments by vote, and it is only to the *general result* of these votes so given, that they claim infallibility. Again, it is not for every decision of their Popes that they claim infallibility, but only for those which Popes pronounce authoritatively, or "*ex cathedra,*" and which are afterwards received as just by the great body of the dispersed bishops. At the fourth session of the famous Council of Trent, at which, it is well known, *the divine authority of the Vulgate Latin Bible, of the Apocrypha, and of tradition,* was decreed, only *forty-eight* bishops and *five* cardinals were present. The doctrine, however, of the Romish Church on this point, as already stated, is that *when all the bishops are lawfully summoned,* whatever number may attend, whether *ten or ten thousand,* their decisions are infallible. Of the fifty-three prelates who pronounced thus definitively on the foregoing most important, and hitherto undetermined, points, not one individual was remarkable for profound theological knowledge, or, indeed, for any kind of sound philosophical or classical learning. Nor can it, therefore, but be considered as something very extraordinary, that they should have hurried over, *in so thin a meeting,* a business of this kind, which, from its paramount importance, required the fullest attendance, and the most mature and deli-

berate consideration. What renders their conduct in this affair still more strange is, that they themselves, in their third session, made a declaration in favour of the propriety of having their decisions sanctioned by meetings as numerous and respectable as possible. Their own words on this point are:—"Eadem sacrosancta, œcumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitimè congregata, in eâ præsidentibus eisdem tribus apostolicæ sedis legatis, intelligens multos prælatos, ex diversis partibus, accinctos esse itineri, nonnullos etiam in viâ esse, quo huc veniant; *cogitansque omnia, ab ipsâ sacrâ synode, decernenda, eo majoris apud omnes existimationis et honoris videri posse, quo majori fuerint et pleniori patrum consilio et præsentiâ sancita, et corroborata; statuit, &c.*" Surely these infallible fathers must have had very short memories, when, in the *very next session*, that is, *in the course of a single month*, after having put forth the above declaration, "*it seemed good to them*," and no doubt also, as they would have us believe, "*to the Holy Spirit*," (whom they always take good care to render responsible for a portion of their nonsense or absurdity,) to decree the divine authority of the *Vulgate Latin Bible*, of the *Apocrypha*, and of *tradition*, in a meeting so thin as to consist of only five cardinals and forty-eight bishops!!

It is no small argument against the truth of this doctrine of infallibility, that it is peculiarly calculated to damp, or rather to check altogether, the spirit of free inquiry; and, therefore, the possibility of religious or theological improvement. As soon as men fancy themselves to be in possession of perfect knowledge upon any point, what inducement can they possibly have to undergo the toils and fatigue of further inquiry? It deserves, therefore, to be remembered, that the Romish Church has acted with perfect consistency in the spirit which we are condemning; for it is notorious that this church has, at all times, shown itself the determined enemy of research and improvement. The books condemned by the popes, councils, universities, and bishops, were such in general as were written in an honest and liberal spirit of inquiry; while several of them were, in the opinions of the best and most disinterested judges, as well as in the estimation of all Europe, first-rate performances. Well, therefore, has it been said, "*If you wish for a good book, look into an inquisitor's prohibited list; if you seek a good cause, choose that which interested men dislike.*" We must add, besides, that this system was calculated, not only to keep mankind in the dark, but also to screen effectually the errors and abuses of the Church itself, and thus to keep them secure, not only from the fear of exposure, but even from any chance of being reformed. Nor was it the public alone, or mankind in

general; that this system was calculated, or probably intended, to hoodwink, or keep in the dark, but even the inferior orders of the clergy of the Church of Rome itself, who would expose themselves to what the Romish divines call a *censure*, should they attempt to read any of the prohibited books without the previous permission of their superiors.

We have said that this doctrine of infallibility was calculated to damp the spirit of free inquiry, if not to suppress it altogether. In confirmation of the truth of this remark, we may now add, that the Romish Church has never been a promoter or encourager of the reading and study of the Scriptures among its numerous followers. It is a curious illustration of this fact, that we have known several Roman Catholic clergymen, whose scanty libraries did not contain a copy of the Bible in any language. It has often struck us as singular, that the Church of Rome should have forgotten to bear in mind the curse pronounced, even by Christ himself, against the lawyers, in St. Luke's Gospel: "*Woe unto you, lawyers, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.*" (Luke ii. 46.) It is, as we have already remarked, rather singular, that the Church of Rome should shut her eyes to the above denunciation in St. Luke, especially as several, if not all, of their own commentators, allow that the knowledge there alluded to by Christ was that of the Scriptures. Well, surely, may it be said of the Romish divines, when they assert their own church to be infallible, and maintain her doctrine, that *she alone can understand the Scriptures*,—that "*they love darkness rather than light.*" (John iii. 16.)

Had the general councils of the Church of Rome contented themselves with stating what they considered to be the meaning of difficult or disputed passages in the Bible, their conduct might be deemed excusable, if not praiseworthy. This, however, it seems, was not sufficient to answer the purposes of the Church; and accordingly we find that they have not satisfied themselves with authoritative explanations of particular passages, but have frequently gone the length of passing declaratory decrees,—that is, decrees stating what was, or what was not taught in the Scriptures *generally*. For instances we may refer to various parts of the Council of Trent; thus, to canons 1, 3, 5, "*De sacramentis in genere*," (sess. 7,) and to canon 1, "*De sacrificio missæ*," (sess. 22.) The reader will find the passages in the note.\*

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\* "*De Sacramentis in Genere.*"

CANON I.

"*Si quis dixerit sacramenta novæ legis non fuisse omnia a Jesu Christo, Domino nostro, instituta; aut esse plura, aut pauciora, quam septem, videlicet,*



Instead of making a creed or confession of faith the *result*, and, indeed, as it ought to have been, the *final result* of all their deliberations, the Council of Trent *began* with the formation of one: a sure proof, were one necessary, that their object, whatever they may pretend to the contrary, was not the correction of errors or the reformation of abuses, but the confirmation of the opinions and practices previously maintained and established in the Romish Church. Hear how the fathers themselves speak on the subject:—"Itaque, ut hæc pia ejus sollicitudo principium et progressum suum per Dei gratiam habeat, ANTE OMNIA statuit et decerni præmittendam esse confessionem fidei, patrum exempla in hoc secuta, qui sacratoribus consiliis hoc scutum contra omnes hæreses in principio suarum actionum apponere consuevere; quo solo aliquando et infideles ad fidem traxerunt, hæreticos expugnaverunt et fideles confirmaverunt." (sess. 3.) This *very consistent* mode of proceeding is what the holy fathers have called "taking up the shield of faith, to enable them to extinguish all the fiery weapons of the wicked one." Thus too it is that they pretend to put on "the helmet of the hope of salvation;" and to fight with "the sword of the spirit," "the word of God." "*In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possint omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere, atque galeam spei salutis accipiant, cum gladio Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei.*" (Ibid. and Ephes. c. 6.)

But now that the wise proceedings of this *infallible* council reminds us of the fact already noticed by us, it is again worthy of remark that but few, if indeed any persons of really sound classical and philosophical learning were present at its numerous sittings and deliberations. One would be inclined to suppose that the prelate chosen to preach the inauguration sermon, which immediately preceded the opening of the council,

Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Pœnitentiam, Extremam Unctionem, Ordinem, et Matrimonium, aut etiam aliquod horum septem non esse vere et proprie sacramentum; anathema sit."

#### CANON III.

"Si quis dixerit hæc septem sacramenta ita esse inter se paria, ut nullâ ratione aliud sit alio dignius; anathema sit."

#### CANON V.

"Si quis dixerit hæc sacramenta propter solam fidem nutritam instituta fuisse; anathema sit."

#### "De Sacrificio Missæ."

#### CANON I.

"Si quis dixerit in Missâ non offerri Deo verum et proprium Sacrificium, aut quod offerri non sit aliud, quam nobis Christum ad manducandum dari; anathema sit."

must have been distinguished for his talents or acquirements. Of this, however, the following extract will enable us to form as correct an opinion as if we had been present at the holy father's discourse. This sermon was preached by the Bishop of *Biponts*, who attempted to prove, by the most childish reasoning, and in the worst taste, "That a Council was necessary, because several councils had extirpated heresy, and deposed kings and emperors; because the poets assemble councils of the Gods; because Moses writes that at the creation of man, and in confounding the language of the giants, God acted in the manner of a council; because religion has three heads, doctrine, sacraments, and charity, and all these three are termed a council." The holy father proceeds, and exhorts the members of the Council to strict unity, like that of the heroes in the Trojan horse! He asserts "that the gates of Paradise and of the Council are the same; that the holy father's should sprinkle their dry hearts with the living water that flowed from it; and that otherwise the Holy Spirit would open their mouths like those of Balaam and Caiaphas." (Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent.) This extract, it must be owned, affords us no very favourable sample of the learning and wisdom of the renowned fathers of Trent.

In answer to the arguments drawn from certain passages of the Scriptures applicable to St. Peter and the other apostles; so far as these passages may be supposed to have any tendency to prove the infallibility claimed by the general councils and by the popes, it may be, and it has been justly alleged, that the apostles did not transmit to their successors, the *bishops*, all the powers with which they were themselves invested. They could not, for instance, confer on the bishops the power of testifying, like themselves, the resurrection of Christ. Besides, it may be added, that the apostolical office was not only different from, but superior to the episcopal. Though many bishops were appointed during the lives of the apostles, they are no where, so far as we can discover, called *apostles*, but always *bishops*. Again, the authority of the *bishops* was confined to small portions of the church, while that of the apostles extended to the entire church. All the apostles acted in the choice of Matthias. (Acts, i.) Each apostle could ordain bishops. Each of the apostles was infallible in doctrine: This not one of the bishops was, nor is, though they claim infallibility in their collective capacity when assembled in general councils. The powers of apostles and bishops were different. Supposing the popes to be really the successors of St. Peter, it could not possibly have been to his *apostolical*, or *universal* authority, which, as already remarked, extended to

the whole church, that they succeeded. *All* the apostles had *universal* authority; and yet we hear of no successor to any of them in *this* authority, except to *Peter alone*. If there be any *clear, direct, and satisfactory* texts of Scripture to show that *all* the powers conferred upon the apostles were intended to extend to their successors, the bishops, or to any of them, let them be produced.

We shall now proceed to show by a few examples taken from the decrees of her own general councils, that the Church of Rome has not the character and credentials of infallibility. We have said by *a few* examples, because our limits necessarily confine us; and because *one example*, if satisfactory and conclusive, is as decisive of this question as *ten thousand*. Instead of going further back into antiquity, and selecting our first cases in point from the records of the earlier councils, it is our intention to begin with the last and most noted of them all, the far-famed Council of Trent. This synod, after various delays and postponements, at last held its first session on the 13th of December, 1545; and after sitting, with a few intermissions, for *eighteen* years, was finally dissolved, having concluded its 25th session, on the 4th of December, 1563.

We have already stated that at the celebrated *fourth* session of this council, at which *the divine authority* of the *Vulgate Latin Bible*, of the *Apocrypha*, and of *tradition*, was *finally* decreed, there were no more than five cardinals and forty-eight bishops present, out of the universal church. This sitting was held on the 8th of April, 1546. Thus then does it appear, that the most important questions decided by the fathers of Trent, were settled in a meeting of only *fifty-three* ecclesiastics, none of whom has left a name behind him for great proficiency in any species of learning. But the very curious and consistent mode in which these infallible fathers proceeded in this most memorable assembly, is worthy of further consideration, and affords one of the most extraordinary illustrations on record, of the *fallible* operations of that *infallible* spirit, by which the general councils of the Church of Rome pretend themselves to be guided and actuated. It was thus:—In the *first* place, they decreed, that *the ancient Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible* was *correct, sacred, and canonical*; not merely in general, or as a whole, but even (*with the expression*) *IN ALL ITS PARTS*, and ordered it to be received <sup>as</sup> such, under the penalty of an anathema.\* This, however, though rather a

\* “Si quis autem libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, anathema sit.” And again, “Insuper eadem sacrosancta synodus, considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesie Dei,

bold step, was not quite enough; for in a *subsequent* part even of the very same session, they ordered a new and MORE CORRECT edition of this very *Vulgate Latin Bible*, or *translation*, to be printed; "*Decernit et statuit ut posthac Sacra Scriptura, POTISSIMUM VERO HÆC IPSA VETUS ET VULGATA EDITIO QUAM EMENDATISSIME IMPRIMATUR.*" Thus was this famous translation FIRST ordered by them to be received, under the penalty of damnation, as *correct, sacred, and canonical*, IN ALL ITS PARTS ("in omnibus suis partibus,") and then pronounced almost in the same breath, by these same infallible men, to be capable of EMENDATION! ("quam emendatissime imprimatur.") The farther we recede from the truth, the more difficult shall we find it to return to it. So far as we can judge from the ordinary share of common sense possessed by men now-a-days, we should be apt to suppose that these holy and infallible fathers went quite far enough, when they decreed A MERE TRANSLATION (the Latin Vulgate) to be of equal authority in all controversies respecting morals and religion with THE ANCIENT HEBREW AND GREEK ORIGINALS. A commentator, however, of some celebrity in the Church of Rome, namely, the Jesuit *Tirinus*, has gone still further, and affirmed that this very Vulgate translation is OF MORE AUTHORITY EVEN THAN THE ORIGINALS. \*

It would however seem that one absurdity was not considered sufficient by these fifty-three infallible fathers, for the business of one session; and they accordingly proceeded to decree no less than three or four at the same memorable sitting. Thus, notwithstanding the unavoidable errors of manuscripts, transcribers, compositors, printers, correctors and editors, after decreeing the *equal authority* of a *mere translation*, and its perfect *integrity*, not merely as *a whole*, but even IN ALL ITS PARTS, they proceeded, as we have already shown, to order that a *new* and *corrected* edition of this already *correct, sacred, and canonical*, that is *perfect work*, should be forthwith published!—To decree the *equal authority* of any translation of an ancient original work, full of obscurities and difficulties, was certainly

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si ex omnibus Latinis editionibus, quæ circumferentur, sacrarum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat; statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsâ ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur; et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat, vel præsumat." "Omnes, itaque, intelligant quo ordine et viâ ipsa synodus, post jactum fidei confessionis fundamentum, sit progressura, et quibus POTISSIMUM testimoniis ac præsidis, in confirmandis dogmatibus, et instaurandis in ecclesiâ moribus, sit auctora."

\* See the "*Index Controversiarum*," in his Latin Commentaries on the Bible, in 2 vols. folio, cap. 2, § 9.

going great lengths, and exposing to much cavil the claim of infallibility; especially when it is considered that there was not probably in that sitting one person well versed either in Greek or Hebrew, the study of which was scarcely at all attended to in that age. But to pronounce *mere tradition*, whether it regards matters of *faith* or of *discipline*, of equal authority with the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, was, we think, carrying the bravery of unsupported assertion as far as it could well be carried. And this, it is well known by all who have looked into their decrees, was the first step taken by the fathers of Trent at this famous fourth stage, or session of their proceedings. The language of the fathers themselves, in which they declare that *they receive these unwritten traditions with equal respect, piety, and veneration as they do the Scriptures themselves*, is worth transcribing: "Sacrosancta, œcumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, &c. &c. perspicuens hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis, et *sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ipsius Christi ore ab apostolicis accepta, aut ab ipsis apostolis, Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus tradita, ad nos usque pervenerunt*; orthodoxorum Patrum exemplasecuta, omnes libros tam Veteris, quam Novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, *nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes*, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas, et continuâ successione in ecclesiâ Catholica conservatas, *PARI PIETATIS AFFECTU AC REVERENTIA SUSCIPIT ET VENERATUR.*" And again: "Si quis, autem, traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contemserit, anathema sit." If in fifteen or sixteen hundred years hence, a synod of critics or historians should maintain that the accounts preserved by *mere tradition*, relative to the *Battle of Waterloo*, were of *EQUAL AUTHORITY* with the *historical accounts* of the same events *regularly compiled* in the present times, supposing the latter to be correctly preserved and authentically handed down to posterity at that period, would they not be laughed at, and that too most deservedly, by all men of common sense? And what is there to prevent us from thinking and speaking in the same manner respecting the conduct of these fathers of Trent, in presuming to pronounce the traditions of the Church of equal authority with the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments? Their decree on this occasion appears to the eye of common sense very absurd; not less so indeed than their other decree of the same session, by which it appears, that "*it seemed good to the Holy Spirit*" (as they modestly speak on these occasions) "*and to them*," to declare the equal authority of the Vulgate Latin translation of the Bible and of the ancient Hebrew and

Greek originals. Justly may it be said of these worthy fathers, that "*they made the word of God of no effect, by their traditions.*"

Most of our readers, if we do not greatly deceive ourselves, will agree with us in thinking, that the preceding decrees betray more of the spirit of folly and presumption, than of infallibility. The following extract from the proceedings of the same session, against the right of individuals to interpret the Scriptures in opposition to the sense attached to any part of them, by the Church of Rome, will be found of a similar stamp and character :—

"Præterea, ad coercenda petulantia ingenia, decernit, ut nemo suæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei et morum, ad edificationem doctrinæ christianæ pertinentium, sacram scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione scripturarum sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimam consensum Patrum, ipsam scripturam sacram interpretari audeat; ETIAMSI HUIUSMODI INTERPRETATIONES NULLO UNQUAM TEMPORE IN LUCEM EDENDÆ FORENT. Qui contravenerint, per ordinarios declarentur, et pœnis a jure statutis puniantur."

To show, that the spirit, by which these infallible fathers were actuated, was not peculiar to themselves, or confined to that epoch, we shall transcribe two passages, one from an ancient father of the church, Tertullian, and the other from a modern father, we mean Dr. Milner himself. These, we think, will clearly demonstrate, that, in one respect, at least, the spirit of the Church of Rome has been the same in the *third*, the *sixteenth*, and the *nineteenth* centuries. The last extracts from the Council of Trent are our vouchers for the *sixteenth* century; Tertullian will answer for the *third* century; and Dr. Milner for *the present*. Let us begin, however, by citing the very curious and edifying words of the latter.

"Before I enter (says Dr. Milner) on the discussion of any part of Scripture, with you, or your friends, *I am bound, dear sir, in conformity with my rule of faith*, as explained by the fathers, and particularly by Tertullian, *to protest against your and their right to argue from Scripture*, and, of course, to deny any need there is of my replying to any objection, which you may draw from it. For I have reminded you, that '*no prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation*;' and I have proved to you, *that the whole business of the Scriptures belongs to the Church*. She has preserved them, she vouches for them, and she alone, by confronting them, and by help of tradition, authoritatively explains them. Hence, *IT IS IMPOSSIBLE, that the real sense of Scripture should ever be against her and her doctrine*: and hence, of course, I might quash every objection which you can draw from any passage in it, by this short reply, *the Church understands the passage differently from you; therefore, you mistake its meaning*. Nevertheless, '*as charity beareth all things and never faileth*,' I will, for the better satisfying you and

your friends, quit my vantage ground, for the present, and answer distinctly to every text, which any of you, gentlemen, or which Dr. Porteus himself has brought against the Catholic method of religion." (End of Rel. Controv. vol. i. p. 407, 408.)

We shall quote the passage from Tertullian, in Dr. Milner's own English version of it. Speaking of the heretics of his time, Tertullian says :—

"They meddle with the Scriptures and adduce arguments from them: for, in treating of faith, they pretend, that they ought not to argue upon any other ground than the written documents of faith: thus they weary the firm, catch the weak, and fill the middle sort with doubts. *We begin, therefore, with laying it down as a maxim, that these men ought not to be allowed to argue at all from Scripture.* In fact, these disputes about the sense of Scripture have, generally, no other effect than to disorder the stomach, or the brain. *It is, therefore, the wrong method to appeal to the Scriptures,* since these afford either no decision, or, at most, only a doubtful one. And, even if this were not the case, still, in appealing to Scripture, *the natural order of things requires, that we should first inquire to whom the Scriptures belong?* From whom, and by whom, and on what occasion, and to whom that tradition was delivered, by which we became christians? For, where the truth of christian faith is found, there is the truth of Scripture, and of the interpretation of it, and of all christian traditions."

He elsewhere says :—

"That doctrine is evidently true, which was first delivered: on the contrary, that is false, which is of a later date. This maxim stands immovable against the attempts of all late heresies. Let such then produce the origin of their churches. Let them show the succession of their bishops from the apostles, or from their disciples. If you live near Italy, you see before you eyes the Roman church: happy church, to which the apostles have left the inheritance of their doctrine with their blood. Where Peter was crucified, like his Master; where Paul was beheaded, like the Baptist! If this be so, it is plain, as we said, that heretics are not to be allowed to appeal to Scripture, since they have no claim to it. Hence, it is proper to address them as follows: *Who are you? whence do you come? what business have you, strangers, with my property? by what right are you, Marcion, felling my trees? by what authority are you, Valentine, turning the course of my streams? under what pretence are you, Appelles, removing my landmarks? The estate is mine. I have the ancient, the prior possession of it. I have the title deeds delivered to me by the original proprietors. I am the heir of the apostles: they have made their will in my favour; while they dis-inherited and cast you off as strangers and enemies.*"\*

Dr. Milner, no doubt for the purpose of pointing out all its very striking beauties, and to testify his own high sense of its

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\* *Præscript. advers. Hæres. Edit. Rhenau, pp. 36, 37.—And End of Relig. Controversy, vol. i. pp. 110, 11, 12.*

merits, has thought proper to print the concluding part of these extracts in *italics*. In this instance we have followed his example, although we are not aware, that it is possible to add to their emphatic absurdity. We do not remember having ever read, in any work, ancient or modern, three passages more presumptuous, shameless, and sophistical, than those which we have just quoted from Dr. Milner and Tertullian. We are even very doubtful whether we could point out a parallel to them in any language.

The next example, in support of our opinions and argument, shall be taken from the Trent Canons, on the subject of the Eucharist. Allowing then, for a moment, merely for the sake of argument (for, otherwise, the doctrine is perfectly unsupported, and, indeed, absurd), that the Romish doctrine on the subject of transubstantiation is deducible from certain passages of the New Testament, we must still be allowed to ask, on what grounds the fathers of Trent proceeded, when they passed their first canon on the subject of the Eucharist? Admitting that they could adduce Scripture texts sufficiently clear to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation, that is, to prove that the *body and blood* of Christ are *substantially* present in the sacrament, yet we wish to know and would willingly learn from the Romish divines, what Scripture authorities can be produced in support of their doctrine, that, not only the body and blood, but even THE VERY SOUL AND DIVINITY OF CHRIST ARE ACTUALLY PRESENT IN THE EUCHARIST? This, however, is the case, if we believe the Trent fathers, who, by their decree, have bestowed upon a sinful, and frequently an ignorant priest, or at best upon a merely finite and mortal being, the power, if not of creating a divinity, at least of bringing down upon earth, in express contradiction to the Scriptures, on the same day, and at the same hour, perhaps, in a hundred thousand parts of the world, the only begotten Son of God from the right hand of his Father. Their own words are the best record of their infallible opinions:—"Si quis negaverit, in sanctissimæ eucharistiæ sacramento contineri vere, realiter et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem, UNA CUM ANIMA ET DIVINITATE DOMINI NOSTRI, JESU CHRISTI, AC PROINDE TOTUM CHRISTUM; sed dixerit tantummodo esse in eo, ut in signo, vel figuro, aut virtute, anathema sit." Their *third* canon is equally absurd:—"Si quis negaverit, in venerabili sacramenta eucharistiæ, *sub unaquaque specie, sub singulis cujusque speciei partibus, separatione facta, TOTUM CHRISTUM contineri*, anathema sit." They add also in the *fourth*:—"Si quis dixerit *in hostiis, seu particulis consecratis, quæ post communionem reservantur, vel supersunt, non remanere verum corpus Domini*, anathema sit."



To these palpable instances of the fallibility of the Church of Rome, it is our intention to add only one fact more, at present, taken from the earlier records of christianity. The Romish Church, as already noticed, professes not to innovate, in matters of religion, but only to teach the doctrines handed down to her in regular and uninterrupted succession, since the days of the apostles : and yet has it presumed, without Scripture authority, or rather in direct contradiction to it, to make an addition to the words addressed, by the Angel Gabriel, to the Virgin Mary, in the beginning of St. Luke's gospel : "*Hail, highly favoured,*" (or, "*full of grace,*") *the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women;*" to which Elizabeth added, "*And blessed is the fruit of thy womb.*" The reader may also remember the Romish prayer, called the "*Ave Maria,*" or "*Hail Mary,*" which was manufactured out of these extracts, with the following absurd and impious conclusion : "*Holy Mary, MOTHER OF GOD, pray for us, sinners, now, and in the hour of our death, amen.*" In giving the names of impious and absurd to this addition, we allude to the words MOTHER OF GOD, introduced in direct opposition to the language of the whole New Testament. We are well assured that our Redeemer possesses the fulness of the godhead, and, as touching the same, is equal to the Father; still the words, *Mother of God*, as applied to him, are, in every sense, unwarranted and unprecedented, and the doctrine contained in, or implied by them, a gross and palpable absurdity. When the Church of Rome resolved upon giving a *Mother to God*, that is, *of providing a mother for an infinite, uncreated, and eternal Being*, one would be tempted to imagine, that their notions of the nature and character of the Deity went no higher than to the scale of those worthies, who passed for divinities among the pagan world. To call Mary *the Mother of God*, because she was the mother of Christ, so far *merely* as his *simple humanity*, or manhood, was concerned, is a most curious, and, indeed, extraordinary illustration of the infallibility of the Romish Church. When weak and fallible men, voluntarily excluding the light, and shutting their eyes upon their own fallibility, will go the length of fancying themselves infallible, what folly and nonsense may not be expected from them ? If those, however, which we have been describing, be really, as they appear to be, the genuine fruits of the tree of infallibility, we know of no other tree, that can pretend to be its peer, except the noted *upas*, or poison tree of Java. Christ, it will be remembered, has told us to judge of the tree by its fruit : now, though the fruit, or rather the effects of the *upas* tree, be poison and death ; and those of the tree of infallibility be only folly, absurdity, and nonsense ; yet, it is quite certain,

that the *former* has fallen infinitely short of the *latter*, in the real misery and calamities which it has diffused, and so long entailed upon mankind.

Having now gone through a few of the examples and arguments, to which we had resolved to confine ourselves, in encountering the tenet of Romish infallibility, we think we may safely terminate the controversy here, leaving to Dr. Milner the task of refuting us, if he can. He frequently expatiates in boasting terms, and sounding phrases, (see his work, vol. iii. p. 5, and vol. ii. Postscript) of the proofs and demonstrations, by which he would persuade his correspondents that he had fully established his doctrines and opinions; but is it possible to produce out of this work, which he has been improving for twenty years, a single instance in which he has established any important point in dispute between Romish and Protestant divines, by half so decisive a demonstration as that which we have just concluded against the infallibility of his Church?

The pretended infallibility of the Church of Rome being once set aside, it follows that the right of private judgment in religious matters is fully established. But, in reply to this, it has been often objected, that the great and ignorant mass of mankind are (and must for ever be) incapable of thinking and judging correctly for themselves on matters so difficult and obscure as those in question; and, therefore, that the liberty of private judgment, even if it were not pernicious, would be of no use to nine-tenths of mankind. So far as the illiterate and ignorant are concerned, all this may be granted, without such a concession being at all conclusive against the right itself. The great body of the people, by their circumstances and situation, must ever rely on the authority of those who are better informed, and have more leisure for inquiry than themselves. But, notwithstanding all this, it may still be answered, that the great mass of mankind are fully competent to understand and to admit the leading truths of Christianity; for instance, those contained in the Apostles' creed, they being, for the most part, historical; and that the hearty belief of these alone, coupled with holiness of life, is all that is necessary for salvation. Had the apostles, or those who framed their creed (which was done at least in their age), been of opinion that the belief of a greater number of articles was necessary for this purpose, they would, no doubt, have been introduced into this creed. Their not having done so, shows what their opinions were on the subject; and it is ever to be regretted, that divines in after ages have not had the good sense to follow their wise example in this respect, instead of perplexing

mankind with a multitude of presumptuous subtleties, and enlisting them in wrangling and mischievous squabbles and controversies without number. With respect to these, and indeed to all the abstruse, speculative, or theoretical dogmas, about which controversial divines have been so long writing and wrangling, it would be idle to suppose that it is necessary for the great body of the people, that is, for the illiterate and vulgar mass of mankind, to believe any thing.

Though Dr. Milner has written an entire volume on what he calls *the characteristics of the true Church*; viz. *unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity*, we must at present confine ourselves to a few remarks on this part of his work. The Romish divines endeavour to establish an *exclusive* claim to these *four marks*, yet it is certain that they are far from possessing the *unity* of which they have been always so boastful. It is well known that they have been, at all times, divided upon very important points; for instance, in the affair of the Jansenists and Jesuits,—in the eternal war carried on between the Franciscans and Dominicans,—and the Scotists and Thomists, on matters both of doctrine and discipline; as well as in the disputes so frequent among the popes and bishops, on points of authority and jurisdiction. In addition to these, we may refer to those strange proofs of *unity*, the various *schisms* of the Romish Church, amounting to *twenty-three grand ones*, according to *Pauvinus*, (*Chornicon*, ed. 1568, and to *twenty-six*, according to *Petavius*; (*Tab. Chron. Scismat. et Antipaporum*, ed. 1724,) as well as to the fact that, within the same period, there were no less than *thirty-two* usurping and schismatical popes!—(*Pauvinus*, *ib.*) What was called the *great Western schism*, which began in 1378, and ended in 1428, may also be referred to. For the *fifty* years during which this dissension was fomented with such fatal success, the Church of Rome had two or three different heads at the same time; “a circumstance,” says Mr. Grier, very justly, p. 407, “which does away all its claims to *unity, sanctity*, and *infallibility*.”—(*Mosh. Eccles. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 316—328.) As to the mark of *sanctity*, they cannot deny that this, in its true sense, is frequently to be found among their opponents as well as themselves, however great the accumulation during the great length of time that the Church of Rome has existed, of what they denominate *saints*. With regard to *catholicity*, or *universality*, their claim will appear, from a few facts, to be altogether unfounded. “According to a correct statistical account, lately published in France, of the population and different denominations of Christian Europe, the Roman Catholics are to the Protestants of different communions, in a *ratio* of somewhat

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less than *two and a half to two*; the former being stated at *one hundred*, and the latter at *forty-two millions*. Now, if to these *forty-two millions* be added *thirty-two millions* of what the French calculator calls *schismatic Greeks*, meaning those not in communion with, or under the jurisdiction of the papal see; and likewise upwards of half a million of other denominations, including Herrnhutters, Menonists, &c. &c. who equally protest against popish errors; the gross number of all the sects, dissentient from the Church of Rome, would amount to somewhat more than *seventy-four millions and a half*. According to this calculation, the proportion of Roman Catholics in Europe to other Christians of different denominations would be somewhat less than *one and a third to one*."—(Grier's Reply, &c. p. 408, 409.) Had the Romish divines contented themselves with saying, that they were the most numerous, their claim might be allowed; but, in pretending to catholicity, or universality, they oppose themselves to plain facts: and, it is worthy of remark, that the word "*holy*" only existed in the real Apostles' Creed, the clause having been originally, "*I believe in the HOLY Church*," the word *catholic* being a subsequent innovation, made by the Church herself, without authority. With respect to the fourth, or last mark, *apostolicity*, it is clear that all sects of Christians have their origin in that source, inasmuch as they have all derived their common Christianity from the preaching and writings of the apostles and evangelists.

We have remarked, that the *unity or uniformity* of belief, so much talked of by Romish divines, is not possessed even by their own Church. This uniformity is, in fact, as it has been well remarked, but a mere name, existing neither in belief nor in profession. How very different were the opinions of the Jesuits and Jansenists, in France, respecting faith, and almost every point of duty. Catholics themselves are very far from agreeing as to the extent of the power of their popes, as is notorious from the disputes between the *Ultramontanists* and their opponents, the Italian divines. Neither do they agree as to the real seat of infallibility in their own Church, though that may be called the foundation of their *uniformity*; some supposing that it rests with the pope (and this was the opinion of several of the popes themselves), as appears from their bulls; some think that it is vested in the pope and cardinal; while others ascribe it to the general councils, with the popes at their head; and, finally, there are those who ascribe it to a general council, without the concurrence of the pope; alleging, what is sufficiently true—that the Roman emperors presided at some of the general councils. It is affirmed, by cardinal *Cusanes*, that the

emperors, or their deputies, were present at eight of them. And *Bellarmino*, the most able of the advocates of the Roman Catholics, repeatedly affirms, that several of the Roman Catholic writers agreed with *heretics*, in asserting the councils to be above the popes.—(*De Conciliis*, l. 2, c. 14, *et alibi*.) Here, it has been well remarked, is high authority for diversity of opinion in the Church of Rome.

Severe, as Dr. Milner's admirers may think that we have been upon him thus far, the charge which we now proceed to bring against him is of a far heavier nature, involving something like a breach of moral integrity. Our accusation is indeed so very grave, that, for the sake of literary integrity and controversial fair dealing, as well as of the credit of his character, we wish, though we fear in vain, that he may be able to extricate himself from it. Our charge against him is *the voluntary garbling, and the voluntary suppression* of most important evidence, in many instances; but, more especially, his *voluntary mutilation* of a very important passage in one of the ancient fathers, whom Dr. Milner has quoted in support of *transubstantiation*, though he could not but know, if quoted fully and impartially, that his declarations were wholly subversive of that incredible dogma. The writer to whom we allude is St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, the full authority of whose writings is admitted by the divines of the Church of Rome. To make good our charge, we shall first give a fair and impartial translation of the passage in question, to which we shall add Dr. Milner's mutilation and garbling of it, in his own words. In the note will be subjoined, in the original Greek, some of the parts which he has omitted, and which will be found to be the most important portions of the whole.

"Since then (says Cyril) Christ declared and told us of the bread—'*This is my body*,' who shall venture any longer to raise a doubt?—And since he affirmed and said—'*This is my blood*,' who shall doubt, saying this is not his blood?—He once changed water into wine, at Cana in Galilee, by his own power, and is he not to be believed when he changes wine into blood?—Being called to a corporeal wedding, he wrought this unexpected miracle; and shall he not much rather be acknowledged, when giving to the children of the bridechamber the fruition of his body and blood?—So, then, with all fulness of persuasion, let us partake AS IF of the body and blood of Christ. For in the *type* of the bread the body is given thee, and in the *type* of the wine the blood is given thee, that thou mayest become, by taking the body and blood of Christ, one in body and blood with him. Thus we also become bearers of Christ, his body and blood being conveyed into our members; and thus, as the blessed Peter says, we become partakers of the divine nature. Formerly, Christ discoursing with the Jews, said,—'*Unless ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have no life*'

in you.'—(John vi. 53). But they, not knowing that these things were spoken by him SPIRITUALLY, taking offence, retired from him, imagining that he was inviting them to an eating of his own flesh."—(Cyril. Cataches. Mystagog. iv. p. 293.)

So much for the real sentiments of St. Cyril of Jerusalem upon transubstantiation: let us next see how they are mutilated and travestied by Dr. Milner. In the 63d page of his third volume, the learned Doctor is pleased to write thus:—

"I must omit the clear and beautiful testimonies for the Catholic doctrine which St. Hilary, St. Basil, St. John, Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Austin, and a number of other illustrious Doctors of the fourth and fifth ages furnish; but I cannot pass over those of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and of St. Ambrose of Milan, *because these occurring in catechetical discourses, or expositions of the Christian doctrine, to their young Neophytes, must, evidently, be understood in the most plain and literal sense they can bear.*"

He then, alluding to St. Cyril, goes on thus:—

"The former says—'Since Christ himself affirms thus of the bread: *This is my body*; who is so daring as to doubt it? And, since he affirms—*this is my blood*, who will deny that it is his blood? At Cana of Galilee, he, by an act of his will, turned water into wine, which resembles blood: and is he not, then, to be credited when he changes wine into blood? Therefore, full of certainty, let us receive the body and blood of Christ: for under the form of bread is given to thee his body, and under the form of wine, his blood.'

This is all of the passage in St. Cyril that is given by Dr. Milner, who has not condescended to transcribe any part of the original Greek, even into his Notes. By a comparison of the Doctor's version with our translation of the real sentiments of Cyril, it will be immediately seen, that he not only left out the most important part of the entire passage, namely, that portion towards the end, where the father informs his Neophytes that Christ spoke not in a LITERAL but in a SPIRITUAL (Πνευματικῶς) or metaphorical sense; but also, that he has actually slurred over, or left out, the most important word, even in that part of the passage which he himself has given to his readers. The word to which we allude is the Greek word *ὡς* in the following sentence—*ὡς, μετα πάσης πληροφορίας, ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνομεν Χριστόν.* In our translation we have preserved this word, it being, in fact, the key-stone of the whole passage; which clearly demonstrates that St. Cyril did not consider the bread and wine to be really, that is substantially, the body and blood of Christ, although Dr. Milner, by leaving out the effect of this word in his version of the passage, tells his correspondents and his readers, that the misrepresented father

was an advocate for his own absurd doctrine of transubstantiation.\*

It will not be of any avail for him to say, that he did not consult the original works of St. Cyril himself, but that he contented himself with quoting the passage, at second hand, from some other writer, by whom it was mutilated and corrupted. He will not, we presume, pretend to say he has not read the *Rev. Mr. Grier's answer to Ward's work on the supposed Errata of the Protestant Bible*, because we find that he mentions this gentleman and his performance in more than one part of his Letters on *The End of Religious Controversy*. Now, the whole passage from Cyril of Jerusalem, as translated above, with those portions of the original Greek which we have given in the Note, were published in Mr. Grier's *answer to Ward*; and, therefore, must have been read by Dr. Milner, along with that gentleman's remarks upon them. Whether the Doctor will have recourse, in order to exculpate himself, to the excuse of a treacherous memory, we know not; but of this we are certain, that, if he does, considering the importance of the point in dispute, and the forcible manner in which it was commented upon by Mr. Grier, he will find but few, if indeed any, possessed of sufficient credulity to believe him. After this exposure, we scarcely think that he will be again found writing in the following strain, as we find him doing in one of the notes of his Introductory Address to the Bishop of St. David's.—“To one only objection of his adversaries the writer here wishes to give an answer, *that of having quoted falsely*; which, however, has been advanced by very few of them, and is confined, as far as he knows, to two instances.”†

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\* The original Greek of St. Cyril's conclusion of the passage is as follows:—

“Οὕτω γὰρ Χρισθοφόροι γινόμεθα, τὸ σωματός αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ αἵματος εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀναδιδόμενα μέλη.” Οὕτω, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον, θείας κοινωνίας φύσεως γινόμεθα. Ποτε Χρῆστος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διαλεγόμενος εἶπεν—ἵνα μὴ φαγῆτε μὲ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πῖνῆτε μὲ τὸ αἷμα, ἐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς,—ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἀκηκοότες πνευματικῶς τῶν λεγομένων, σκανδαλισθέντες ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, νομίζοντες, ὅτι σαρκοφαγίαν αὐτῷ προτρέπεται.” In using the word *spiritually*, St. Cyril evidently follows the words of Christ himself, who says in the discourse alluded to by the father, in John vi. 63,—“It is the *spirit* that quickeneth, the *flesh profiteth nothing*: the words that I speak unto you, they are *spirit* and they are life.”

† Mr. Grier has convicted him, over and over, of garbling, suppression, misrepresentation, and misquotation: thus, with respect to the late Bishop of Landaff's charge to his clergy in 1795 (p. 54—56, &c.); with respect to the opinions of Gunning, the Bishop of Ely, at pp. 129, 30; with respect to *Jeremy Taylor*, at pp. 130, 1, 2, 3, &c. and at pp. 144, 5; with respect to *Theridylke*, at pp. 135, 6; with respect to Bishop Cosin, at pp. 136, 7. *Ignatius* is garbled, as may be seen, *ibid.* pp. 155, 6; Archbishop *Bromhall*, at pp. 176, 7; *Hooker*, at pp. 178, 9, 80; *Chillingworth*, at pp. 247, 8, 9, &c.; Dr. *Tomline*, at p. 200; Archbishop *Usher*, at pp. 237, 8, 9; and the Bishop of Exeter, at p. 290.

In concluding our review of this learned *Theologue*, we give the sentiments of Mr. Grier as corresponding with our own.

"If *truth* be the *end* of controversy, Dr. Milner could not have selected a title less expressive of such an object; nor of the means used to attain it, than that which he has prefixed to his last publication. The work, to which I allude, assumes the specious name of '*The End of Religious Controversy*,' but were it his desire to establish the very opposite of what he professes to do, he could not have pursued a course better calculated to effect his purpose than that which he has taken on the present occasion. In vain may the reader expect, on opening the pages of this veteran polemic, to meet with what should always characterise controversial writing—courteousness, good temper, candour towards an adversary, and moderation in defence of the writer's own opinions. In vain may he look for impartial decisions on the merits of conflicting opinions; for candid inquiry; for fair argument; or for fair representation. Such hopes would be illusory in the extreme; since, in almost every page, he will find passages perverted from their original meaning, misquotations, garbled extracts from the fathers, lying legends, the false miracles and arrogant pretensions of the Church of Rome, and the jargon and sophistry of the schoolmen; together with a revival of all the calumny, falsehood, and abuse, which Gregory Martin in the sixteenth, and Thomas Ward in the seventeenth centuries, have heaped on the Church of England, its clergy, and its ordinances. When, in addition to this, it is considered, that he commences and concludes his book with an attack on our prelacy, far exceeding in virulence that of Chaloner, Walmsley, Hawarden, Plowden, Drumgoole, or Gandolphy; and that the intermediate parts correspond with the extremes, we can have no hesitation in pronouncing upon the *end* which he had in view, and in saying, that he could not have adopted a less appropriate title for his precious Digest than that which he has given it." (*Prefatory Remarks*, p. 2—4.)

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ART. XVIII.—POEMS BY BERNARD BARTON.

1. *Napoleon, and other Poems.* By Bernard Barton. 8vo. London, 1822.
2. *Verses on the Death of Percy Bysshe Shelley.* By Bernard Barton. London, 1822.

FOR Mr. Bernard Barton, we entertain a real esteem. He has faults, but we hardly know how to censure his faults, they lean so much to the side of virtue. They are, however, of a nature to do more injury to the cause of virtue, than some others which involve far greater obliquity of principle. We are angry with



him for not being more angry with what, to his good dispositions, we know must be odious. We could wish him to be a more cordial hater, if it were only for the sake of his poetry. But let us not be misunderstood; we would not have him hate his kind, or desire harm to any human being; but a stern and strenuous hatred of vice, and a fearless reprobation of it, more especially when it seeks to multiply its converts, and enshrine itself in popular prejudice, would not be unbecoming even in a member of the peaceful brotherhood to which Mr. Barton belongs. Poetry, whose natural element is strong and vivid representation, cannot be neutral on moral subjects, without a sacrifice of its specific character. And though it would be great injustice to the bard whose performances are before us, not to admit him to be a warm friend to virtue, he will, we know, forgive us, if we say that there is something of excess in his moderation towards the decidedly wicked, which has a tendency to perplex those authentic divisions by which right and wrong stand eternally distinguished.

Mr. Barton will not suppose that we are suspecting him of the want of clear principles in his own mind. His performances decidedly and uniformly indicate a correct judgment, and an exquisite moral sensibility: but he hesitates too much to call things by their right names. In refraining from thinking evil, he fulfils an obligation of scriptural charity; but in his mode of treating those who do evil too notoriously to leave the intention equivocal, he mixes more courtesy than substantial charity requires or allows. Much, however, is to be conceded to Mr. Barton's habits and associations, and to the character of the society to which he belongs. Of that society he seems to us to be a distinguished ornament; he has dispelled the twilight which has dimmed its intellectual world, and has dressed up its drab-looking scenery in the colours of a rich imagination; he has dissipated the monotony, without disturbing the calm of the Quaker's peaceful province. The very placidity of character that belongs to this fraternity he has elevated into a theme of poetical beauty, by a process, as some may think, not exceeded in ingenuity by the curious art of raising sunbeams from cucumbers.

As far as regards our own impressions, Mr. Barton has rightly anticipated in his preface an ill sound and effect, in the title of his principal poem. We like not, most certainly, the name Napoleon. The name was never agreeable to us, having been always associated in our minds with ideas of military usurpation, and the government of the sword. We must likewise confess, that having formed our notions of heroism chiefly from the models of our own history, and those perhaps of the flourishing

days of the Roman Commonwealth, the subject of Mr. Barton's poem has been always very distasteful to our feelings. Our prejudices against the man have been increased against his memory by all the efforts which have been made to canonize him since his death. There is a polar distance between the sentiments of our own minds and those of his panegyrists; and the very colour and tone of every eulogy that has been bestowed upon him, have served only to increase the antipathies with which his name has always been coupled in our antiquated ideas. The misfortune of the British Review is this, that it is growing more and more British every day; every day maintaining more of the fashions of our *grandmother*, even to the cut of King William's and Lord Somers's days, and every day more and more annoyed by the introduction of foreign habits and opinions into our country, that seem to us, such are our silly prejudices, to smell of snuff, and dirt, and pollution. It is this extreme nationality that possibly prevents our doing justice to the Imperial Exile whom Mr. Barton has taken for the theme of his song; and disposes us to think his muse much too neutral and forbearing in treating of the actions of a man, against whom our own prepossessions are so strong, and whom our author professes to try by the standard of Christian rectitude. It is not railing that we are regretting the want of, but rather that decided tone, to refrain from which, on matters connected with the sanctity and supremacy of moral truth, is a misprision that can hardly excuse itself on any grounds of Christian charity.

After thus explaining ourselves, we are happy to give Mr. Barton the praise which seems to us to be his due. His mind appears to be in the happiest tune; perfectly in unison with all the harmonies of the Christian dispensation. There is not a passage in any of his productions which is not directly or indirectly favourable to the felicity and moral advancement of mankind. His poetry, if not always of the first order, abounds in specimens which entitle the author to the rank and estimation of a man of genius. His taste, indeed, is somewhat deteriorated by a certain pravity of imitation which makes him forget that the language of song is not the language of conversation, and keeps him among those flats and levels in which the streams that issue from the founts of poesy settle into stagnant pools. Mr. Bernard Barton is, however, capable of superior things, and often stands on very elevated ground, from which his vigorous intellect stretches itself over a broad expanse of rich and various scenery. In descriptive talent he particularly excels. His heart and sentiments accompany his pencil, and

inanimate nature breathes under his touch. Whether Mr. Barton has begun his career as an author early or late in life we know not, for we have not the least knowledge of him but through his works; but we dare prophesy that if he shall live in health a few years longer we shall have many productions of his pen that will do honour to his country and to the present age. Religion appears to have obtained a happy ascendant in his mind, and to hold his genius in most honourable servitude. His poetry is the handmaid of his piety, and is never so rich in thought and so full of soul as when it borrows its inspiration and reflects its lustre. Modern days have furnished no happier instance of this alliance of poetry with sound religion. Mr. Barton, without awakening the passions, has found the means of touching the affections; the tear which he produces is as chaste as the dew of heaven; the sympathy which he stirs is such as angels may feel; the joy which he imparts is such as the father may share with his daughter—the son with his mother. We have no fear of his ever deserting this path, or seeking any other road to fame. In the illustration of the meek and modest graces of character he has a field before him full of sweet and fragrant luxuriance, where many a wild and beautiful floweret grows with which he may weave for himself an unfading chaplet. It is, in some degree, a new department, and it offers itself to the genius of this amiable Quaker as his own by right of occupancy and natural claim.

The author's preface is in the main well written. We were rather surprised, indeed, that he should think it necessary to apologize for being the advocate of peace. His views and wishes in this respect are perfectly congenial with our own. A society for bringing about an universal peace through the world, beginning with our own country, we have, in a former part of this journal, treated as very ridiculous, being calculated, as far as it could operate at all, to encourage mutiny and invite subjugation; but in the endeavour to promote a taste for peace by extending the genuine influence of Christian principles, all good men must sympathise with this amiable writer. This love of peace appears to be his principal ground of objection to Buonaparte. He impeaches him only as a man of war, standing upon the same level with other heroes of sanguinary renown, to whose ambition the world's happiness and human rights have been sacrificed. Now this is not the view we take of that person. He had, indeed, all the vices, and committed all the crimes, which are usually implied in the career of the man who conquers and usurps a throne; but his character, in its more common features, so little accords with

our conceptions even of the spurious greatness of the conqueror, that we cannot even compliment him with the credit that belongs to "that bad eminence."

As the poem, which the author has named "Napoleon," was designed to be a metrical argument in behalf of peace, we think he has not improperly chosen a species of verse which, by its loose and floating texture, gives room for the fuller expression and extension of each thought, and allows it to be followed out with a sort of colloquial freedom, which, if it is not carried to an excess of familiarity, is pleasing and affecting. Mr. Barton's thoughts and images are of so tranquil a sort, and such, apparently, is his complexional kindness of feeling, that the plainness and simplicity of speech in which he indulges often exhibits his ideas with a suitableness that aids their impression; but it must not be dissembled that he sometimes goes beyond his charter, and rambles into a prosing chit-chat, into which the Muse disdains to follow him. We will now produce a specimen of his descriptive and sentimental powers. We take it from his "Napoleon." He first paints the condition and aspect of a peaceful village untouched by the sword, and then exhibits the lacerated scene after it has been visited by the spoliation of war. If there is anything overwrought on the softer side of the description, it is impossible not to love the man who has found in his own bosom an ideal picture of humanity so exquisitely pure and tender.

Come, take thy stand upon this gentle ridge,  
Which overlooks yon sweet secluded vale;  
Before us is a rude and rustic bridge,  
A simple plank; and by its side a rail  
On either hand, to guide the footsteps frail  
Of first or second childhood; while below  
The murmur'ing brooklet tells its babbling tale,  
Like a sweet under-song, which, in its flow,  
It chanteth to the flowers that on its margin grow.

For many a flow'ret blossoms there to bless  
The gentle loveliness whose charms imbue  
Its border;—strawberry of the wilderness;  
The star-like daisy; violet brightly blue;  
Pale primrose, in whose cup the pearly dew  
Glistens till noontide's languid, listless hour;  
And last of all, and sweetest to the view,  
The lily of the vale, whose virgin flower  
Trembles at every breeze within its leafy bower.

Now glance thine eye along the streamlet's banks  
Up through yon quiet valley; thou wilt trace

Above the giant mountains in their ranks,  
 Of bold and varied outline; little space  
 Below their summits, far above their base,  
 Umbrageous woods; and, last of all, thine eye  
 Will rest on many an humble dwelling-place  
 Of happy human beings; and descry  
 The lowly temple where they worship the Most High.  
 How quietly it stands within the bound  
 Of its low wall of grey, and mossy stone!  
 And like a shepherd's peaceful flock around  
 It's guardian gather'd—graves, or tombstones strown,  
 Make *their* last narrow resting-places known,  
 Who, living, lov'd it as a holy spot;  
 And dying, made their deep attachment shown  
 By wishing here to sleep when life was not,  
 That so their turf, or stone, might keep them unforgot!  
 It is a bright and balmy afternoon,  
 Approaching unto even-tide; and all  
 Is still except that streamlet's placid tune,  
 Or hum of bees, or lone wood-pigeon's call,  
 Buried amid embow'ring forest tall,  
 Which feathers, half way up, each hill's steep side:  
 Dost thou not feel such landscape's soothing thrall;  
 And wish, if not within its bowers t' abide.  
 At least to explore its haunts, and know what joys they hide?  
 Nor need'st thou wish a truer luxury  
 Than in its depths, delighted thou might'st share;  
 I will not say that nought of agony,  
 Blest as it is, at times may harbour there,  
 For man is born to suffer, and to bear:—  
 But could I go with thee from cot to cot,  
 And show thee how this valley's inmates fare,  
 Thou might'st confess, to live in such a spot,  
 And die there in old age, were no unlovely lot.  
 But time suffices not to loiter so;  
 Then let us take, as sample of the rest,  
 That lowly hut, where blooming wall-flowers grow  
 Above the ivy time has made its vest,  
 Like glist'ning foam-wreaths on a green wave's crest:  
 On one side of its porch, poor, old, and weak,  
 A patriarch sits, in homely raiment drest;  
 A woman opposite, whose faded cheek,  
 Though younger far than his, some lines of sorrow streak.  
 Yet in her form, once beautiful, is seen  
 Still fair proportion, natural elegance;  
 And though most matronly is now her mien,  
 And meekly chasten'd is the downward glance  
 Of her dark eye, who looks on it, perchance

May well conjecture, from its beauty, how,  
Ere grief had dimm'd by painful circumstance  
Its lustre, from beneath its arching brow  
It sparkled at love's tale, fill'd at affection's vow.  
And though that cheek is not, as youth's may be,  
In blooming beauty drest, 'tis lovely yet;  
And whoso looks upon it, soon may see  
That disappointed hope, and keen regret,  
Have marr'd, but not effaced, the charms that met  
In softest union on those features mild:  
Still may be traced the stamp which nature set  
Upon them, when sweet Agnes, then a child,  
Here warbled, like a bird, her carols free and wild.  
She lov'd, and married one, who long had been  
First playmate, then companion;—only son,  
And child, of that old man before her seen;  
And for a time existence smoothly run  
In a calm current; children many a one  
Were theirs, and if not wealth, at least content;  
Childless, and widow'd, is she now; for none  
Of those rich blessings bounteous Heaven had lent,  
Are left to call her own,—one after one they went.  
But though it cost poor Agnes many tears  
To see first one and then another die  
Of those sweet children, loveliest of their peers,  
At least they seem'd so in a mother's eye;  
And though it was still deeper agony  
When the pale messenger the last time came  
To call her husband hence; no impious sigh  
Impeach'd Omnipotence: she felt His claim  
“Who gives, and takes away; and bless'd his holy name!”  
(P. 32—37.)

The description of the playmates who figure in this lovely picture of sequestered innocence, and soft but melancholy serenity, is an effort as original as it is excellent. It is thus that these little personages are invested with an importance which fills and animates the whole enchanting scene of rural elegance which the poet has placed before us.

Behold, two lovely children now have stray'd  
From some near cottage to that bowery tree;  
And Agnes sees them coming, half afraid  
To trust herself a sight like this to see:  
A girl, the eldest, who perhaps may be  
Ten summers old, assumes her sagest look,  
Sits down, and opens wide upon her knee  
Her youngling brother's well-conn'd spelling book,  
Who turns from thence his eye to yonder bubbling brook.

For sweetest flow'rets are up-springing there,  
 Which he would rather pluck than learn to spell;  
 But when he hears his teacher's lips declare  
 That he shall have those flowers he loves so well,  
 As guerdon of his labour—to compel  
 His fixed attention, there requires no more;  
 The task is learnt, repeated; then pell-mell  
 They scamper forth amid that shining store;  
 His pupilage is past, her gravity is o'er.

Among those flowers the happy playmates quaff  
 Delight as innocent as flowers are fair;  
 And Agnes hears the frequent shout, the laugh,  
 Break on the stillness of the balmy air.  
 But now a tenderer scene ensues;—look where  
 The sister quietly resumes her seat  
 Under that tree of blameless knowledge there,  
 And hears him, kneeling by her side, repeat  
 His evening prayer to God, in lisping accent sweet!

That done, his rosy cheek the guileless boy  
 Rests on her knee, upturns his eyes to hers,  
 And glances of affection, truest joy,  
 Between their hearts are still interpreters.  
 The sun, meantime, behind those sable firs,  
 Is softly sinking; but his lingering streak  
 Is on those lovely children:—zephyr stirs  
 The glistening locks which hide *his* cherub cheek,  
 And many a kiss *she* prints, a sister's love to speak!

This is no sight for Agnes to behold  
 Unmov'd;—nor can she, viewing it, forget  
 How her own darling us'd to be of old  
 Just such, and so employ'd. But though regret  
 May thrill her heart, its better hopes are set  
 Upon its inward comforter and stay;  
 She rises up, and going forth, has met  
 Those young companions on their homeward way;  
 They know her kindness well, and childhood's greetings pay.

She kisses each with tenderness, and smiles  
 As meekness only can, when tears suppress  
 Are felt—though viewless:—they, with gentle wiles  
 Of playful innocence, by her carest,  
 Whom next to their own parents they love best,  
 Beguile her from herself;—till when they part  
 Even she is sooth'd, nor thinks her lot unblest,  
 Since still she can, though tears at seasons start,  
 Partake in others' joys with no ungrateful heart!

Why do I linger o'er this portraiture  
 Of idle fancy?—wherefore—but to show

How much there is of beauty to allure  
 In peaceful quietude ; did man but know,  
 And knowing, seek, what is most truly so,  
 O much there is to be most thankful for,  
 E'en in this world, despite of all its woe,  
 Would we but love each other, and abhor  
 Each harsh and cruel thought that leads to strife and war.

(P. 38—41.)

The scene is now shifted, and the happy valley shows itself to view after the work of blood has been done in it. The poet thus exhibits the change from gentleness and joy to the desolation produced on the same ground by the havoc of war:—

But to that happy valley turn once more,  
 When war's destroying angel there has been :—  
 Had Winter's devastations, or the roar  
 Of elements, alone, deform'd the scene ;  
 Still, in its ruins, it had worn the mien  
 Such natural scourges mostly leave behind ;  
 Some of its features yet had smil'd serene,  
 Ev'n in the absence of all human-kind,  
 And with our darkest fears a hope might be combin'd.

Now its once rustic bridge is lopp'd away  
 By some rude pioneer's regardless stroke ;  
 Each peaceful homestead, blest but yesterday,  
 A shapeless mass of ruins, black with smoke :  
 The graceful birch, tall pine, and sturdy oak,  
 Which bosom'd the sweet hamlet, too, are hewn ;  
 And hideous, maim'd, half putrid corpses choke  
 The murmuring brook, which, on that afternoon,  
 Had music in its flow of most delightful tune.

Nor have they spared the solitary tree,  
 Beneath whose boughs that child her brother taught ;—  
 Agnes, the patient Agnes ! where is she ?  
 And her old helpless father ? He who caught,  
 From her meek smiles and accents, feelings fraught  
 With more than joy. Those lovely children too,  
 Where are they all ? We dare not trust our thought  
 To tell their tale, nor follow fancy's clue ;  
 Lest e'en the very worst should fearfully prove true.

Perhaps—but why conjecture ? can we guess  
 Horrors more foul than War itself supplies ?  
 The blood of age staining its silver tress ;  
 Childhood, or fright, or famine's sacrifice ;  
 The ruin'd maidens unavailing cries :—

All these might be their lamentable lot,  
 Whose home was late so lovely in our eyes :  
 We know but this—they were ! and *here* are not !  
 And feel we stand indeed on an ACCURSED SPOT !



O War! thou art indeed the deadliest curse  
 Which Heaven can suffer, or the world endure;  
 However pride thy glories may rehearse,  
 Or hopes of fame thy votaries may allure.  
 Volcano, earthquake, pestence impure,  
 Are evils; but they poison not the spring  
 Of thought and feeling: lenient time may cure  
 Their devastations; but to thine there cling  
 Resentment, rooted hate, and each unholy thing. (P. 42—44.)

We will now quote a passage from Mr. Barton's poem on the Sun, which appears to us to possess extraordinary merit. As the sun of the wicked is setting, it is our earnest hope that that of this Christian poet may continue to rise towards its virtuous meridian.

Can it be wond'rous then, before the name  
 Of the ETERNAL GOD was known as now,  
 That orisons were pour'd, and votaries came  
 To offer at thine altars, and to bow  
 Before an object beautiful as thou?  
 No, it was natural, in those darker days,  
 For such to wreath around thy phantom brow  
 A fitting chaplet of thine arrowy rays,  
 Shaping thee forth a form to accept their prayer or praise.  
 Even I, majestic Orb! who worship not  
 The splendour of thy presence, who control  
 My present feelings, as thy future lot  
 Is painted to the vision of my soul,  
 When final darkness, like an awful scroll,  
 Shall quench thy fires;—even I, if I could kneel  
 To aught but Him who fram'd this wondrous whole,  
 Could worship thee; so deeply do I feel  
 Emotions, words alone are powerless to reveal.  
 For thou art glorious! when from thy pavilion  
 Thou lookest forth at morning; flinging wide  
 Its curtain clouds of purple and vermillion,  
 Dispensing light and life on every side;  
 Brightening the mountain cataract, dimly spied  
 Through glittering mist, opening each dew-gemm'd flower,  
 Or touching, in some hamlet, far descried,  
 Its spiral wreaths of smoke that upward tower,  
 While birds their matins sing from many a leafy bower:  
 And more magnificent art thou, bright Sun!  
 Uprising from the ocean's billowy bed:  
 Who, that has seen thee thus, as I have done,  
 Can e'er forget the effulgent splendours spread  
 From thy emerging radiance? Upwards sped,  
 E'en to the centre of the vaulted sky,  
 Thy beams pervade the heavens, and o'er them shed

Hues indescribable—of gorgeous dye,  
 Making among the clouds mute, glorious pageantry.  
 Then, then how beautiful, across the deep  
 The lustre of thy orient path of light !  
 Onward, still onward, o'er the waves that leap  
 So lovelily, and show their crests of white,  
 The eye, unsated, in its own despite,  
 Still up that vista gazes ; till thy way  
 Over the waters seems a pathway bright  
 For holiest thoughts to travel, there to pay  
 Man's homage unto HIM who bade thee "RULE THE DAY."

And thou thyself, forgetting what thou art,  
 Appear'st thy Maker's temple, in whose dome  
 The silent worship of the expanding heart  
 May rise, and seek its own eternal home :  
 The intervening billows' snowy foam,  
 Rising successively, seem steps of light,  
 Such as on Bethel's plain the angels clomb ;  
 When, to the slumb'ring patriarch's ravish'd sight,  
 Heaven's glories were reveal'd in visions of the night.

Nor are thy evening splendours, mighty Orb !  
 Less beautiful : and oh ! more touching far,  
 And of more power, thought, feeling to absorb  
 In silent ecstasy, to me they are :  
 When watchful of thy exit, one pale star  
 Shines on the brow of summer's loveliest eve ;  
 And breezes, softer than the soft guitar,  
 Whose plaintive notes Castilian maids deceive,  
 Among the foliage sigh, and take of thee their leave.

O then it is delightful to behold  
 Thy calm departure ; soothing to survey  
 Through opening clouds, by thee all edged with gold,  
 The milder pomp of thy declining sway :  
 How beautiful, on church tower old and grey,  
 Is shed thy parting smile ; how brightly glow  
 Thy last beams on some tall tree's loftiest spray,  
 While silvery mists half veil the trunk below,  
 And hide the rippling stream that scarce is heard to flow !

This may be mere *description* ; and there are  
 Who of such poesy but lightly deem ;  
 And think it nobler in a bard, by far,  
 To seek in narrative a livelier theme :  
 These think, perchance, the poet does but dream,  
 Who paints the scenes most lovely in his eyes,  
 And, knowing not the joys with which they teem,  
 The charm their quiet loveliness supplies,  
 Insipid judge his taste, his simple strain despise.

I quarrel not with such. If battle fields,  
 Where crowns are lost and won; or potent spell  
 Which portraiture of stormier passion yields;  
 If such alone can bid their bosoms swell  
 With those emotions words can feebly tell,  
 Enough there are who sing such themes as these,  
 Whose loftier powers I seek not to excel;  
 I neither wish to fire the heart, nor freeze;  
 But seek their praise alone, whom gentler thoughts can please.

But if the quiet study of the heart,  
 And love sincere of nature's softer grace,  
 Have not deceiv'd me, these have power to impart  
 Feelings and thoughts well worthy of a place  
 In every bosom: he who learns to trace,  
 Through all he sees, that hand which form'd the whole,  
 While contemplating fair Creation's face  
 Feels its calm beauty ruder thoughts control,  
 And touch the mystic chords which vibrate through the soul.

Majestic Orb! when, at the tranquil close  
 Of a long day in irksome durance spent,  
 I've wander'd forth, and seen thy disk repose  
 Upon the vast horizon, while it lent  
 Its glory to the kindling firmament,  
 While clouds on clouds, in rich confusion roll'd,  
 Encompass'd thee as with a gorgeous tent,  
 Whose most magnificent curtains would unfold,  
 And form a vista bright, through which I might behold  
 Celestial visions—Then the wondrous story  
 Of BUNYAN'S PILGRIMS seem'd a tale most true;  
 How he beheld their entrance into glory,  
 And saw them pass the pearly portal through;  
 Catching, meanwhile, a beatific view  
 Of that bright city, shining like the sun,  
 Whose glittering streets appear'd of golden hue,  
 Where spirits of the just, their conflicts done,  
 Walk'd in white robes, with palms, and crowned every one.

Past is that vision:—Views of heavenly things  
 Rest not in glories palpable to sense;  
 To something dearer Hope exulting springs,  
 With joy chastis'd by humble diffidence;  
 Not robes nor palms, give rapture so intense  
 As thought of meeting, never more to part,  
 Those we have loved on earth; the influence  
 Of whose affection o'er the subject heart,  
 Was by mild virtue gain'd, and sway'd with gentle art.

(P. 69—76.)

This is the day in which vigorous verse on virtue's side

should not go without its recompense. How much does the cause of the father of lies and mischief gain by the prejudice which foolishly annexes an idea of vigour to vice, and always supposes something of valour in the desperation of the profligate. We mistake if the contrary is not at this moment exemplifying itself to the view of mankind. Mr. Barton is not only the poet of virtue, but a poetical admirer of those that, like himself, espouse her cause. His verses to Mrs. Hemans are worthy of himself and of her. It is thus that he twines a wreath for her brow :—

Had earth, and earth's delights alone  
Unto thy various strains given birth ;  
Then had I o'er thy temples thrown  
The fading flowers of earth :  
And trusting that e'en these, portray'd  
By thee in song, would spotless be,  
The jasmine's, lily's, harebell's braid  
Should brightly bloom for thee.

But thou to more exalted themes  
Hast nobly urg'd the Muse's claim ;  
And other light before thee beams  
Than fancy's meteor flame ;  
And from thy harp's entrancing strings  
Sounds have proceeded, more sublime,  
Than e'er were waken'd by the things  
Which appertain to TIME !

Yes, lady ! Thou hast truly set,  
Even to the *masters of the lyre*,  
An eloquent example !—yet  
How few have caught thy fire !  
How few of their most lofty lays  
Have to religion's cause been given,  
And taught the kindling soul to raise  
Its hopes, its thoughts to heaven !

Yet this at least has been thy aim ;  
For thou hast chosen that better part,  
Above the lure of worldly fame,  
To touch, and teach the heart :  
To touch it by no slight appeal  
To feelings in each heart confest ;  
To teach, by truths that bear the seal  
God hath himself imprest.

And can those flowers, that bloom to fade,  
For thee a fitting wreath appear ?  
No ! Wear thou then the ivy-braid,  
Whose leaves are never sere !  
It is not gloomy ; brightly play  
The sun-beams on its glossy green ;

And softly on it sleeps the ray  
Of moonlight, all serene.

It changes not, as seasons flow  
In changeful, silent course along;  
Spring finds it verdant, leaves it so;  
It outlives Summer's song;  
Autumn no wan, or russet stain  
Upon its fadeless glory flings;  
And Winter o'er it sweeps in vain,  
With tempest on his wings.

Take the following specimen of the memory of a fair Quaker  
revived by her portrait, or better traced upon the tender fancy  
of her affectionate friend:

But, O! too warmly glows my heart,  
While thus in thought beholding thee,  
For me to act the artist's part,  
Embodying each sweet phantasy:  
Beauty there is, that painting mars;  
Morn's mists, noon's glory, night's bright stars,  
And moonlight on the mighty sea;  
And yet all these but things express  
Of unenduring loveliness.

But Thou, when unto me 'tis given  
Thy semblance to behold,  
Now seem'st more like a form from heaven,  
Than one of mortal mould;  
Which he who would thy portrait draw,  
Turns from, o'ercome by love and awe,  
And leaves its charms untold.  
No! all I can do, love! must be  
To sketch what memory yields of thee.

And ill may such a sketch convey  
To those who knew thee well,  
What once thou wert; still less portray  
Those charms, whose gentle spell  
Survives thyself, still unforget;  
Or give to those who knew thee not,  
Aught which of thee should tell.  
Thy dress, thy form, thy face—alone  
If given—might leave thee still unknown.

Thy form! avails it now to trace?  
Though once with charms endow'd:  
Thy dress ne'er boasted Fashion's grace,  
To satisfy the proud:  
Yet thou becam'st it well: and it  
On thee so gracefully did sit,  
My taste its charms avow'd;

And in that simple garb—to me  
Thou wert—all thou could'st wish to be,

Thy face, thy features,—boots it now  
To speak of what is fled,—

Of eyes, or hair, or lips, or brow ?

When once the flower is dead,  
Its shape, its hue, no bliss can give ;  
Its odours only seem to live,

And lingering sweetness shed.  
If memory still that face enthral,  
'Tis by the soul which spoke through all.

Did it not speak ? Oh ! yes, it did—

Not through the lips alone ;  
That eye, beneath its downcast lid,

Was eloquent in tone ;  
For purest passion's gentle force,  
And thoughts which sprang from virtue's source,

In all its glances shone :  
Orbs of more brilliant light I've seen,  
But none more tenderly serene.

(P. 246—248.)

The verses on the death of Percy Bysshe Shelley we have read with little interest. The poem is not one of Mr. Barton's best in point of composition and thought ; and it appears to us to be too timid and tame for the occasion. A sort of compromising vein runs through the poem which betrays the author into some inconsistency. Addressing the manes of the deceased, he thus expresses himself :

'Tis not for me to judge how far  
Thy unbelief such hopes must mar.

And, in a stanza or two afterwards, he makes the following appeal to others proceeding in the track of him who has been surprised by the last sad summons in the midst of his unbelief :

If Christians err, yourselves admit  
Such error harms them not ;—  
If you are wrong, and Holy Writ,  
No juggling, priestly plot,  
But Truth's own Oracle reveal'd ;—  
Then is your condemnation seal'd,  
And hopeless is your lot !  
You DOUBT the Gospel :—keep in view,  
What CAN BE DOUBTED—MAY BE TRUE !

If, according to Mr. Barton, the condemnation of them who reject Christianity as a fable "is sealed," and their "lot hopeless," he has already judged "how far" the "unbelief" of the person in question such hopes must mar. To borrow the words.

of our author, there is a spell by nature thrown around the voiceless dead, to which we readily yield ourselves on the present occasion ; and shall rest content with observing, that if it be true that the deceased was to have shared in the reputation of a miscellany now in a course of publication under the auspices of Lord Byron, his melancholy fate has, in relation to that undertaking, spared him the mortification of an egregious failure, and saved the credit of his taste and talents.

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A few words upon that work, which has thus come incidentally under our notice, may be indulged to the British Review, though they may not be quite in place. We can undertake to say, upon the surest grounds of knowledge, that not a word of the letter written by the noble lord above mentioned to the editor of this journal has ever been read by him ; so little has been his curiosity concerning it, and so ineffectual the vengeance intended to be executed upon him. If the universal opinion of the publication styled "*The Liberal*," be taken as decisive of its value, it can be scarcely necessary for the editor of the Review in question, in his vindication, to refer to the articles upon *Don Juan*, and upon the book of plays, comprising *Cain*, a *Mystery*, in the former volumes of this journal, which appear to have provoked so much hostility under the form of pleasantry. The vengeance may be left to its own recoil.

It would afford us no pleasure to contemplate the decline of Lord Byron's genius, or to think that Italian enervation had accelerated his natural decay, which we find to be the opinion of a large number of judicious persons ; but we cannot be sorry to see that he makes such a display of weakness in a work which appears to be the most antisocial of all his efforts. Probably by this time he may wish his last work to be forgotten, having learned how short it has come of the meditated mischief, and how general an opinion it has created of his declining powers : but that cannot be ; it must remain as a testimony against him : the arm which he has put forth against heaven and all-prevailing truth, has dried up, and stiffened in its sacrilegious direction :—it cannot be drawn back again. We allude here to the profane nonsense sent forth as a parody upon Mr. Southey's poem.

However doubtful a man may consider a future existence, he is surely a bad calculator to stake his soul upon the issue, and to sport upon the margin of so frightful a possibility. In the present case this risk is run almost gratuitously ; as we can scarcely conceive that the "*Liberal*" can put much into the editor's

pocket. Little is got by it in this world, while all may be lost by it in the next. From the extracts which we have seen in the newspapers taken from the parody above-mentioned, it does not even appear to be diabolically good; the scoffer himself will hardly find his gratification in it: blasphemy that boasts an alliance with wit may be ashamed of being associated with so much dulness. We are disposed to think that desperate scoffing is not Lord Byron's fort, and that he wishes to be worse than his genius will allow him to be. He is certainly much outdone in blasphemy by many ordinary workmen of the same craft who live by it in this country. Whatever may be the explanation of the failure, it is clear that if he aspires to be the poet laureat of his infernal majesty, he is going the way to be rejected, for downright incompetency. For such a post his wit should be equal to his will. All this points to an upward course, and worthier undertakings; but if Lord Byron will not follow this higher vocation, we foresee that he will gradually fall into low scribbling habits, and the practice of contemptible abuse,—grow old and despised,—and, finally, drop into his grave a drivelling blasphemer.

We beg to assure Lord Byron, that his treatment of the "British Review" is not considered by us as any indication of his holding its criticisms in contempt. We happen to have before us a very polite letter from his Lordship to our former publisher, expressive of his sense of the value of the paper in that journal on the first part of his "Childe Harold;" and we are pretty confident that the series of criticisms upon his Lordship's productions which have succeeded that article, down to the last on the "Don Juan," have not sunk us in his real respect. His attempt to fix ridicule upon what has excited his spleen, is so far its own punishment as to leave us in perfect good humour for the candid examination of any future production of his pen (the "Liberal" only excepted, which is many fathoms below criticism). If he ushers any more blasphemies into the world, we shall not trouble ourselves with them. His struggle is with Omnipotence: we shall content ourselves with looking on, and expecting the issue. In the mean time, if the least soreness is perceivable in this expostulation, we grant that so far Lord Byron has obtained an advantage over us. We can conscientiously say we feel none. Again, if the character of the editor has lost an inch of ground by this attempt to depress him, we are ready to admit that a personal triumph has been obtained over him. But if it is universally considered, as we understand it to be, that the attack upon him is in a spirit unworthy of a



man of genius, vulgar in its character, and vapid in its execution, he has to thank the author of "Don Juan," for the only effect of his hostility,—the proof it has afforded to the public of the power of the "British Review" to provoke and to deserve his vengeance.

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**ART. XIX.**—*Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland: with Details of the Military Services of the Highland Regiments.* By Colonel David Stewart. 2 vols. 8vo. Longman and Co. London, 1822.

THE Highlanders of Scotland are distinguished from the inhabitants of the lowland districts by peculiarities of character, and of manners, as strongly marked as those which nature has impressed on their rugged and romantic country. It is with the Lowlanders, not only as our nearest neighbours, but as composing the great bulk of the people of Scotland, that our intercourse is chiefly maintained, and in them it is, that we have so long observed those peculiarities which make it easy to recognise the genuine Scot. Something of the Highlanders we have also known, for they too, though in very inferior numbers, have occasionally appeared among us. But, excepting their dress, their language, and the wildness of their country, little has hitherto been generally known to distinguish their state and condition from the great mass of the inhabitants of Scotland. The work which is now before us is filled with curious and important information respecting the character and history of this interesting people, given by a gentleman who seems singularly well qualified for the task. He has here opened a fund of valuable intelligence—of historical and characteristic details—of facts and anecdotes which, if they had not been thus authenticated and preserved, would have passed away with the present generation, and have left the errors and the ignorance which have so long prevailed as to the character of the true Highlanders uncorrected and undisputed. The striking anecdotes with which it abounds, and the military exploits of the Highland regiments which it records, are calculated to render it very popular and interesting; but its value seems to us to be great for reasons more important than the mere amusement which it affords.

There is one very remarkable fact which goes to prove something more than a mere distinction of character between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders of Scotland. We have never yet met with a Lowland Scotchman who was not willing to pass for a Highlander; but we do not recollect to have found any Highlander who was not anxious to distinguish himself from his countrymen of the Lowlands. That this feeling is general, is, we think, very plainly shown from the number of those clubs or associations in various parts of the world which have assumed the name of Highland Societies, though they are composed, for the most part, of the Lowlanders of Scotland. This notorious fact, and the anxiety of the Lowland Scotch to assume the character of Highlanders, may, in some degree, be ascribed to mere idleness, to the whim of appearing in a strange and gaudy dress, and in some degree to the love of jollity and good cheer amidst some mummery and masquerade. It is ridiculous to suppose (as we believe many worthy Highland gentlemen suppose) that it proves any absolute superiority of the character of the Highlanders over their countrymen. But we will readily admit that from this fact, so far as it goes, it may be concluded that the Lowlanders do not conceive that the character which they thus willingly assume is at all inferior to their own. The penal statutes which prohibited the dress are now repealed—no man can now be cast into prison, or transported for the crime of wearing a plaid or a kilt; and tartan is no longer a badge of degradation.

But it is very strange that this predilection for the Highland character among the Scots, was unknown till within the last forty or fifty years. Before that time, a poor Highlander who made his appearance in any of the towns of the Lowlands was persecuted and pelted as an odious barbarian. How then has it happened that so great a change has taken place? Is it that the character of the Highlanders has, in more recent times, been reformed from a state of previous ferocity and barbarism? or that, without any change in their character, it is now more perfectly understood? These questions are, we think, easily resolved by the facts which are disclosed in the work before us, and resolved in a manner equally creditable to the reputation of both divisions of the inhabitants of Scotland.

The favourable opinion of the Highlanders now entertained throughout the kingdom has, we believe, been produced entirely by their high military character—by the conspicuous share which they have had in all the victories of our armies throughout the war. Few acts of policy on the part of government have been more judicious, or more beneficial in

the result than that of organizing the Highland regiments, and preserving to them their national dress. The principle on which this was done was the very reverse of that which actuated the legislature in the harsh measures which were adopted towards this people after the rebellion of 1745. But it is the peculiar merit of the Highlanders that, under evil report and good report—under persecutions and penal statutes, as well as under more humane and judicious government, their conduct has uniformly been distinguished by the utmost moderation. It is for this their conduct in their own country, under the various trials to which they have been exposed, that they deserve the greatest praise, although it is not for this that they have hitherto obtained it. And it is because their behaviour in their own country; because the state of society there has been much less understood than their military virtues, and because, when understood, it will be found, at least, as worthy of admiration, that we feel a greater interest in the first part of Colonel Stewart's work, which treats of their character and their manners, than in that which details with so much animation the military services of the Highland regiments.

No doubt, there are many circumstances connected with the manners and the history of the Highlanders—with their situation and their habits, which qualify them in a peculiar degree for a military life. But it is not from any peculiar fierceness of disposition, nor from mere bodily strength, that they are thus qualified. It is because they are active and hardy; regardless of weather; patient of hunger and of fatigue; and, above all, because they are strict and faithful in the performance of their duties, and actuated in all their conduct by stern and lofty sentiments of honour and of duty, such as are not generally found among the lower ranks of any other people in the world. It is thus that their character is described by those who have the best opportunities of becoming thoroughly acquainted with it; it is thus that it ought to be described from the testimony of unquestionable historical facts. And, if all this be true, it is plain that a great part of their military reputation is to be ascribed rather to moral than physical qualifications.

The ancient history of the Highlanders, though, like the early history of most other nations, it is very defective, informs us of some facts which are very important with reference to the character of this people. It is true, beyond all doubt, that the ancient capital of the kings of Scotland was situated in the very heart of the Highlands, and that it was not till the eleventh century (in 1066) that it was removed to the Lowlands by King Malcolm Ceanmore. It is, perhaps, not so clear that those almost

imperceptible ruins which the eyes of some sharp-sighted antiquaries have detected on the north-western coast of Argyleshire are the identical remains of the ancient Berigonium. But the castle of Dunstaffnage, of which the walls are still standing, and which is situated at no great distance from the ruins we have mentioned, was most certainly the royal palace; and it was from Dunstaffnage to Scone, in the Lowlands of Perthshire, that Malcom Ceanmore removed his court.

It is no wonder that this removal was the cause of a great change in the Highlands. A great part of the population, and almost the whole commerce of the country, followed the court, and from that time forward the Highlanders attracted little of the attention of the government. Considering the present state of the Highlands, it may seem strange to any one unacquainted with the ancient history of that country—we mean with such part of that history as is authentic—to hear any thing said of its commerce. But those who are thus unacquainted with it, will wonder still more when they hear that, in those ancient times, the greatest commercial town in Scotland was situated in the wildest part of the Highlands—in Lochaber—at the foot of Bennevis—and is mentioned by Hollingshed under the very name of Inverlochry, which is still given to the ruins of that mighty castle now standing near the site of the ancient town. Till Malcom Ceanmore had emigrated with his Court to the Lowlands, it was in the town and port of Inverlochry that the commerce of Scotland was principally carried on, not merely with the French and Spaniards, with whom a very extensive trade had long subsisted, but with the other parts of the world that had any intercourse with North Britain. The decay of this commerce was the natural consequence of the desertion of the Highlands by the royal court and the great body of the population.

The state of learning and of the arts, considered with reference to the condition of other countries, was at least, in these remote ages, if not further advanced, certainly in as forward a state among the Highlanders as in any other part of Great Britain. Some of the monuments of their learning have escaped the fury of the barbarous reformers of later ages; and those works of the monks and abbots of Iona which have been preserved in foreign countries, where their value was more perfectly understood, are sufficient evidence, not merely of the piety and good feelings of their authors, but of the very considerable extent of their learning. But although the monastery of Iona, for several ages after the seat of royalty had been transferred to the Lowlands, continued to produce men of distin-

guished learning, it had gradually declined for a long time before its total destruction at the Reformation.

From the time of King Malcom III., or, as he is commonly called, Malcom Ceanmore, the Highlands were utterly neglected by the government, and in a great degree forsaken by the people. In the following passage, Colonel Stewart describes some vestiges of the more ancient times :—

“ In many parts of the Highlands, however, ruins and foundations of places of strength and of castles, are so frequent as to exhibit proofs of a population more numerous than in later ages. The marks and traces of the plough also evidently demonstrate that cultivation was more extended than at present. Fields, on the mountains, now bleak and desolate, and covered only with heath and fern, exhibit as distinct ridges of the plough as are to be seen on the plains of Moray. Woods and cultivation gave a genial warmth to the climate, which planting and other improvements would probably restore. As an instance of these marks of the ancient population, I shall confine my observations to one district. In a small peninsula of four miles in breadth, situated between the rivers Tummell and Garry, in Athole, extending from Strowan to the port of Loch Tummell, about ten miles in length, and ending at the point of Invergarry, below the pass of Killiecrankie, there are so many foundations of ancient habitations (and these of apparent note), as to indicate a remarkably numerous population. They are fifteen in number. One circular building, near the house of Fincastle, is sixty-two feet in diameter; the walls are seven and a half feet thick, and a height of five feet is still remaining.”

After mentioning other instances of the same kind, our author goes on to state that tradition assigns these buildings to the age of Ossian. “ In ancient poetry,” he says, “ it is stated that the Fingallians had twelve castles in Glenlyon, but there are only ruins of seven visible at this day.” By the Fingallians are meant the more ancient Highlanders, whom we are sorry to hear designated by this fanciful name, which is associated rather with the bombastic paraphrases of Macpherson than with any thing that truly belongs to the Highlands. Colonel Stewart is much wiser when he clings to the only plain inference which can be drawn from the existence of these ruins, and says, that “ the traces of a numerous population in former times are clear and incontrovertible.”

The consequences of the removal of the seat of royalty to the south he thus describes :—

“ The extension of their dominions occasioned the frequent absence of the kings from the ancient seats of their governments. At length, when, about the year 1066, the court was removed by Malcom Ceanmore, never to return to the mountains, the sepulchres, as well as

the residence of the future kings of Scotland, were henceforth to be in the south; and Dunfermline became the royal cemetery instead of Icolm-Kill, where so many kings, chiefs, and bishops, eminent ecclesiastics, and men of learning lie entombed. That university, which had for ages been the fountain whence religion and learning were diffused among the people, was now deserted. The removal of the seat of authority was speedily followed by the usual results. The Highlanders were impoverished. Nor was this the only evil that resulted from the transference of the seat of government. The people, now beyond the reach of the laws, became turbulent and fierce; revenging in person those wrongs for which the administrators of the laws were too distant and too feeble to afford redress. Thence arose the institution of chiefs, who naturally became the judges and arbiters in the quarrels of their clansmen and followers, and who were surrounded by men devoted to the defence of their rights, their property, and their power: and accordingly the chiefs established within their own territories a jurisdiction almost wholly independent of their liege lord."

There are very few occasions on which we can doubt the accuracy of our author's opinions, and none on which we can dispute the extent of his information. But we are not quite satisfied that all the notions which he expresses in this passage are correct. The truth is, that there is a great want of authentic records to supply information on the subject. On what authority, for instance, is it stated, that the institution of chiefs was the consequence of transferring the royal residence to the Lowlands? or that the Highlanders from that time became turbulent and ferocious? It may be a very plausible inference that a people from among whom the authority for enforcing the law was entirely withdrawn, should thereupon become disorderly or even ferocious:—but mere probability, in the absence of positive evidence, is not enough to lead us to this conclusion. True it is, that many acts of violence were committed in the Highlands after the royal residence was transferred to the south; but is it true, that at any time subsequent to the year 1066, the general character of the Highlanders was more ferocious than that of the Lowland Scots, among whom the kings resided, and the courts were held? If there be any thing in the history of Scotland which proves this, it has escaped our research; and has not even been referred to by those, whose opinions would have been supported by any such testimony. But at present, all authority goes to show, that there was as much blood spilt in private feuds, and that as many deeds of lawless violence were committed in countries to the south of the Forth, as among the Highlands. Nor do we think it by any means certain that our author is right, when he asserts that the institution of chiefs was a consequence of the removal of the seat of royalty. The notion

that the king went forth from the Highlands, accompanied by the nobility, and followed by the great body of the people; and that among the residuary population of the Highlands chiefs arose, and clans were formed, as the substitutes for the more regular government which had been exercised while their kings lived among them, seems plausible enough, till we consider that those families of which the chiefs were the head, could not have been insignificant when their kings were among them.

The truth is, that the history of the Highlanders, from the time of Malcolm Ceanmore till the seventeenth or eighteenth century, is so exceedingly defective, and so little is known of the system of clanship or of the manners of the people during the intermediate period, that it is now impossible to ascertain whether any sudden and complete change took place in the state of society among the Highlanders after the removal of the court to Scone. And in the absence of all certain information, when it is considered that acts of violence and mis-rule prevailed as much in the Lowlands after the kings removed thither, as before, there is no reason to conclude that such acts became more frequent in the Highlands in consequence of that removal. If the spirit of the Highlanders was more turbulent than that of the Lowlanders, the presence of the royal authority, which could not restrain the latter, must have been very inadequate to maintain order in the Highlands; and therefore could not, by its removal, produce any great change in the character of the people. On the other hand, if the natural disposition of the Highlanders was less turbulent than that of the southern Scots, it was still less likely that the removal of the royal residence should cause such a revolution in their manners, as should convert them at once into a nation of fierce barbarians, where each man was the avenger of his own wrongs, till chiefs arose among them, who decided the quarrels of their clansmen, and directed their united strength against some neighbouring tribe. The probability is that the institution of chiefs and clans was not the consequence of the removal of the kings, but existed even while the seat of royalty was within the bounds of the Highlands; and that, as well before as after that event, acts of violence were as often committed in the Lowlands as in the Highlands, and the power of the crown as little able to restrain them in the one country as in the other.

It was the rebellion of 1715, and 1745, which first attracted the attention of the British Government to the peculiar state of society in the Highlands. The system of clanship, and the hereditary power of the chieftains, was found then subsisting

in the same state in which, for aught that appears to the contrary (unless the conjecture of Colonel Stewart be right), it had existed from the earliest period to which the history of this people can be traced. And it is a remarkable peculiarity of the Highlanders, that all writers of authority concur in the accounts which they give of their character and disposition, and of the state of society in which they lived up to the time when the legislature made them the object of those penal statutes which produced so great a change in their condition. The descriptions of the earliest of these writers accord entirely with those of the latest. The system of clanship, with all its defects, continued for centuries unchanged; and, during its continuance, preserved the same character to the people,—the same succession to property in the same families,—the same attachment and devotion of the clansmen to their chiefs and to each other, which had distinguished the Highlanders from the earliest period of their history. Eighteen Highland chiefs fought under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn; and it appears from the list of them which is preserved by Colonel Stewart, that, with very few exceptions, the direct descendants of these chiefs are all in possession of their paternal estates to this day.

“When we consider” (says our author) “the state of turbulence and mis-rule which prevailed in the Highlands, this unbroken succession for five hundred years of so great a proportion of the chief agitators and leaders is the more remarkable, as there has been a greater change of property within the last forty years of tranquillity, abundance, and wealth, than in the preceding two hundred years of feuds, rapine, and comparative poverty.”

This fact leads us to one of the peculiar characteristics of this people. The unbroken succession of families was occasioned by the strength of those feelings of attachment, and of that principle of steadfastness and fidelity which prevailed among them,—a principle which it was the essential object of clanship to maintain, and which accorded so much with their natural dispositions, as to be evinced by many singular and affecting customs. Some of them are mentioned by our author.

“The attachment and friendship of kindred families, and clans, were confirmed by many ties. It has been the uniform practice in the families of the Campbells of Melford, Duntroon, and Dunstaffnage, that when the head of either family died, the chief mourners should be the two other lairds, one of whom supported the head to the grave, while the other walked before the corpse. In this manner friendship took the place of the nearest consanguinity; for even the oldest sons of the deceased were not permitted to interfere with this arrangement. The first progenitors of these families were three sons of the family of



Argyle, who took this method of preserving the friendship, and securing the support of their posterity to one another.

"In a manner something similar, the family of Breadalbane had their bonds of union and friendship, simple in themselves, but sufficient to secure the support of those whom they were intended to unite. The motto of the armorial bearings of the family is "Follow me." This significant call was assumed by Sir Colin Campbell, Laird of Glenorchy, who was a Knight Templar of Rhodes, and is still known in the Highlands by the designation of Caillain du nu Roidh, 'Black Colin of Rhodes.' Several cadets of the family assumed mottos analogous to that of this chivalrous knight; and when the chief called 'Follow me,' he found a ready compliance from Campbell of Glenfalloch, a son of Glenorchy, who says, 'Thus far,' that is, to his heart's blood, the crest being a dagger piercing a heart; from Achline, who says, 'With heart and hand;' from Achallader, who says, 'With courage;' and from Barcaldine, who says, '*Paratus sum*.' Glenlyon, more cautious, says, '*Quæ recta sequor*.' A neighbouring knight and baron, Menzies of Menzies, and Flemyng of Moness, in token of friendship, say, 'Will God, I shall,' and 'The deed will show.' An ancestor of mine, also a neighbour, says, 'Beware.'"

Many remarkable instances are given of the strength of attachment which animated the individuals of every clan from the highest to the lowest. The same disposition was always manifested towards the person of their chief, and sometimes in a very striking manner. At the battle of Inverkeithing, which was fought between the royalists and Cromwell, five hundred of the clan Maclean were left dead on the field. During the battle seven brothers of the clan sacrificed their lives in defence of their chief, Sir Hector Maclean, who was hard pressed by the enemy. These brothers successively supported him, and covered him from the weapons of his assailants; and as each of them was killed, another of them rushed into his place to cover the chief, calling out "Another for Hector!" This exclamation, repeated in so remarkable a situation by these brothers, has never been forgotten in the Highlands. It is associated with this act of heroism, and is still common as applied to the occurrence of any great emergency which requires instant succour. Another instance of the same kind occurred at the battle of Rinrory (or Killicrankie, as it is more commonly called), during which Lochiel was attended by his foster-brother, who, as our author expresses it, followed him like his shadow, ready to assist him with his sword, and cover him from the shot of the enemy. During the battle, the chief suddenly lost sight of his friend, and, on turning to look for him, saw him lying on the ground expiring from the wound of an arrow which had pierced his breast. He was just able to tell

Lochiel that he had seen one of the enemy, a Highlander in Mackay's army, aiming an arrow at his chief from the rear; that he immediately sprung behind, and saved him by receiving the mortal wound in his own body.

No doubt the history of every country affords individual instances of heroism, and of the devoted attachment of friends, which may vie with those which are recorded in the simple annals of the Highlanders. There is hardly, indeed, upon earth, any nation, however degraded and debased, from the history of which, even in their worst times, such instances might not, perhaps, be produced. Even where bad habits and bad institutions produce the most unfavourable effects upon the morals of a people, some rare examples of virtue may be found, which, though insufficient to rescue the national character from its degradation, may yet be sufficient to save the honour of human nature. But with the Highlanders these qualities are a prominent part of the national character; they appear at every stage of their history, and are manifested by all ranks, from the chief to the meanest clansman. The traditional records of every important event, the incidents which are told of the life of each individual, have an invariable reference to these virtues, and perpetuate them among the people.

A story which is authenticated by records which exist at this day, and which was certainly not unknown to "the author of *Waverley*," is mentioned by our author as having occurred in his own family, sometime previous to the year 1477. It throws too much light on the habits and character of this people during turbulent times for us to omit it. Though there was no Fergus Macivor, who led forth his clan to support the disastrous cause of the House of Stuart in 1745, yet it is true that in the fifteenth century a chief and clan of that name possessed the lands of Glenquaich, and a great part of Glenlyon, in the county of Perth. A quarrel arose about that time between Stewart of Garth and Macivor, the cause of which shows how strong an attachment subsisted among chiefs and clansmen.

"The laird of Garth had been nursed by a woman of the clan Macdiarmid, which was then, and is still, pretty numerous in Glenlyon and Breadalbane. This woman had two sons, one of whom, foster-brother to the laird, having been much injured by Macivor in a dispute, threatened to apply for redress to his foster-brother; and the two brothers immediately set out for that purpose to the Castle of Garth, twelve or fourteen miles distant. In those days a foster-brother was regarded as one of the family; and Macivor, well aware that the quarrel of the Macdiarmids would be espoused by his-neighbour, ordered a pursuit. The young men being hard pressed, threw themselves into a deep pool of the river Lyon, where they hoped that their

persecutors would not venture to follow them. The foster-brother was, however, desperately wounded with an arrow, and drowned in the pool, which still retains the name of Linne Donnel, or Donald's Pool. The other succeeded in reaching Garth. Resolved to avenge his friend's death, the laird collected his followers, and marched to Glenlyon. Macivor mustered his men, and met the invaders about the middle of the glen. The chieftains stepped forward between the two bands in the hope of settling the affair amicably. Garth wore a plaid, the one side of which was red, and the other a dark-coloured tartan; and on proceeding to the conference, he told his men, that, if the result was amicable, the darker side of the plaid should remain outward as it was; if otherwise, he would give the signal of attack by turning out the red side. They were still engaged in the conference, when Macivor whistled loud, and a number of armed men started up from the adjoining rocks and bushes, where they had been concealed, while the main body were drawn up in front. 'Who are these,' said Stewart; 'and for what purpose are they there?' 'They are only a herd of my roes that are frisking about the rocks,' replied Macivor. 'In that case,' said the other, 'it is time for me to call my hounds.' Then, turning his plaid, he rejoined his men, who were watching his motions, and instantly advanced. Both parties rushed forward to the combat; the Macivors gave way, and were pursued eight miles further up the glen. Here they turned to make a last effort, but were again driven back with great loss. The survivors fled across the mountains to another part of the country, and were for some time not permitted to return. Macivor's land was, in the mean time, seized by the victors, and law confirmed what the sword had won."

The charters under the great seal of King James III., by which Macivor's lands were granted to Stuart of Garth, are still preserved, and are recorded in the public Register-office in Edinburgh. The names of the field of battle,—of a large fragment of rock, near which Stuart's men pulled off their sandals or *cuarans*,—of the cairns or heaps of stones which still mark the graves of those who were killed; attest the truth of this tradition. A few years ago, on the spot which has always been called the Field of Battle, there were dug up a sword and a battle-axe much corroded by rust.

This gift of lands from the crown, to which it had no legal title, conferred on one who had no other right to them than that of having wrested them from a fellow-subject, strange as it may seem, is not an instance of the most reprehensible part of the policy of the Government towards the Highlanders.—The quarrel between Stewart and Macivor originated in the warmth of attachment which subsisted between Stewart and his foster-brother, and not in any project of conquest for the extension of his estate. Macivor was the aggressor, and pro-

voked the quarrel. But there are no traces of the interference of the crown, till the Macivors were almost utterly extirpated. The story as it stands is remarkable as an instance of that unity of feeling and strength of attachment which bound together the chief and his clansmen.

But the part which the crown took in the disputes between the chiefs was, for the most part, of a much more mischievous nature. Instead of exerting its authority to restrain those feuds, it never interfered but for the purpose of inciting them to mortal extremities; and frequently issued commissions authorising a chief to make a raid into the country of some neighbouring tribe with which he was at war, and to lay it waste with fire and sword. The object of this barbarous policy was, sometimes, to punish some act construed into a contempt of the royal authority; at other times, it was a mode of distress for the non-payment of taxes or services claimed by the crown. When commissions of this kind were not granted directly by the crown, they proceeded from some of the few great nobles who claimed the feudal superiority over the lands occupied by the clans. Such was the authority granted by the Earl of Argyle to Lochiel and Appin, directing an incursion into the territory of the Macleans in Morven and Mull. So late as the year 1685, the Marquis of Athol granted a commission to the Laird of Ballechen to make an incursion into the country of Argyle, and to take and keep possession of the lands of the Campbells. This order was issued by Athol to revenge himself and his followers for a foray which had previously been made by the Campbells into his country, during which there was much robbing and bloodshed. The revenge which was thus intended against the Campbells seems to have been amply inflicted; for Ballechen, with his Stewarts, penetrated to Inverary, the residence of Argyle, and there hanged eighteen gentlemen of the name of Campbell. The commission, under sanction of which this atrocity was perpetrated, is still preserved in the charter chest of the family of Ballechen. "It prescribes," says our author, "all the intended operations, and grants the estates to be conquered, with an air of authority resembling the solemnity of a royal mandate."

The unfavourable impression which the mention of such deeds as these tend to excite, as to the character of the Highlanders, is partly removed by the reference which is made by our author to the state of the Lowlands of Scotland at the very same periods; but more effectually by the peculiar situation of the Highlanders, and by the means which were taken to incite their feuds to acts of the most outrageous violence.

When Lindsay, of Pitseotie, describes his Lowland countrymen as being in such a situation that "much herships (cattle-lifting) and slaughter was in the land and boroughs, great cruelty of nobles among themselves, for slaughters, theft, and murder were their patent; that he was esteemed the greatest man of renown and fame that was the greatest brigand thief or murderer." It is impossible to believe that the Highlanders were more turbulent than the other people of Scotland. In point of morality, the proceedings of the chiefs and clans against each other in their feuds, stood on the same footing with the transactions of independent nations in a state of warfare. The conduct of clansmen to each other, and their domestic habits, are entirely free from that reproach which attaches to the great body of the Lowlanders. It is only in the conduct of their hostilities; and during the continuance of warfare, that we can perceive much to blame in the conduct of the Highlanders; and, in these cases, violence and bloodshed, between distinct tribes, committed, if not always, certainly in most instances under the sanction of the crown or the feudal superior (whose authority in such cases was recognised by the law), is a reproach to the supreme authority in the state, rather than to the character of the people.

It fills us with regret when we consider the conduct of our government towards the Highlanders, on many occasions. The vengeance of Ballechen and his clansmen against another tribe with whom they were living in open warfare, was executed under the lawful authority of the fental superior. It was the wild justice inflicted by an exasperated clan, but yet inflicted under a recognized warrant. The slaughter of the Macdonalds of Glencoe was sanctioned by our own government, by the ministers of King William III. acting under the sign-manual of that monarch himself. The worst outrages committed after the most grievous persecutions, by the clans against each other, seem mere trifles when compared with that most treacherous and bloody work, for which nothing in the shape of provocation can be assigned. No treatment could have been more calculated to goad a fierce people to the most desperate acts of rebellion—to a systematic defiance and resistance of the government: and it is a proud testimony to the character of the Highlanders, that, although many opportunities of retaliation have offered themselves, they have ever disdained to use them. In the circumstances which led to this dreadful massacre of the Macdonalds, there is unfortunately nothing to palliate the conduct of King William and his ministers. Some of them, particularly the secretary Stair, had a settled ill-will towards this ill-fated clan, which was inflamed by the misrepresentations

of some bitter enemies among their neighbours. The greatest offence which the Macdonalds of Glenco had committed in the eyes of King William, was that of having fought under the Lord Dundee in 1689, at the battle of Rinrory. But this was an offence of which many other clans were equally guilty, and for which, if it had not been for the clamours which the massacre of Glenco and his people had excited, there is good reason to think that they might in turn have all suffered from that vengeance of which the Macdonalds were the victims. The circumstances attending this massacre are too interesting to escape our attention.

After the battle of Rinrory, it was not till 1691 that Lord Breadalbane, on behalf of the government, proposed a cessation of hostilities, which was acceded to by the several Highland chiefs, and among the rest by Macdonald of Glenco. In August 1691, a proclamation was published, offering indemnity to all those engaged in the rebellion, who should come in and take the oath of allegiance to King William before the 1st of January following. Towards the end of December, Glenco went to the governor of Fort William, which was the nearest garrison, tendered his submission, and offered to take the oath prescribed by the proclamation; but the governor informed him that he had no authority to administer the oath, and therefore advised him to proceed without delay to Inverary, where he would find an officer who had proper authority. Inverary, however, was far distant—it was the depth of a most inclement winter—the roads were blocked up with snow, and as it appeared doubtful whether Glenco could reach Inverary within the time prescribed by the proclamation, the governor of Fort William gave him a letter, which certified that he had gone through mistake to Fort William, where there was no one authorised to administer the oath. Glenco hastened to Inverary, but his journey was retarded by the weather, and he was there several days before Sir Colin Campbell, of Ardkinlas, the officer appointed to administer the oath, could arrive. It was now the 6th of January, and Ardkinlas hesitated to administer the oath; but Glenco besought him with tears, and promised to bring in all his people. Ardkinlas at length administered the oath, and sent to the privy council in Edinburgh a certificate of the fact, and of the reasons of the delay, together with the letter of certificate of the governor of Fort William. But the clerk of the council, by the advice of one of its members, refused to lay the certificate and letter concerning Glenco before the privy council; and even endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to erase them from the paper on which they were

written, which contained also certificates relating to other persons.

Secretary Stair and King William now decided the fate of Glenco and his people, and resolved they should be utterly extirpated. Some of the letters written by Stair to military officers, and others, on this subject, are still preserved, and there runs through them all a strain of cold, deliberate, relentless cruelty, at which humanity shudders. He seems to have resolved, that on some of the Highland clans the vengeance of the government should fall with a terrible force; and he exults when he sees that the storms of winter would assist the dreadful work which he contemplated. It is scarcely conceivable that any human being in the rank and station of this man could write the following passage, which is literally extracted from one of his letters: "The *winter* is the only season in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their wives, bairns, and cattle, to the mountains. It is the only time that they cannot escape you, for human constitutions cannot endure to be long out of houses. This is the proper season to maul them, in the cold long nights." The description of those letters given in the Report of the Commissioners of the Scots Parliament, who were appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the massacre, is in the following words:—"The said letters, without any insinuation of any method to be taken that might well separate the Glenco men from the rest, did, in place of prescribing a vindication of public justice, order them to be cut off and rooted out in earnest, and to purpose, and that suddenly, and secretly, and quietly, and all on a sudden; which are the express terms of the said letters: and comparing them and the other letters with what ensued, appear to have been the only warrant and cause of their slaughter, which in effect was a barbarous murder." Though these commissioners are thus explicit on the transaction, they endeavour, but in vain, to excuse the king from the guilt of having authorized this massacre. Whatever the means were by which King William was wrought upon to authorise this wholesale murder, the very words of the warrant which he issued under the sign-manual, as set forth in the Report, fasten the guilt of that bloody deed irremoveably upon his name. The warrant was as follows:—

"William R.

"As for Mackian of Glenco, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to *extirpate that set of thieves.*"

W. R."

After this, it is not, perhaps, easy to say that any one was more forward than the king and his secretary in instigating this dreadful work. But from various passages in the report which we have quoted, it would appear that the Lord Breadalbane, who had an ancient feud with the Macdonalds of Glenco, was one of the most active and efficient, though, perhaps, the most secret, of their enemies; and that even Argyle was disposed to assist in the utter extermination of this clan. Stair says, in one of his letters, that "the Earls of Argyle and Breadalbane have promised that they (the Macdonalds) shall have no retreat in their bounds." And so conscious was Breadalbane of his guilt, and so great his terror, when he found the matter had been taken up by the Scots Parliament, that (as appears from the evidence and the Report of the commissioners) he sent a person "to the deceased Glenco's sons, and offered to them, if they would declare under their hands, that the Earl of Breadalbane was free and clear of the said slaughter, they might be assured of the Earl's kindness for procuring their remission and restitution."

Campbell of Glenlyon, the captain who commanded the troops employed to effect the massacre, was a near relation and adherent of the Earl of Breadalbane. This officer, with a party of about one hundred and twenty men, of the regiment of Argyle, arrived in Glenco on the first of February, 1762, with orders to execute the work of extirpation. Glenco, suspecting that these troops came with some unfriendly intention, came out to meet them on their first appearance, attended by his followers, who were armed and prepared to resist any attack. But Campbell assured him that they came with no hostile design, but only to be quartered there for a time, upon which, it is stated in the Report from which we have already quoted, "they were billeted in the country, and had free quarters and kind entertainment, living familiarly with the people, until the 13th day of February." "On the 13th day of February, being Saturday, about four or five in the morning, Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party of the foresaid soldiers, came to old Glenco's house, where, having called in a friendly manner, and got in, they shot his father dead with several shots as he was rising out of his bed; and the mother having got up and put on her clothes, the soldiers stripped her naked, and drew the rings off her fingers with their teeth." The rest of the clan, with a few exceptions, shared the fate of their chief, and were put to death in cold blood, with the same cruelty. The details of the massacre, as given in this Report, are frightful. It is stated, that at the hamlet where Glenlyon was quartered, "the soldiers took other nine men, and did bind



them hand and foot, and killed them one by one with shot." At the same place a woman, and a boy of four or five years of age, were killed: at another place a man of eighty years of age; and at another "there was also a child missed, and nothing found of him but the hand."

Of the few who escaped and fled to the hills, several perished during those "cold long nights," as expected by the Secretary. In consequence of the Report of the Commissioners, an address was presented by the Parliament to the King, praying that the guilty persons might be prosecuted. When we consider who were the persons implicated, we cannot wonder that no such prosecution was ever instituted.

It is surely no wonder if the Highlanders, who, from their notions of right and justice, were disposed to regard King William as unlawfully occupying the throne, were, by such an act as this, strengthened in their aversion to the revolution establishment. But it would be going too far to say that the massacre of Glenco was the occasion of the rebellions in 1715 and 1745, since the same spirit of disaffection to the family by which the House of Stuart was dispossessed of the throne, had been manifested before the massacre itself, and had stimulated the government to that dreadful infliction. The subsequent rebellions, however, prove that such measures do not tend to eradicate disaffection.

Morally speaking, and without regard to political considerations, the conduct of the great body of the Highlanders who were engaged in these rebellions, reflects no discredit upon the general character of the people; and we shall mention a fact which occurred in the year 1745 (and which we are glad to see has not escaped the attention of Colonel Stuart), that shows the Highlanders to have been animated with feelings too noble to inflict any retaliation upon the authors of the Glenco massacre, even when the most favourable opportunity occurred. We give the story as it is told by our author:

"One instance of the force of principle, founded on a sense of honour, and its consequent influence, was exhibited in the year 1745, when the rebel army lay at Kirkliston, near the seat of the Earl of Stair, whose grandfather, when Secretary of State for Scotland, in 1692, had transmitted to Campbell of Glenlyon the orders of King William for the massacre of Glenco. Macdonald of Glenco, the immediate descendant of the unfortunate gentleman, who, with all his family (except a child carried away by his nurse in the dark), fell a sacrifice to this horrid massacre, had joined the rebels with all his followers, and was then in West Lothian. Prince Charles, anxious to save the house and property of Lord Stair, and to remove from his followers all excitement to revenge, but at the same time not comprehending their true character, proposed that the Glenco men

should be marched to a distance from Lord Stair's house and parks, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had had in the order for extirpating the whole clan, should now excite a spirit of revenge. When the proposal was communicated to the Glenco men, they declared that if that was the case they must return home. If they were considered so dishonourable as to take revenge on an innocent man, they were not fit to remain with honourable men, nor to support an honourable cause; and it was not without much explanation and great persuasion, that they were prevented from marching away the next morning."

It seems to us an extraordinary fact in the history of the Highlanders, that no such consequences to the tranquillity of the country as might naturally have been looked for, resulted, on any occasion, from the many acts of government by which they were exasperated. The Highland clans, indeed, marched out to battle at various times against the government of the country, and often against each other. But these were all occasions on which war was regularly levied and conducted upon system. There was nothing of popular commotion in any of these cases. In truth, their habits and opinions, and manner of life, were wholly inconsistent with those impulses and agitations which in other countries have incited the people to take up arms against the established authorities. They were, indeed, always ready to follow their chief, and were entirely devoted to his cause. But the wildness and irregularity which are supposed to be incident to that state of society which existed in the Highlands, belonged merely to their mode of living, and had but small influence upon their moral conduct. Forays and cattle-lifting, it may be supposed, are scarcely compatible with strict morality; and yet, in truth, they are acts which, though constantly committed by the Highlanders, leave no greater stain on their moral conduct than the invasion and plunder of an independent state by the army of another with which it may be at war. Such acts were never known to be committed by the members of any clan towards each other; and the uniform testimony of well-informed persons establishes the fact, that invasions of property involving the guilt of theft or robbery were no where more uncommon than among the Highlanders. The other characteristics of this people may have perished, or may be impaired. We trust that they are neither lost nor impaired; but we think we may safely say that at least they are still distinguished for the same honesty and moderation. It is chiefly to the degree in which these qualities predominate in the conduct of the Highlanders that we must attribute their patient submission (though a very high spirited people) to those acts of misgovernment of which they have been so often the victims.

The policy of the acts of parliament by which they were deprived of their arms after the rebellion in 1715, and under more severe penalties after the rebellion of 1745, is perhaps questionable. But there can be no question at all as to the folly and wanton tyranny of those restraints on their dress, which were imposed under heavy penalties at the latter period. Even the influence of that terror which prevailed at the time, is a very inadequate excuse for this most extraordinary measure. It is very truly said by Dr. Johnson that it "is to be considered rather as an ignorant wantonness of power, than the proceeding of a wise and beneficent legislature." Yet even this measure, which was so much calculated to irritate and exasperate these proud clansmen, produced no such effect. It was borne like the rest, without provoking a single act of violence or outrage; and it indicates not the least estimable part of the Highland character, that the chief notice which they took of these most oppressive restrictions was in the way of ridiculing the resort to them. They were the occasion of many jokes and satirical songs, which are still very well remembered. These show sufficiently that the Highlanders very bitterly felt the oppressiveness and the disgrace which was put upon them by this interference with their dress; and it appears from our author, that they suffered grievous inconvenience from a dress to which they were not accustomed, and which seems unsuited to their habits and situation.

"The tight breeches were particularly obnoxious. Some who were fearful of offending, or wished to render obedience to the law, which had not specified on what part of the body the breeches were to be worn, satisfied themselves with having in their possession this article of legal and loyal dress, which, either as the signal of submission, or more probably to suit their own convenience when on journeys, they often suspended over their shoulders upon their sticks; others who were more wary or less submissive, sewed up the centre of the kilt, with a few stitches between the thighs, which gave it something of the form of the trousers worn by Dutch skippers. At first these evasions of the act were visited with considerable severity, but at length the officers of the law seem to have acquiesced in the interpretation put by the Highlanders upon the prohibition of the act. This appears from the trial of a man of the name of M'Alpin, or Drummond Macgregor, from Breadalbane, who was acquitted, on his proving that the kilt had been stitched up in the middle. This trial took place in 1757, and was the first instance of relaxation in enforcing the law of 1747."

These laws for disarming and proscribing the Highland dress were made still more grievous by the way in which they were enforced. Spies and informers were spread throughout the whole country, and the people were compelled to come in and take oaths which were framed with a most cruel regard to

the peculiar habits and opinions of the Highlanders. They were made to imprecate the vengeance of Heaven upon themselves in various peculiar shapes, which are specified in these oaths with most disgusting and barbarous minuteness. Directions were at the same time given that it should be administered to every individual, and that a register should be kept with a description of the name, age, character, &c. of every person by whom it was taken.

Our author mentions two instances which are to be considered as exceptions from the general forbearance above attributed to the Highlanders, though they are such in their circumstances, as leave no stain on the general character and conduct of the people. The instances which he mentions are those of Munro of Culcairn, and Campbell of Glenure, who were both assassinated in the Highlands after the rebellion in 1745.

The case of Munro was one so peculiar in its circumstances, that it can scarcely be considered as a murder in any sense of the word. Mackenzie, who commanded a party of the king's troops in 1746, during the pursuit of the chevalier, employed himself in laying waste with fire and sword the upper district of Lochaber, and amongst others burned the house and plundered the property of a man of the name of Cameron, who had served with the rebels at Culloden; and during this operation, Mackenzie, with his own hand, put to death a boy, the son of Cameron with circumstances of great cruelty. Very soon after this, the next day we believe, Cameron lay in wait on a pass through which he knew that Mackenzie and his party must take their way, determined to shoot Mackenzie. Munro of Culcairn happened to be with this party. A shower of rain was falling, and Munro put on Mackenzie's cloak. Cameron knew the cloak to be that which he had seen on Mackenzie, and having no doubt, when he saw the party come up, that it was worn by its proper owner, he fired and killed Munro. These are the facts of this case, as we have ascertained them on strict enquiry, though our statement differs in some respects from that given by our author, who says of Mr. Munro, that "marching with a party of his men along the side of Lock Arkalg, in Lochaber, he was shot by a Highlander whose house had been burned, his cattle plundered, and his family turned out in the snow." He adds, that Mr. Munro was not the victim intended, and then says, that his death occasioned the more observation and concern "as it was the only instance of revenge or murder in cold blood by the rebels during the progress of the insurrection." On Colonel Stewart's own showing he is somewhat too hard on his countrymen in this matter; for taking the story even as he tells it, omitting the most atrocious part of the provocation, it is a

harsh construction of the case to call this a murder in cold blood. Hostilities had not then ceased against the Highlanders; assuredly they had not yet ceased as against this poor Cameron. There could have been no cold blood on his side. What is quite conclusive as to the conduct of Cameron is this fact—that though he was known to be the man who shot Munro, and could at once have been apprehended, no proceeding against him was ever attempted.

Before we dismiss this case we may just mention, that in the authentic records of the transactions of that time, there appear some circumstances in the conduct of Munro, which (however unfortunate his fate), go some way towards disposing us scarcely to regard his death with those feelings which the fall of a brave and high-minded soldier, in such circumstances, cannot fail to excite. It appears that Munro himself, and the party of men under his immediate command, had been guilty of gross and brutal outrages in Lochaber just before his death.

The other instance mentioned by our author, was attended and followed by circumstances still more extraordinary. Mr. Campbell of Glenure, a gentleman of great respectability, was in the year 1752 acting as factor or steward of a part of the estates forfeited on account of the rebellion. The duty which this office imposed upon him was of such a kind as was likely to make him obnoxious to the old tenants on these estates, and very great dissatisfaction was excited among them by the mode in which many of them had been dispossessed of their farms by Mr. Campbell. It is indeed, we fear, almost impossible to deny that there were circumstances in his conduct which so far from conciliating the minds of the people with whom he had to deal, contributed greatly to inflame them. One day as he was riding through a wood on one of those estates which were under his management, accompanied by his nephew and a servant, he was murdered by a shot fired at him from behind a rock. The murderer never was discovered.

This was a case of murder where the crime was deliberately perpetrated. It was, indeed (what Colonel Stewart has with too little allowance called the case of Munro), an instance of revenge or murder in cold blood.

All endeavours to discover the murderer were quite ineffectual. The case was one in which it was certainly most desirable, if possible, to visit with the heaviest vengeance of the law the guilty person. This was to be desired for an example to the people of the consequences of a crime so atrocious, for the perpetration of which so many facilities were afforded by the nature of the country, and so many provocations created by the treatment of the inhabitants, but of which this

had been the only instance. It very unfortunately happened that an old feud had subsisted between the inhabitants of this part of the Highlands and the Campbells, which this murder of course tended to aggravate and perpetuate. The Campbells at this time, from the political situation of the country, had entirely the upper hand, and were at all times ten times more numerous and more powerful than their opponents. They were animated by so furious a spirit of revenge against the whole tribe of people among whom this murder was committed, that they caused a gentleman of the name of Stewart (a near relation of the proprietor of the forfeited estate on which the murder had been committed) to be seized and tried as an accessory to the murder. This gentleman was tried, condemned, executed, and hung in chains, as guilty of this murder. The proceedings on this trial were published; and the case is well known not only to all Scotch lawyers, but to every one acquainted with the history of that country. They will never be forgotten. The massacre of Glenco did not leave a blacker stain than the result of this trial has left upon the memory of those who were concerned in the nefarious proceedings by which the condemnation of this devoted victim was obtained.

The history of the trial was not quite new to us, for we had read the published account of it; but the terms in which it is mentioned by our author, struck us as much more gentle than those in which it is generally mentioned, or in which we should have a man of feeling to have himself expressed while the history of it was fresh on his mind. He says,—“The whole transaction caused a great sensation, and the justice of the verdict and execution was much canvassed. It is now believed that the result would have been different had the trial taken place at a later period. Whether or not Mr. Stuart deserved his fate, it were well that all executions made such an impression on the minds of the people as this did, and still continues to make to this day.” Can Colonel Stewart have read the account of this trial? The strain of feeling which runs through his work, makes us think better of him than to believe that he could, with a knowledge of what took place on that trial, dismiss, with this faint and doubtful condemnation, an act of murder performed with such dreadful ceremony and deliberation.

Before we leave this part of the subject, there is a fact respecting the conduct of the Highlanders amongst themselves, to which we deem it right to direct the attention of our readers. Our author, while he insists with justice that his countrymen have not deserved the imputation of ferocity, mentions one or two circumstances, without adverting to the effect which they

have in confirming the charges which he wishes to refute. We would wish to set him right as to his own argument in one of the most important of these facts, which he introduces for a very different purpose than that of leading the reader to the conclusion to which nevertheless it inevitably tends.

“It has been alledged that the ancient names and people must have been removed by violence, or extirpated to make room for the more recent clans. This opinion seems more founded on conjecture than in fact. Such changes often occur from natural causes. The name of Cunnison or Macconich was prevalent in Athol in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, yet not an individual of that name now remains. All died off without violence or expulsion. In the same period there were twenty-four small landed proprietors of the name of Macraby, but not a man of that name is now to be found; nor is there even a tradition of one of them having been expelled or destroyed by violence. All became extinct by natural causes. One of these Macrabys possessed Finlarig, afterwards one of the principal seats of the Glenorchy and Breadalbane family.”

We confess that the most natural cause for the extinction of whole tribes, as mentioned in this passage, seemed to us to be some kind of violence and expulsion, though that cause is expressly excluded by our author. But when, in the very next passage, a statement occurred, which so entirely explained the extinction here supposed by our author, we were at a loss to account for his missing its application to that which we have just extracted. It is this:—

“It may be proper to mention that many families of the same descent had two names, one common to the whole clan, as Macdonald, Macleod, &c. the other to distinguish a branch, which last was called the *bun sloine*, or genealogical surname, taken from the christian name, or whatever designation marked the first man who branched off from the original family. In this manner Campbell of Strachur is always called Macarstair or Macarthur, Campbell of Asknish, Macivor, and a tribe of the Robertsons in Perthshire, descendants from Strowan, are also called Clanivor.”

In another place Colonel Stewart tells us that the Robertsons were also called Clan Donachie or Macconochie, which means the son of Duncan. We are, therefore, quite persuaded that our author will agree with us, when we suggest that the Cunnisons or Macconich in Athol, once so numerous, though he says they are now extinct, are no other than Robertsons, and still to be found there under that name. The Macrabys, again, we have no doubt, are no other than the Macnabs, who, we understand, still flourish in the very district where they were found

when they rejoiced in the name of Macraby. So much for the supposed extinction of these tribes,—a point on which our author has not exhibited his customary penetration.

Among the most extraordinary characters that have figured in the Highlands within the last century, was Rob Roy Macgregor, of whose manner of life, and his exploits against the Duke of Montrose, some curious particulars are mentioned by our author. The duke entered into a partnership with Macgregor, in cattle dealing; and the construction which his grace chose to put on this partnership was, that he should participate in the gains, but any loss which might ensue should be exclusively sustained by Macgregor. He therefore took legal measures against Macgregor, and had his lands taken in execution for payment of the debt which he claimed against Macgregor, on account of loss in the cattle speculation. Thus stripped of his estate, through the injustice of the duke, Macgregor collected about twenty men of his followers, and with them continued, through the rest of his life, an open war against the duke, who he was determined should not enjoy, with impunity, an estate which he had acquired by means which he denounced as dishonourable and unjust. For thirty years did this man levy contributions on the duke and his tenants, without any act of violence to other parties, and (from the way in which he conducted his proceedings), without committing any injustice against the tenants. His practice was to give to every tenant a regular receipt for what he took from him, as so much accounted for to the duke. It was usual in those times for the tenants to pay either the whole or part of the rents in kind. Many of the Duke of Montrose's tenants paid their rents in meal, which was generally lodged in a storehouse or granary, called in Scotland *a Girnal*, near the Loch of Monteath. It was Macgregor's practice, when he wanted a supply of meal, to send notice to a certain number of the duke's tenants, desiring them to meet him on a day which he named, with their horses, to carry home his meal. With this requisition the tenants, who knew what the consequence of their non-compliance would be, never failed to comply. They met at the appointed time and place. He then ordered the horses to be loaded at this Giral, gave the duke's storekeeper a regular receipt for the quantity which he took, and marched away, always entertaining the tenants very handsomely, and taking care never to take any meal which was not first lodged by them in the Giral, and thus given in satisfaction of their rent.

But Macgregor did not confine himself to taking the duke's rents in kind. He sometimes also took care to supply himself



with the money payments ; and of this our author mentions a curious instance.

“ On one occasion, when Mr. Graham of Killearn, the factor (steward), had collected the tenants to pay their rents, all Rob Roy’s men happened to be absent, except Alexander Stuart, “ the ballie,” whom I have already mentioned. With this single attendant he descended to Chapellairoch, where the factor and the tenants were assembled. He reached the house after it was dark, and, looking in at a window, saw Killearn, surrounded by a number of the tenants, with a bag full of money which he had received, and was in the act of depositing in a press or cupboard, at the same time saying that he would cheerfully give all in the bag for Rob Roy’s head. This notification was not lost on the outside visitor, who instantly gave orders, in a loud voice, to place two men at each window, two at each corner, and four at each of two doors, thus appearing to have twenty men. Immediately the door opened, and he walked in with his attendant close behind, each armed with a sword in his right and a pistol in his left-hand, and with dirks and pistols slung in their belts. The company started up, but he desired them to sit down, as his business was only with Killearn, whom he desired to hand down the bag, and put it on the table. When this was done, he desired the money to be counted; and proper receipts to be drawn out, certifying that he received the money from the Duke of Montrose’s agent, as the duke’s property, the tenants having paid their rents, so that no after demand could be made on them on account of this transaction; and finding that some of the people had not obtained receipts, he desired the factor to grant them immediately, ‘ to show his grace,’ said he, ‘ that it is from him I take the money, and not from these honest men who have paid him.’ After the whole was concluded he ordered supper, saying, that as he had got the purse, it was proper he should pay the bill; and after they had drank heartily together for several hours, he called his bailie to produce his dirk, and lay it naked on the table. Killearn was then sworn that he would not move, nor direct any one else to move from that spot for an hour after the departure of Macgregor, who thus cautioned him:—‘ If you break your oath, you know what you are to expect in the next world, and in this’,—pointing to his dirk. He then walked away, and was beyond pursuit before the hour expired.”

Another exploit, somewhat similar, is narrated by our author, but at too great length for us to present a full extract of it.

An officer, with forty soldiers, was dispatched from some of the garrisons in the low countries, with directions to apprehend Macgregor, on account of this war which he thus carried on against Montrose. The movements of this party were watched by Macgregor much sooner than they were aware of. They proceeded to Tayndrum in Breadalbane, in the immediate neighbourhood of which Macgregor’s party happened at that time to be. He himself assumed the disguise of a beggar, and

went to the inn at Tayndrum, where the officer and his party were quartered. He walked into the kitchen in this disguise, and sate down among the soldiers. They soon found the beggar to be a lively sarcastic fellow, and a very bad subject for some practical jokes which they attempted to put upon him. He pretended great anger, and threatened to inform Rob Roy of their conduct towards him, who was but a poor harmless fellow. They immediately asked him what he knew of Rob Roy, and where that person was. The beggar said he knew him well, and also knew where he then was. Of this the sergeant of the party informed the officer, who sending for the beggar, engaged him to conduct himself and his party to Crianlarich, where he said Rob Roy and his men then were; their arms being lodged in one house, while they themselves were sitting in another; so that it was expected they would fall an easy prey. He told them, besides, that Rob Roy was on very friendly and intimate terms with him, sometimes placing him at the head of his table; and "when it is dark," he said to the officer, "I shall go forward, you will follow in half an hour, and when near the house, rush on, place your men at the back of the house ready to seize on the arms of the Highlanders, while you shall go round to the front with the sergeant and two men, walk in, and call out that the whole are your prisoners; and don't be surprised although you see me at the head of the company." Accordingly, when it was dark, the beggar went forward, and the officer with his party followed at the appointed time. It is said, indeed, that the beggar and the soldiers went part of the way together; and that on their way they had to ford a rapid river, where the soldiers asked their merry friend, the beggar, to carry them across. This he did, sometimes taking two at a time, and demanding a penny from each for his trouble. The officer going to the house in due time after the beggar, rushed in, accompanied by the sergeant and three soldiers. They had scarce time to look to the end of the table, where they saw the beggar standing, when the door was shut, and they were instantly seized by two armed men on each side, and pinioned. They were threatened with instant death if they uttered the least cry. The beggar then went out and called in the rest of the party, two and two, who were all served in the same manner. Having been disarmed, they were placed under a strong guard till the morning; when, after a plentiful breakfast, they were released, on taking an oath on the dirk (before the same man called the Bailie, who is mentioned in the preceding story), to return immediately to their garrison, without making any further attempt at this time.

Their arms and ammunition were kept by Rob Roy to make their promise sure, and as being the lawful prize of war.

The same officer was afterwards sent against Rob Roy to retrieve his former mishap; but was again, through the skill and activity of this extraordinary man, taken prisoner with his party, and the whole of them deprived of their arms. All this seems very strange, when we consider that it was actually done within the last century: and at a time when the government had assumed a much greater authority in the Highlands than for many centuries before.

"The truth is," as our author observes, "the thing could not have happened had it not been for the peculiarity of the man's character; for, with all his lawless spoliations, and unremitting acts of vengeance and robbery against the Montrose family, he had not an enemy in the country beyond the sphere of their influence. He never hurt, or meddled with the property of a poor man; and, as I have stated, was always careful that his great enemy should be the principal and the only sufferer. Had it been otherwise, it was impossible that, notwithstanding all his enterprise, address, intrepidity, and vigilance, he could have long escaped in a populous country, and with a warlike people well qualified to execute any daring exploit; such as a seizure of this man, had they been his enemies and willing to do so. Instead of which, he lived socially among them,—gave the education of gentlemen to his sons,—frequented the most populous towns, whether in Edinburgh, Perth, or Glasgow; at the same time displaying a great and masterly address in avoiding or calling for public notice."

We have a similar instance of this mixture of licentiousness with justice, and fierceness with humanity, in the history of Sergeant Mor Cameron. This Mor Cameron was a Highlander, who had been a sergeant in the French service, and had returned to his native country in 1745, to take a part in the rebellion. In consequence of his having served with the rebels, and having been a noted man, he took refuge with some desperate adventurers in the mountains, in the very heart of the Highlands, where they lived by plunder. He would by no means suffer any violence to be committed against those who were attached to the same cause, but always protected their property and persons. The same protection was extended to those who were wise enough to purchase it by paying *black mail*; that is, a certain sum in money or in goods, as the consideration of being exempt from the plunder of their cattle or other property. To these engagements he was most scrupulously faithful, holding it a point of honour to regard them to the letter. Our author mentions the following instance of his honourable forbearance:

"On one occasion he met with an officer of the garrison of Fort William, on the mountains of Lochaber. The officer told him that he suspected he had lost his way; and, having a large sum of money for the garrison, was afraid of meeting the Sergeant Mor; he therefore requested that the stranger would accompany him on his road. The other agreed; and while they walked on, they talked much of the sergeant and his feats, the officer using much freedom, calling him robber, murderer—"Stop there!" interrupted his companion, "he does, indeed, take the cattle of the whigs, and you Sassenachs, but neither he nor his cearnachs ever shed innocent blood, except once, added he, "that I was unfortunate at Braemar, when a man was killed, but I immediately ordered the *creach* (spoil) to be abandoned, and left to the owners; retreating as fast as we could after such a misfortune. 'You!' said the officer, 'what had you to do with the affair?' 'I am John Du Cameron; I am the sergeant. There is the road to Inverlochy; you cannot now mistake it. You and your money are safe. Tell your governor to send a more wary messenger for his gold: tell him also, that although an outlaw, and forced to live on the public, I am a soldier as well as himself, and would despise taking his gold from a defenceless man who confided in me.' The officer lost no time in reaching the garrison, and never forgot the adventure, which he frequently related.

"Soon after this, the Sergeant Mor was betrayed by a treacherous friend, and taken by a party under the command of Lieutenant (afterwards sir Hector) Munro. This happened at the farm of Dunan in Rannoch, where he was in the habit of sleeping in safety, till that night, when it is said that his landlord sent notice to Lieut. Munro, who was stationed two miles distant. Cameron slept in a barn, his arms having, as was supposed, been secretly removed by his false friend. He was found asleep, and the soldiers rushed in and seized him; but being a powerful man he shook them all off, and made his way to the door, where he was overpowered by those on the outside. He threw off one of the soldiers with such force against the wall of the barn, that he was long disabled by the bruises. Cameron was carried to Perth, and tried before the court of Justiciary for the murder in Braemar, and various acts of theft and cattle stealing. One of those acts of theft was stealing from the Duke of Athol's parks, at Blair, two wedders; which the party killed for food on their retreat from Braemar. Cameron was executed at Perth, on the 23d November, 1758, and hung in chains."

Many other well-authenticated instances of fidelity, and the loftiest sentiment of honour, might be mentioned as occurring not only among the people of the Highlands in general, but even among those of them, who, like the Serjeant Mor and Rob Roy, have, by the courses which they pursued, brought the character of the whole people into discredit, during a great part of the last century, and exhibited them as a nation of marauders and cattle stealers. The case of the Highlander who acted so nobly towards the unfortunate Prince Charles Edward,

after the battle of Culloden (his name we think was Kennedy), seems still more worthy of compassion than that of Serjeant Mor. The stern fidelity with which he resisted all temptations and bribes to betray the confidence reposed in him,—the generosity and zeal with which he conducted himself towards the unfortunate wanderer who placed himself in his power, were circumstances as noble as could well distinguish the character of a human being. The man, however, was hanged at Inverness for stealing a cow—that is, for seizing and driving off a cow which belonged to a man with whom he was at feud.

There are also many instances of the stern and unrelenting discountenance with which the Highlanders visit those who have been guilty of great crimes. Our author mentions two which have occurred within his own remembrance. Two men crossing Loch Tay in a boat, were, when near the middle of the lake, observed by the people on shore to stand up in the boat as if struggling violently, and then suddenly to sit or fall down. When the boat reached the shore one of the men was missing. His companion stated that the other was intoxicated, had quarrelled with him in the boat, and risen to strike him, but his foot slipped, and he fell overboard and was drowned. This story was not believed, because the survivor was known to be very quarrelsome and passionate, and was of great bodily strength. He was therefore committed to jail and tried, but was acquitted for want of evidence. On his return to his native place, where the circumstance had occurred, it appeared that there was a firm conviction entertained of his guilt. He was not maltreated, nor upbraided, nor insulted; but every man's back was turned upon him. No man would speak to him. This he endured for some time; but at last he left the country, and was heard of no more. In another case, a young woman was found drowned in a flax-pool, on the margin of which there were many traces of struggling, and strong marks of violence on the body. It was evident that she had been murdered and forced into the water. A young man who had been her sweetheart was suspected of the murder—was tried, and acquitted for want of evidence. But there was evidence enough to satisfy his neighbours. He reached home after his acquittal on Saturday night, and next day took his seat in church. The whole of that part of the church in which he sate was deserted. After service, when he appeared in the church-yard, he was left standing alone—no one would speak to him—on his way home, all those on the same road hurried away before him, or lagged behind, leaving him alone. This was more than he could bear. He disappeared that same night, and was not heard of afterwards. Our author does not contend that this

visitation of public opinion is peculiar to the Highlands. It is enough to say, that where it is so often and so strongly exhibited, it marks a high tone of moral feeling in the people.

Before we leave this part of the subject, we must give the following curious instance of fidelity, in which our readers may recognise the original of Davie Gellatly in the novel of *Waverley*:

"In the years 1746 and 1747, some of the gentlemen *'who had been out'* in the rebellion, were occasionally concealed in a deep woody den near my grandfather's house. A poor half-witted creature, brought up about the house, was, along with many others, intrusted with the secret of their concealment, and employed in supplying them with necessaries. It was supposed that when the troops came round on their usual searches, they would not imagine that he could be intrusted with so important a secret, and, consequently, no questions would be asked. One day, two ladies, friends of the gentlemen, wished to visit them in their cave, and asked Jamie Forbes to show them the way. Seeing that they came from the house, and judging from their manner that they were friends, he did not object to their request, and walked away before them. When they had proceeded a short way, one of the ladies offered him five shillings. The instant he saw the money, he put his hands behind his back, and seemed to lose all recollection. 'He did not know what they wanted;—he never saw the gentlemen, and knew nothing of them;' and, turning away, walked in a quite contrary direction. When questioned afterwards why he ran away from the ladies, he answered, that when he saw such a sum, (five shillings was a sum of value seventy years ago, and would have bought two sheep in the Highlands,) he suspected they had no good intention, and that their fine clothes and fair words were meant to entrap the gentlemen."

It may perhaps be somewhat fanciful to ascribe the religious habits of a people to the peculiar situation of the Highlanders—to the influence of wild and romantic scenery—to the extraordinary appearances of nature in the dreary solitudes of a mountainous country—to the constant impression of the immediate interference of the Deity, and the habitual reference to the exercise of almighty power. But it is impossible to be mistaken in the fact, that there is among the Highlanders, of all ranks, a veneration for all matters of religion, and a disposition towards the strict observance of all its duties, more widely diffused, and producing a more sensible effect upon their conduct, than is to be found among any people with whose history and habits we have any acquaintance.

It has been very truly said by Dalrymple, that the Highlands of Scotland is the only country in Europe that has never been distracted by religious controversy, or suffered from religious persecution. This has not proceeded from any indifference to the subject, but rather from the absence of all disposition to

dogmatise or dispute. Their fervent piety—their firm adherence to the simple principles of the Christian religion—and their implicit reference to the Holy Scriptures, have secured them from those evils and distractions to which countries, regarding themselves as enlightened, have been subjected. Presbyterians—the members of the Scots Episcopal Church, and Roman Catholics, are the only denomination of Christians to be found within the Highlands, with a few inconsiderable exceptions in some of the border countries. Presbyterianism, being the established religion of Scotland, has also become the prevailing form in the Highlands. But there are still many districts in which a great majority of the inhabitants have retained the old established Episcopal religion, and a few in which the Roman Catholic faith continues to prevail.

Many circumstances in the character of the Highlanders tend to make them averse to change; and, in a matter of such vital importance as their religion, and on which their feelings were so strong, it has been found very difficult to introduce any innovation. Besides the political reasons which engaged the greater number of the clans to join the royal party during the great civil wars, religious motives had also a considerable influence, and they long resisted the establishment of the Presbyterian form of church government after the law had extended it over the whole kingdom. Nor can we wonder at the aversion of a people so simple in their habits—so determined in their adherence to that which they considered right—and so little given to religious disputation, to any change in the mode of worship which they themselves and their forefathers had so long scrupulously observed, and which was sanctified in their estimation by so many solemn and affecting circumstances. In the statistical account of Scotland there is contained an account of a very remarkable instance of this aversion, which we see is also noticed in the work before us. It occurred in the parish of Glenorchy.

This parish is situated in the more northern and most remote part of the county of Argyle. After the Presbyterian religion had been established by law throughout the kingdom of Scotland, Mr. David Lindsay, who was at that time the Episcopal clergyman of Glenorchy under the old establishment, was directed by the Duke of Argyle to surrender his charge to a Presbyterian incumbent. Mr. Lindsay was exceedingly beloved by his parishioners, and seems to have been a man well worthy of the estimation in which they held him. He, however, prepared to obey the directions of the Duke of Argyle, and to surrender his parish to the new clergyman. This latter gentleman arrived on a Saturday evening to take possession of the living, but was

surprised to find that no individual in the parish would speak to him, or pay any regard to the purpose for which he came. Every door was shut against him except that of Mr. Lindsay, who received him with kindness and hospitality. Next day, being Sunday, the new clergyman went to the church to perform divine service. There he found the whole population of the parish assembled in the church-yard, but they did not enter the church. No one spoke to him—nor was there the least noise or violence. But, when he attempted to enter the church, he was at once surrounded by twelve men, fully armed, who told him that he must accompany them. Mr. Lindsay, who had attended his guest to the church-yard, seeing this violence, intreated them to desist; but all his intreaties were disregarded. His parishioners had resolved on the course they would pursue, and no consideration could induce them to change it. They marched away with the new minister to the boundary of the parish, a bagpiper playing before them as they went. There they made the astonished and terrified Presbyterian take on oath on the Bible never to return or attempt to disturb Mr. Lindsay. The good man kept his oath. But the synod of Argyle, whose immediate authority was thus strangely violated, were exceedingly incensed, and threatened to enforce the law and punish the authors of this outrage. Nevertheless, when they found that the parishioners were perfectly unanimous, and were thoroughly determined to resist to the uttermost any renewed attempt to force upon them a Presbyterian clergyman, and to displace Mr. Lindsay, it was thought prudent not to push the matter further. And it is an extraordinary fact that Mr. Lindsay lived for thirty years after this occurrence, and died the episcopal clergyman of Glenorchy, in the undisturbed possession of the living—loved and revered by all the inhabitants of the parish.

Connected with the religious feelings of the Highlanders was the opinion which universally prevailed among them of the infliction of Divine vengeance even in this life on the authors of any enormous crime. Our author seems disposed to rate them more highly for this opinion than seems to us to be consistent with sound and sober principles. The prevalence of such opinions rather indicates a slight knowledge of the system of the Divine government of the world. It is not countenanced by any thing in revealed religion, nor can it well be inferred by any deductions of reason, or the course of human experience. At the same time it is discreditable rather to the understanding than to the morality of this people. But our author has given a most striking instance of the powerful effects which such an opinion can produce, and the force of feeling with which it is



attended, in a case which cannot fail most powerfully to excite the sympathy of every humane and reflecting mind :

" The belief that punishment of the cruelty, oppression, or misconduct of an individual descended as a curse on his children to the third or fourth generation, was not confined to the common people. All ranks were influenced by it, believing that if the curse did not fall upon the first or second generation, it would inevitably descend upon the succeeding. The late Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon retained this belief through a course of thirty years' intercourse with the world, as an officer of the 42d regiment, and of marines. He was grandson of the Laird of Glenlyon, who commanded the military at the massacre of Glenco, and who lived in the laird of Glenco's house, where he and his men were hospitably received as friends, and entertained a fortnight before the execution of his orders. He was playing at cards with the family when the first shot was fired, and the murderous scene commenced. Colonel Campbell was an additional captain in the 42d regiment in 1748, and was put on half-pay. He then entered the marines, and in 1762 was Major, with the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and commanded 800 of his corps at the Havannah. In 1771, he was ordered to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court-martial on a soldier of marines, condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent, but the whole ceremony of the execution was to proceed until the criminal was upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive the volley. It was then he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, and the clergyman had left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party were looking with intense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand into his pocket for the reprieve, and in pulling out the packet, the white handkerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead.

" The paper dropp'd through Colonel Campbell's fingers, and, clapping his hand to his forehead, he exclaimed, ' The curse of God and of Glenco is here ; I am an unfortunate ruined man.' He desired the soldiers to be sent to the barracks, instantly quitted the parade, and soon afterwards retired from the service. This retirement was not the result of any reflection or reprimand on account of this unfortunate affair, as it was known to be entirely accidental. The impression on his mind, however, was never effaced. Nor is the massacre and the judgment which the people believe has fallen on the descendants of the principal actors in this tragedy, effaced from their recollection. They carefully note, that, while the family of the unfortunate gentleman who suffered is still entire, and his estate preserved in direct male succession to his posterity, this is not the case with the family, posterity, and estates of those who were the principals, promoters, and actors in this black affair."

After these hasty and imperfect notices of some of the more striking peculiarities of the Highlanders, as they have occurred to us in the perusal of the interesting volumes before us, we feel it necessary to pass to the other parts of the work. The remaining portions of it, though they relate entirely to the affairs of the gallant author's countrymen, extend to matters not at all comprehended within that view to which our attention has hitherto been confined. We have hitherto touched upon nothing but what relates to the character of this people as it existed under the system of clan-ship, or has remained unaffected by the great changes which more modern times have produced in their political situation. It is to that situation that the remaining part of the work of Colonel Stewart almost entirely relates. He enters very fully into the present condition of the people under the change of system, on the part of the landlords, which has taken place in most parts of the country, and then gives (what constitutes the most bulky and, we doubt not, in the estimation of many persons, the most interesting part of the work), a history of the military services of the Highland regiments. This history is sketched by our author with much fidelity and animation, and embraces numerous authentic documents and narratives of the highest interest. If it were not that on the first portion of the work we have almost exhausted the space which we can reasonably afford to the notice of one publication, we could find, in the military history of these regiments, ample materials for amusement and instruction—new opportunities for observing the peculiarities of the Highland character.

Of that part of the work which relates to the present condition of the people, and notices the changes which have been introduced by speculators in land, or speculating landlords, we can only say that it has excited in our minds the most painful feelings. It will be seen that our author is warmly, even enthusiastically, attached to the Highlands, and entertains the most exalted opinion of the character of the people,—that he is disposed to attribute many of their virtues to the peculiarity of their situation under the ancient system—to the intimate connexion which subsisted between the highest rank and the lowest—to the mutuality of interest and the unity of feeling which prevailed among them. Whatever, therefore, has a tendency to disturb that state of society—to dissolve the connexion which in more ancient times subsisted between the chief and his clansmen—and more recently between a landlord and his tenants, is not likely to meet with his approbation. But when we consider the facts, strong and conclusive, by which he has supported his opinions, however much we may be disposed to vindicate

the rights of landowners to avail themselves of all their legal privileges,—however much we may concur in the principles of political economists, who teach us that such enterprises and speculations tend to the public benefit, something we must allow for mere human feelings, and some doubts (very strong doubts) how far any prospect of public advantage, or the exercise of any private right is justifiable where so much actual misery is produced. Our author, indeed, takes much higher ground. He disputes the wisdom of permitting many of these changes on grounds of public policy, and as they affect the vital interests of the nation at large; and gives many instances where, besides the expulsion and expatriation of many worthy families, the ruin and destruction of the individuals by whom these schemes have been attempted to be executed have been among their consequences. He gives, besides, so many instances of the relentless perseverance with which these schemes were prosecuted, of their baneful effects upon the morals of the people and the appearance of the country, that it is almost impossible to resist the strength of his appeal to the principles of humanity and justice. At the same time it is plain, that so long as individuals think they have a prospect of increasing their incomes by changing the mode of managing their estates, it is in vain to expect that a regard to the feelings and the comforts of ancient tenants or humble cottagers can be sufficient to prevent a resort to those plans for the improvement of income. And yet can we wonder that the feelings of our author are strongly excited by the mode in which such projected improvements are conducted, when we hear such facts stated as that which is mentioned in the following extract.

“ Reports are published of the unprecedented increase of the fisheries on the coast of the Highlands, proceeding, as it is said, from the late improvements; whereas it is well known that the increase is almost entirely occasioned by the resort of fishers from the south. To form an idea of the estimation in which Highland fishermen are held, and the little share they have in those improvements of the fisheries noticed in the newspapers, we may turn to an advertisement in the Inverness newspapers, describing sixty lots of land to be let in that country for fishing stations. To this notice is added a declaration that a ‘*decided preference will be given to STRANGERS.*’ Thus, while on the one hand, the unfortunate natives are driven from their farms in the interior, a decided preference is given to strangers to settle on the coast, and little hope left for them save that those invited from a distance will not accept the offer. When they see themselves thus rejected both as cultivators and fishermen, what can be expected but despondency, indolence, and a total neglect of all improvement or exertion?”

It is impossible for us to enter at this time into any further

examination of the conduct of those Highland proprietors whose proceedings are reprobated in this work. The following plain inferences, however, it is not easy to dispute—that a change such as has been wrought in the Highlands by the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions, by the breaking up of the whole system of clanship, and by the introduction of the modern modes of husbandry and grazing, must, in itself, have produced a great deal of misery among a people of the habits and dispositions we have been describing; that to soften the transition, and render the change gradual, is to diminish the pressure of misery thus necessarily produced; and that to accelerate the process is to aggravate the infliction. And if it be true, as our author states (we believe it is not disputed), that in some cases the influence of the most powerful families, and of the greatest wealth, has been used for the very purpose of making this change more speedy in some districts;—if in those districts hundreds of the ancient tenants have been forced by the strong arm of the law from their ancient possessions, all argument as to the general or special policy of these acts is quite in vain. Our understandings and our hearts must alike acknowledge that there has been a violation of those principles and those feelings which ought for ever to be held sacred. We cannot but wish that, at least in our days, such things had not been; that there had been no attempt to argue down those cries of distress which ought never to have been heard.

A more unimportant injury of which our author complains on behalf of his country is, the disparagement of the character of the people by some modern writers, by some even of those who profess to have written from personal observation. On the whole, we do not think that many injuries of this kind have been inflicted upon the Highlanders. Their character has, we really believe, been more seriously injured by injudicious panegyrics, and by the vulgar popularity which it has lately obtained, than by any deliberate misstatements, or accidental misrepresentation. This vulgar admiration, and the stupid praises of men ignorant alike of the excellencies or defects of the character of the people, has probably tended to excite the spleen of those writers whose calumnies are most warmly, and we may say for the most part, satisfactorily, refuted by Colonel Stewart. One writer, Dr. Macculloch, has, in a recent work, the following passage: "They (the Highlanders) are every where notably averse to the army, and I do not say, *without abundant information*, that it probably would be impossible to raise a single recruit by beat of drum, or a single volunteer for the navy throughout the islands. It is doubtful if the whole islands possess at this moment one hundred men in both services.

*Skye, with a population of 16,000, has not a man in the army.*" In another passage the same writer says, "if recruits should be raised in the islands, they would be found in Islay, not in Skye or the Long Island." These are misstatements conclusively and triumphantly refuted by our author. He shows, from the regimental returns and other indisputable documents, that 732 men enlisted for the 78th regiment from one landlord's estate in the Long Island; and that during the late war, including those serving in marching regiments, the island of Skye had at one time 3,680 men in arms in the military service. Our author, after correcting these mistakes, proceeds in the following animated terms:

"As I have served with many a good and brave soldier from that island (Skye), and as I have observed a stronger sense of religion, a clearer knowledge of their faith, and more general intelligence than is usually found among the common people of any country, with much moral feeling, industry, and capability in the Highlands, I may be allowed to doubt the accuracy of statements which militate against the evidence of my own senses, and what I have seen with my own eyes; I may be allowed to express pity and sympathy for an unfortunate race who suffer so severely, and who are in the progress of suffering still more, from these prejudiced and distorted views of their character.—*But they will not suffer alone*; if the modern system is pursued—if all the kindness and encouragement of landlords are to be bestowed on men of capital alone—if they are to be nourished and protected, and the people rejected and despised—if two castes, capitalists and cottars, are formed without common interests, feelings, or sympathy—if government and the proprietors of the soil give credit to the statements laid before the public, and withdraw their countenance from the Highlanders as a people totally worthless—the rich farmers will learn to look with contempt on the poor ejected Highlanders, who, in their turn, will attribute their depression and poverty to the avarice of the landlords, and to the encroachments of the great monopolists of the soil. And thus, as I have more than once noticed, mutual jealousies and hatred will be generated; the moral ties which intimately connected the landlord, tacksman, and small tenant dissolved; and the Highlands of Scotland may have to witness the painful contrast of a *virtuous and contented, with a demoralized and disaffected population.*"

It is impossible to resist the force of this appeal. But the evils which are here complained of seem scarcely to lie within the reach of any remedy by legislative measures. The character of the Highlanders has sometimes been mistaken by the government, but not, so far as we know, within the present times. We have heard no complaint against any measure which the present government have adopted towards that country, nor of any thing to indicate that they have been misled by any statements, or have in any degree withdrawn their countenance

from the Highlanders, or considered them to be a worthless people. Every thing, on the contrary, seems to show that the government entertains a very different opinion, and holds the virtues of this people in the highest estimation.

The strain of lamentation in which our author talks of the changes which have taken place in the manners and disposition of the people, where modern innovations have prevailed, is impressive and affecting. All the high feelings and exultation with which he records the excellencies and virtues that distinguished them in more ancient times, sink in the contemplation of the melancholy change. It should be his consolation, however, to reflect that enough still remains among them, even after the most desponding view of the ravages which have been wrought by the vices of the modern system—enough of virtue to command the admiration of their countrymen, and to sustain the worth and dignity of their character.

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ART. XX.—*Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, 1820.* By William Wordsworth. Longman and Co. London. 1820.

THE curiosity which is excited in us by the promise of new presents from Parnassus, is usually shaded by uneasiness and mistrust. We expect to find something of which, as men loving our country and its mind, we cannot approve. But Mr. Wordsworth, who pours forth more intellect in song than almost any poet of his day, never fails to interest the heart on the side of virtuous principles. We have plenty of writers of poetry, but very few makers of poetry. Mr. Wordsworth creates. His racy and sparkling products taste of the salient fountain rather than of the stagnant reservoir. They have the distinctness of originality, and exhibit that peculiar train of ideas which specific appearances in general nature, or local manners, generate in a mind of poetic susceptibility and inventive power. Perhaps there is no poet of the day, whose performances are more completely his own, more genuinely the fruit of observation and individual experience. We have sometimes quarrelled with his affectation of extreme simplicity, the vice of a former day, and of a class of writers whose genius has been in some measure sacrificed to it. But Mr. Wordsworth, who must struggle hard to be penurious with a treasury so full, however well he may occasionally have simulated poverty, has, for the most part, been incapable of withholding his abundance.

His fancy from her rich dowry has in general adorned his page with a remarkable plenitude of thought, and well-managed profusion of imagery.

These Sonnets have given us the more pleasure in the perusal, on account of the portraiture they present. They are not descriptive of what every man sees or may see every day, but bring before us characteristic scenes which, while their remoteness invests them with a certain romantic interest, have enough of resemblance to what is most familiar to us within our daily observation, to make them mix with our habitual thoughts, and find their way readily to our bosoms. Nor can we help remarking that the manner in which these little poems have been suggested, has given them a freshness and fidelity of fact which greatly assists their effect. They have the flavour as well as the bloom of fruit just gathered. What is prepared in the closet with the double labour of recollection and description, is usually defective in that accurate and felicitous representation which realizes and illumines remote objects,—which catches and retains transitory and fading forms,—which gives body and permanence to accidental graces and evanescent glories. The living landscape should be taken while it is speaking to the fancy, and unfolding its moral. Mr. Wordsworth has caught this expression and character with the eye and feeling of the poet, and has given it an utterance in most appropriate language.

We wish, however, to see Mr. Wordsworth engaged in some more important and continuous exertion of his powers. It is rather too lounging for such a poet to dissipate his resources in short and sportive exercises, to the neglect of all grand and adequate undertakings, in which the varied gifts of his mind might be collectively and momentarily displayed. We are admirers of the Sonnet; but it is impossible to read through a volume of Sonnets without a sense of weariness. They will not admit of variety. Whatever difference there may be in the nature of the subjects, the manner of handling them must be the same. The necessity of keeping to one subject, contracting or extending it to a certain length, and then finally dismissing it, shuts out all those great artifices for affecting the passions, inflaming the curiosity, and shaking the bosom by alternation and transition, which belong to other more sustained and expanded efforts of poetry; and though there is something in the simple texture of the versification with which Mr. Wordsworth has lately permitted himself to be engrossed,—something in the extension of a single idea to the close of the composition, that may be soothing and reposeing to the mind of the reader, that may relieve attention.

and spare exertion,—it comes far short of that standard of excellence for which the Muse of our author is so fully prepared and qualified. For what it is, however, the specimen before us is excellent, and for the purpose of embodying and perpetuating the recollections of which our melodious traveller has made it the vehicle, and which have no other connexion than as succeeding one to the other, in the progress of a summer tour, no form of poetry could be better fitted. We will now lay before our readers an example or two in proof of what we have prepared him to expect; at the same time observing, that it is a matter of some difficulty, from amongst so many well-executed pieces, to ground our selection on any exclusiveness of choice. We may almost take at random; but we think the description of the scenery between Namur and Liege, a very happy and vigorous effusion.

*" Scenery between Namur and Liege.*

- " What lovelier home could gentle Fancy chuse?  
Is this the Stream, whose cities, heights, and plains,  
War's favorite play-ground, are with crimson stains  
Familiar, as the Morn with pearly dews?  
The Morn, that now along the silver Muse  
Spreading her peaceful ensigns, calls the Swains  
To tend their silent boats and ringing wains,  
Or strip the bough whose mellow fruit bestrews  
The ripening corn beneath it. As mine eyes  
Turn from the fortified and threatening hill,  
How sweet the prospect of yon watery glade,  
With its grey rocks, clustering in pensive shade,  
That, shaped like old monastic turrets, rise  
From the smooth meadow-ground, serene and still." (P. 5.)

And again, in a similar strain of vivid, and, if the expression is not too strong, dramatic exhibition, follows the description of the passing scenery on the banks of the river Rhine, seen from the carriage, in its rapid flight.

*" In a Carriage, upon the Banks of the Rhine.*

- " Amid this dance of objects sadness steals  
O'er the defrauded heart—while sweeping by,  
As in a fit of Thespian jollity,  
Beneath her vine-leaf crown the green Earth reels:  
Backward, in rapid evanescence, wheels  
The venerable pageantry of Time,  
Each beetling rampart—and each tower sublime,  
And what the Dell unwillingly reveals  
Of lurking cloistral arch, through trees espied  
Near the bright River's edge. Yet why repine?  
Pedestrian liberty shall yet be mine  
To muse, to creep, to halt at will, to gaze:



Freedom which youth with copious hand supplied,  
May in fit measure bless my later days." (P. 9.)

It is but a little gem amidst this jewellery, but it is too pretty and sparkling to be passed over; we shall, therefore, present to our readers the short tribute of the poet to the memorial of Aloys Reding, the brave and unfortunate captain-general of the Swiss forces, who unsuccessfully—ah, painful thought!—opposed the desolating march of the troops under Buonaparte.

" MEMORIAL,

" NEAR THE OUTLET OF THE LAKE OF THUN.

' DEM  
ANDENKEN  
MEINES FREUNDEN  
ALOYS REDING  
MDCCCXVIII.'

" Around a wild and woody hill  
A gravelled path-way treading,  
We reached a votive Stone that bears  
The name of Aloys Reding.

" Well judged the Friend who placed it there  
For silence and protection,  
And haply with a finer care  
Of dutiful affection.

" The Sun regards it from the West,  
Sinking in summer glory;  
And, while he sinks, affords a type  
Of that pathetic story.

" And oft he tempts the patriot Swiss  
Amid the grove to linger;  
Till all is dim, save this bright Stone  
Touched by his golden finger." (P. 15, 16.)

"The Eclipse of the Sun" is a charming sample of Mr Wordsworth's peculiar exquisiteness of observation, always on the watch to seize the pathos which any crisis of nature develops to the pensive and moralizing mind. His dominion of language, his density of thought, and his warmth of imagination on these occasions, place him at least on an equal height with any poet of the present day. Whatever critics may coldly predicate of this writer, he has the arbitration of the heart in his favour.

" *The Eclipse of the Sun*, 1821.

" High on her speculative Tower  
Stood Science waiting for the Hour  
When Sol was destined to endure  
That darkening of his radiant face

Which Superstition strove to chase,  
Erewhile, with rites impure.

“ Afloat beneath Italian skies,  
Thro’ regions fair as Paradise  
We gaily passed,—till Nature wrought  
A silent and unlooked-for change,  
That checked the desultory range  
Of joy and sprightly thought.

“ Where’er was dipped the toiling oar  
The waves danced round us as before,  
As lightly, tho’ of altered hue;  
Mid recent coolness, such as falls  
At noon-tide from umbrageous walls  
That screen the morning dew.

“ No vapour stretched its wings; no cloud  
Cast far or near a murky shroud;  
The sky an azure field displayed;  
’Twas sun-light sheathed and gently charmed,  
Of all its sparkling rays disarmed,  
And as in slumber laid:—

“ Or something night and day between,  
Like moon-shine—but the hue was green;  
Still moon-shine, without shadow, spread  
On jutting rock, and curved shore,  
Where gazed the Peasant from his door,  
And on the mountain’s head.

“ It tinged the Julian steeps—it lay  
Upon Lugano’s ample bay;  
The solemnizing veil was drawn  
O’er Villas, Terraces, and Towers,  
To Albogasio’s olive bowers,  
Porlezza’s verdant lawn.

“ But Fancy, with the speed of fire,  
Hath fled to Milan’s loftiest spire,  
And there alights ’mid that aerial host  
Of figures human and divine,  
White as the snows of Apennine  
Indurated by frost.

“ Awe-stricken she beholds the array  
That guards the Temple night and day;  
Angels she sees that might from heaven have flown;  
And Virgin Saints—who not in vain  
Have striven by purity to gain  
The beatific crown;

“ Far-stretching files concentric rings  
Each narrowing above each;—the wings—

The uplifted palms, the silent marble lips,  
 The starry zone of sovereign height,  
 All steeped in this portentous light!  
 All suffering dim eclipse!

" Thus after Man had fallen, (if aught  
 These perishable spheres have wrought  
 May with that issue be compared)  
 Throngs of celestial visages,  
 Darkening like water in the breeze,  
 A holy sadness shared.

" See! while I speak, the labouring Sun  
 His glad deliverance has begun:  
 The cypress waves its sombre plume  
 More cheerily; and Town and Tower,  
 The Vineyard and the Olive bower,  
 Their lustre re-assume!

" Oh ye, who guard and grace my Home  
 While in far-distant Lands we roam,  
 Enquiring thoughts are turned to you;  
 Does a clear ether meet your eyes?  
 Or have black vapours hid the skies  
 And mountains from your view?

" I ask in vain—and know far less  
 If sickness, sorrow, or distress  
 Have spared my Dwelling to this hour:  
 Sad blindness! but ordained to prove  
 Our Faith in Heaven's unfailing love  
 And all-controlling Power."

(P. 41—45.)

We were exceedingly struck with the picturesque moralizing of the following sonnet, wherein the chimerical forms portrayed to the fancy in the summer-evening sky are described. The reflection springs so naturally out of the scenery, that it seems to be almost dictated by it to the heart of the poet.

*" Sky-prospect—from the Plain of France.*

" Lo! in the burning West, the craggy nape  
 Of a proud Ararat! and, thereupon,  
 The Ark, her melancholy voyage done!  
 Yon rampant Cloud mimics a Lion's shape;  
 There—combats a huge Crocodile—agape  
 A golden spear to swallow! and that brown  
 And many Grove, so near yon blazing Town,  
 Stirs—and recedes—destruction to escape!  
 Yet all is harmless as the Elysian shades  
 Where Spirits dwell in undisturb'd repose,  
 Silently disappears, or quickly fades;—  
 Meek Nature's evening comment on the shows  
 That for oblivion take their daily birth,  
 From all the fuming vanities of Earth!"

(P. 65.)

We will trespass by only one extract more:

*"The Column intended by Buonaparte for a Triumphal Edifice in Milan,  
now lying by the way-side on the Simplon Pass.*

"Ambition, following down this far-famed slope  
Her Pioneer, the snow-dissolving Sun,  
While clarions prate of Kingdoms to be won,  
Perchance, in future ages, here may stop;  
Taught to mistrust her flattering horoscope  
By admonition from this prostrate Stone;  
Memento uninscribed of Pride o'erthrown,  
Vanity's hieroglyphic—a choice trope  
In fortune's rhetoric. Daughter of the Rock,  
Rest where thy course was stayed by Power Divine!  
The Soul transported sees, from hint of thine,  
Crimes which the great Avenger's hand provoke,  
Hears combats whistling o'er the ensanguin'd heath:  
What groans! what shrieks! what quietness in death!"

(P. 50.)

The tribute paid to Mr. Southey's genius, by exhibiting, in a note, a passage from the "Poet's Pilgrimage," describing the beautiful city of Bruges, does peculiar honour to our author's candour, as he brings it into immediate comparison with his own sonnet on the same subject. Shall we be excused for extracting verses from Mr. Southey in an article on a poem of Mr. Wordsworth? We cannot help it.

"Time hath not wronged her, nor hath Ruin sought  
Rudely her splendid Structures to destroy,  
Save in those recent days, with evil fraught,  
When Mutability, in drunken joy  
Triumphant, and from all restraint released,  
Let loose her fierce and many-headed beast.

"But for the scars in that unhappy rage  
Inflicted, firm she stands and undecayed;  
Like our first Sires, a beautiful old age  
Is hers in venerable years arrayed;  
And yet, to her, benignant stars may bring,  
What fate denies to man,—a second spring.

"When I may read of tilts in days of old,  
And tourneys graced by Chieftains of renown,  
Fair dames, grave citizens, and warriors bold,  
If fancy would pourtray some stately town,  
Which for such pomp fit theatre should be,  
Fair Bruges, I shall then remember thee." (P. 83, 84.)

In leaving Mr. Wordsworth, we turn away from objects at once captivating, improving, and pure. We leave him, however, with the hope of speedily renewing our intercourse with him; we had almost called it intimacy, as, in reading his

poetry, we seem to have been in deep and cheerful converse with his intelligent and fervid mind. Would that our travellers brought back to their own country, in general, products as valuable as those with which Mr. Wordsworth has come loaded, who has gathered honey from every wild flower in his way. One cannot forbear contrasting this tourist carrying about with him a mind the recipient only of virtuous delights and improving sympathies, with those who visit the Continent to see what disorder they can revive upon her ensanguined surface, or what seeds of revolutionary mischief they can import to their own shores.

#### ART. XXI.—PUBLIC LIBRARIES OF PARIS AND LONDON.

1. *Recherches sur les Bibliothèques Anciennes et Modernes, jusqu'à la Fondation de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, et sur les Causes qui ont favorisé l'Accroissement successif du Nombre des Livres.* Par Louis Charles François Petit-Radel. 8vo. Paris.
2. *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany.* By the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, FRS. SA. Vol. II. 8vo. London, 1821.
3. *Notice des Monumens, exposés dans le Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque du Roi ; suivie d'une Description des Objets les plus curieux que renferme cet Etablissement, de Notes Historiques sur sa Fondation, ses Accroissemens, &c.* 8vo. Paris, 1822.
4. *Librorum Impressorum, qui in Museo Britannico adservantur, Catalogus.* Londini, 1812, et annis sequentibus. 7 Vols. 8vo.
5. *A Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Institution of Great Britain ; including a complete List of all the Greek Writers, by the late Rev. Charles Burney, DD. FRS. &c. methodically arranged ; with an Alphabetical Index of Authors.* By William Harris, Keeper of the Library. Royal 8vo. London, 1821.

AMONG the numerous books of travels in France, which have issued from the press, we have looked in vain for authentic particulars respecting its public libraries, especially those of Paris. A good account of the libraries, which have been formed at different times, would illustrate the literary history

of Europe; inasmuch as it would furnish us with notices of those authors, whose works were most in request. *M. Petit-Radel's* volume is a work of more promise than execution, though not devoid of interest; and as we have frequently heard comparisons instituted between the Parisian libraries and those of London, not much to the advantage of the latter, we shall lay before our readers, what we believe to be a concise but fair statement of the literary treasures of the rival capitals of France and England.

We are well aware that the excellence of a library consists, not in the number of its volumes, but in the selection and value of the works of which it is composed. Public libraries, which too many seem to consider as lounging rooms for the amusement of the idle, are chiefly estimable as repositories of those rare and valuable works, which few have the means of procuring, and fewer still possess ability to use aright; and of classical, biblical, and other manuscripts, coins, medals, and antiquities, which elucidate the history of former ages.

Our knowledge of the libraries of the ancients is very imperfect. Many incidental notices are extant of the libraries of Egypt, Greece, and Rome; but we know not what authors they contained, or what classification was adopted in them. Though the early Christians have been charged, unjustly, with destroying the remains of heathen genius, literature is much more indebted to them than the enemies of the Christian name are willing to allow. Anciently, every large church had its library; and, among these, history has made honourable mention of the library founded at Jerusalem, by the Bishop Alexander, whence Eusebius derived materials for his ecclesiastical history; and of that at Cæsarea, founded by the martyr Pamphilus, who is said to have equalled Demetrius Phalereus and Pisistratus in their taste for books. The most celebrated schools of the heathens were frequented by the first fathers of the church. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen studied at Antioch and Athens, under the same masters as the emperor Julian; and the children of the Christians resorted to those schools in such numbers that the apostate emperor issued an edict prohibiting their admission, which, however, was subsequently restored to them by Jovian. In a treatise, which Basil composed for the direction of youth when studying profane literature, he particularly recommends the reading of Homer, Hesiod, and Theognis, together with the writings of the most distinguished philosophers.

One proof that profane literature was continually recommended to Christians by their teachers is, that Augustine,

Bishop of Hippo, in Africa, in the fourth century, who mentions the library in that city, expressly states that the writings of Homer and Virgil were diligently studied; and from his quotations of the works of Plato, Varro, Cicero, Sallust, Persius, Terence, Livy, Lucan, Seneca, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Justin, Apuleius, Nigidius, the mathematician, Porphyry, and Claudian, in his celebrated treatise *De Civitate Dei*, we may reasonably conclude that the works of these authors were also deposited in the library at Hippo.

Numerous incidental notices of, and quotations from, the classics, occur in the productions of the ecclesiastical writers, who flourished between the fifth and eighth centuries: and even during the dark ages, as they are termed—that is, from the eighth to the fourteenth century, numerous vestiges are to be met with of the successful cultivation of literature and the elegant arts, by the clergy; by whom, indeed, they were preserved during the devastations of Europe, which lasted through that long and dismal period. It is true that before the invention of printing, great collections of books were rare. The libraries of the Arabian nations under their most enlightened sovereigns, consisted chiefly of translations from Greek authors. The Arabs extended their conquests into Italy and Spain; and with their arms carried their literature and sciences, which flourished in the latter country, under the fostering care of the Arabian monarchs, while all the rest of Europe was enveloped in the grossest barbarism and superstition. In the twelfth century not fewer than seventy libraries were daily open to the public, of which that at Cordova is said to have contained not less than two hundred and fifty thousand volumes. The ravages of the Crusaders and the devastations of the Turks, almost annihilated the libraries at Constantinople, on the capture of which city by Mahommed II. in 1453, the scholars of Greece were dispersed over western Europe, and carried with them many manuscripts that had escaped the desolating fury of the conqueror of their country. Learning now emerged from the silence of the cloister, whither she had retreated, and where she had been preserved from destruction. The Reformation promoted still more the cause of literature, and its general diffusion has been aided most signally by the discovery and almost universal adoption of the art of printing.

The public libraries of Paris are five in number, viz. the Royal Library, the Mazarine Library, the Library of St. Geneviève, that of Monsieur, at the Arsenal, and the City Library.

1. The *Royal Library of Paris* is justly deemed one of the finest in Europe. It was founded by Charles V. at whose death it contained nine hundred and ten manuscript volumes. Dur-

ing the reign of Charles VI. it was dispersed; and his successor's reign was too stormy to allow him time to amass books. After the introduction of the art of printing into France, the royal library received numerous important accessions, especially from Francis I. who deposited the books in the castle of Fontainebleau. Catharine de Medicis enriched the library, very considerably, with medals and manuscripts which she brought from Florence. During the troubles of the League, the collection was again scattered, but its remains were deposited in a house in the Rue de la Harpe. In 1666, the illustrious minister, Colbert, caused it to be removed to his hotel, and confided the care of it to the brothers Pierre and Jacques du Puy; who bequeathed in addition to it their own very valuable libraries. Their example was followed by Gaston de France, and Hyppolite Count Bethune. But the establishment received its character of grandeur from Louis XIV. who commissioned agents, in various parts of the world, to purchase whatever was most rare and valuable, in order to enrich this precious collection; which was still further augmented during the French Revolution by the destruction of the convents and religious houses.

The Royal Library is divided into four compartments, viz. printed books (among which are the rarest and most costly productions of the typographic art), manuscripts, engravings, antiquities, and medals. According to the "Notice des Monumens," the number of books amounts to four hundred thousand printed volumes, and one hundred thousand manuscripts; but M. Petit-Radel states this library to contain

Printed books .....	350,000
Pamphlets .....	350,000
Manuscripts .....	50,000

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750,000

The books and manuscripts are disposed in five classes, viz. Theology, Jurisprudence, History, Philosophy, and Belles Lettres, and these are again submitted to further divisions and subdivisions, referring to the catalogues, which consist of twenty-four manuscript volumes, five printed volumes, and considerable supplements. Some of these catalogues are alphabetical, and others are arranged in the order of the subjects. It is much to be regretted that no entire catalogue of this library has yet been printed. Mr. Dibdin has indicated its greatest typographical curiosities, for an account of which we must refer our readers to his *Bibliographical Tour*. The Royal Library is daily open to the public, during certain hours, except on Sundays and holidays, and is much frequented. With the permission of the minister of the interior (or, if they are ac-



quainted with M. Van Praet, the principal librarian), literary men of known character and respectability are permitted to have books out of the library.

2. The *Mazarine Library* derives its name from Cardinal Mazarin, by whom it was founded; and who was chiefly indebted to the celebrity of his first librarian Gabriel Naudé, for that fame which his library acquired. It is at present deposited in the *College de Mazarin* or *Des Quatre Nations* (where the Royal Institute of France holds its sittings); so called because it was founded and erected by Cardinal Mazarin, for the education of sixty scholars belonging to four nations, said to have been conquered by Louis XIV. Notwithstanding the various spoliations and revolutions which this library has undergone, and which are detailed with sufficient prolixity by M. Petit-Radel, it contains about 90,000 printed books, and 3437 manuscripts, many of which are of considerable rarity.

3. The Library of St. Geneviève occupies the upper part of the ancient convent of St. Geneviève, now called the College of Henry IV. Of all the libraries in Paris, this is said to be the most regularly arranged. It contains about 110,000 volumes, and two thousand manuscripts.

4. The Library of Monsieur, brother of his Majesty Louis XVIII. is deposited in the ancient building of the Arsenal. Successive purchases of entire collections (chiefly those of the Marquis de Paulmy and the Duke de la Valliere) have made it what it is—an inestimable collection of manuscripts and printed books. It is particularly rich in history, foreign literature, and poetry, especially the productions of the Italian muse. Mr. Dibdin estimates the number of printed books at 120,000; but M. Petit-Radel asserts it to contain 150,000 volumes, and 5000 manuscripts.

5. The City Library (*Bibliothèque de la Ville*), situated at the back of the Hotel de Ville, contains about 15,000 volumes, well selected for purposes of utility, but has no splendid or curious specimens of early typography. This library, in common with the three preceding, is liberally open to the public during certain hours in every day, with the exception of Sundays and holidays.

It is, however, to be regretted that, with the exception of certain parts of the Royal Library, no printed catalogues are extant, of the literary treasures of Paris. Mr. Dibdin, indeed, has described the rarest and most beautiful MSS. and specimens of early printing; but, of the vast mass of literature contained in them, particularly biblical literature, in which the royal library pre-eminently excels, the learned are necessarily ignorant. In this respect the public libraries of London are

honourably distinguished: and as it has not unfrequently been our lot to hear them arraigned as defective in their collections, and placed under illiberal restrictions, we think we shall confer a service on our inquisitive readers, by making known to them the vast treasures of literature and science which are easily accessible in the metropolis of the British empire.

First in the value, as well as in the number of its literary treasures, is the library of the British Museum. Besides the various curiosities from the South Seas, and other parts of the world, which attract the gaze of the thousands who annually visit this national establishment, it comprises cabinets of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and other antiquities and sculptures—coins and medals—zoology and mineralogy—engravings and drawings—and a vast library of MSS. and printed books. Many of these are the donations of public spirited individuals, but by far the greater part has been purchased by the munificence of parliament, at an expence little short of 250,000*l.* since the commencement of this noble Institution.

It is with the library, however, that we have at present to do, which is justly regarded as the first public library in the kingdom, and is inferior to none on the Continent for the number, rarity, and value of its MSS. and printed books. It comprises the great Sloanian, Cottonian, Harleian, Royal, Lansdowne, and other collections, concerning which we have been able to obtain the following particulars:

The *Sloanian* collection derives its name from the celebrated physician Sir Hans Sloane, who, during a long period of eminent practice, had accumulated a very large collection of natural and artificial curiosities, together with a numerous library of printed books and MSS., at the cost of 50,000*l.* Desirous that the whole should, if possible, be preserved entire, and permanently dedicated to public utility, he directed, by his will, that it should be offered to the British Parliament for the moderate sum of 20,000*l.* His noble offer was accordingly accepted after his decease, and the property of his museum was vested in trustees for the benefit of the public. Having not long since had occasion to give some account of the Cottonian, Harleian, and Lansdowne collections,\* we proceed to notice what is commonly termed the King's Library. This splendid collection of books was munificently presented to the public by his late Majesty, George II. It comprises the whole of the very choice and important library of printed books and MSS., which had been gradually collected by the sovereigns of these realms, from Henry VII. down to William III., since

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\* See British Review, Vol. xviii. p. 120—127.

whose time it has been continued, and is still annually increasing, by virtue of the privilege annexed to it of being supplied with a copy of every publication entered in Stationers' Hall, under the existing Acts of Parliament, relative to literary property. At the time of the royal donation, this library consisted of about two thousand manuscripts, and nine thousand printed books, besides the volumes immediately collected by the sovereigns, and principally by Henry VIII. (from the opportunities which offered at the dissolution of the monasteries): this collection contains the library of Archbishop Cranmer, Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel, and his son-in-law Richard Lord Lumley, of Sir John Morris, and particularly of Isaac Casaubon, with whose learned critical annotations some of the volumes are enriched. The printed books of this library comprise an abundance of old and rare editions, many of them being presentation copies from their respective authors; and among the numerous splendid MSS. (chiefly biblical and chronicles) it contains the venerable Codex Alexandrinus, a manuscript of the fourth century, comprising the Greek New Testament and Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament. It is an interesting fact, but little known in the annals of literature, that in 1815, when the Allied Sovereigns were settling the pacification of Europe, very strenuous representations were made that the Codex Vaticanus (a similar manuscript of equal antiquity) might be transferred to the British Museum. To the honour of the late Marquis of Londonderry, we record, that this proposal was rejected; and to his integrity of principle the Pope is mainly indebted for the restoration of the very numerous manuscripts and works of art, of which Buonaparte had despoiled the Vatican Library and Palace.

Among the other manuscript collections purchased by the munificence of parliament, may be noticed Mr. Halhed's Oriental MSS.; and those of Mr. Hargrave, which treat on a variety of important legal topics; to which may be added a large collection of Icelandic MSS. presented by the late Sir Joseph Banks, and Dr. Birch's MSS. bequeathed by him to the British Museum, rich in historical documents and the correspondence of eminent men. The total number of MSS. volumes in the British Museum (it is understood) amount to about 50,000.

The number of printed volumes has never been stated; but judging from the printed catalogue of them, we believe we are not incorrect in stating them to be about one million. The catalogue of them has been edited by Mr. Ellis and the Rev. H. H. Baber, and is alphabetically arranged. These books comprise almost every thing that is rare and valuable in the

various departments of literature, among which may be noticed, 1. Eighty-four volumes of Ancient Classics, which had been in the possession of the celebrated Dr. Bentley, and contain a great number of his truly learned illustrations and remarks, particularly his copy of Aristophanes: these books were purchased in 1807 for 400*l*. 2. The Cracherodean Collection, abounding in early printed books and classical literature, bequeathed by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode. 3. The rare and valuable editions of the classics, bequeathed by Mr. Tyrwhitt and Sir William Musgrave, Bart.: and 4. The *King's Collection of Pamphlets and Periodical Papers*, published in the convulsive interval between the years 1640 and 1660. After having passed through the hands of various persons, some of whom were obliged to secrete it with great care and circumspection, it was at length offered for sale in 1762, when his late Majesty, Geo. III. commanded it to be purchased and presented to the British Museum. The collection comprises upwards of thirty thousand articles bound in two thousand volumes. Most of these tracts are now become extremely scarce, and many of them are probably the only remaining copies.

The British Museum, which, in its aggregate, and considering the number of objects it embraces, has scarcely any rival, is committed to the care of forty-three trustees, with paramount authority over the whole establishment, concerning which they, from time to time, lay before parliament statements of their accounts and various proceedings. The library is under the control of one principal librarian, four under and four assistant librarians, by whom every facility is afforded to men of letters and artists in the prosecution of their studies and labours. For this purpose a commodious reading room has been appropriated; it is open every day, with the exception of Saturdays and Sundays, fast and thanksgiving days. Persons, not wholly strangers, are freely admitted, and there readily supplied with whatever books or manuscripts they may desire to consult; as also with such productions of art or nature, of which they may wish to have a closer inspection than can be had in the cursory inspection allowed to ordinary visitors. The various catalogues, with their manuscript additions, furnish every facility which can be reasonably desired: and when the late Sir Joseph Banks's library, conspicuous for its treasures in the natural sciences, shall be added to this Museum pursuant to his bequest, a general classed catalogue of all its literary treasures will only be wanting to render it the first public library in Europe.

Concerning the number of volumes which the other libraries of London are reputed to contain, we have not been able to

procure accurate returns; but we believe we are not very incorrect in stating them at considerably more than half a million of volumes. The libraries alluded to are those of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, of the four inns of Court, of Sion College and St. Martin's, of the Hon. East India Company, of the London Medical Society, of the Royal, London, Surrey, and Russell Institutions. Of most of these libraries catalogues are extant; and though some of them may appear to be appropriated to peculiar professions, no man of literature and of science, properly introduced, is denied the free use of their treasures. The libraries of the different literary institutions are general. In the departments of topography, classical literature, mathematics, and history, the library of the London Institution (whose printed catalogue is alphabetical) is singularly rich. The library of the Royal Institution contains the best and most useful edition of *every* classic author, with the best translations in English, and some in other modern languages. The classical part of the catalogue was drawn up by the late Dr. Charles Burney. The mathematical class, in all its branches, is very full, and the collection comprises the best scientific journals and transactions of learned and philosophical societies.

We cannot conclude this article without noticing the generally excellent arrangement of the catalogue of this library: in one or two instances we think its subdivisions might be altered for the better; but altogether we have seen no printed catalogue more worthy of being adopted as a pattern for the arrangement of a numerous library.

ART. XXII.—*Confessions of an English Opium-Eater.* Taylor and Hessey. London, 1822.

A BRAIN morbidly affected by long excess of indulgence in opium cannot reasonably be expected to display a very consistent or connected series of thoughts and impressions. The work before us is accordingly a performance without any intelligible drift or design. It is, however, a sort of kaleidoscope, presenting to the eye a great variety of dazzling forms and colours, symmetrically and harmoniously disposed and blended, and yet expressing nothing, and resembling nothing. It is not easy to say what the author intends by his book, except its sale and circulation; whether he means what he says, or if not all, how much; whether he is serious, and if not always,

when; whether he designs to deal in fact, or in fiction; whether he intends to praise, or to ridicule; to reverence, or to scoff; to laugh, or to cry; whether he is learned or unlearned; gloomy, or gay; busy, or idle; married, or single. After all, however, the scene spread before us is a very elegant tissue of confusion, a rich piece of mosaic, on which the eye of fancy, if not of intelligence, reposes with delight; and upon the whole without much danger; though we cannot say more for its morality, than that where it is lax or indecorous, it seems to be rather the effect of absence of thought, than want of principle.

Desultory and rambling as the thoughts of the opium-eater must be admitted to be, there is much evidence, throughout the volume, of a great kindness of disposition; and of what we should call good-heartedness; and he must be but little alive to the impressions of genuine humour, who does not often, in going through the work, feel its subtle agency upon his spirits, provoking him to laugh, without knowing why or at what. There are also touches of pathos in these pages which show the author to be no stranger to the avenues that conduct to the interior of the bosom. Whether we are to attribute it to his opium, or to faculties original and improved which opium has not been able to overcome, we pretend not to say; but it is evident that the writer of this little book rules despotically an imaginative empire, which he can at any time lay under the largest contribution to his wants. If his opium is to have the credit of all this, and the sublime pictures of ideal combinations which have been drawn upon his fancy, and engraved upon his pages, are the literal products of his dreams while under the fascination of his celestial drug, we must take the account as altogether the most extraordinary testimony to its power over the subtle organization of man, that has hitherto been authenticated; and that the author was well warranted in saying that opium, and not the opium-eater, is the hero of the tale.

The youthful adventures of the opium-eater, his running away from school with ten pounds in his pocket, his wandering in North Wales, his subsistence upon hips and haws and berries, his long period of semi-starvation in London, his houseless state, his nightly wanderings, his ambulatory acquaintance among a description of persons of which, for any connexion it had with his opium phenomena, he might as well have suppressed, but in which he seems, by some opium perversion of sentiment, rather to glory,—all these particulars we shall pass over, after observing only, that incorrect and improper as the details last alluded to undoubtedly are, his intercourse with,

and separation from, a young woman of the class of street-walkers, are wrought up, or incidentally touched, with too free a pencil certainly, but with most commanding pathos. It must be confessed, indeed, that this incident, besides giving something of a dramatic interest to the opium-eater's narrative, helps to form a feature in one of his dreams of extraordinary force, and we were going to say of felicity; but oh no, it is a feature so full of wild and mysterious melancholy, and so powerfully sketched, that it was long ere we could recover from the thrall-dom into which it threw us.

There are a sort of men, not of uncommon occurrence in this our day, who, by some solecism in their composition, possess the art of exciting the feelings of others to the highest pitch, without the smallest sensibility to the same impressions themselves. It is an indescribable fact; and, reasoning analogically, we should say that this power was incapable of existence but in a bosom of sympathy; but experience overturns this plausible theory. There are poets, and musicians, and fabricators of stories, who have, as it were, the master key that opens the recesses of the heart, and have the fullest cognisance of all the turnings and windings through which the deepest chambers are to be penetrated, without deriving any part of this knowledge from comparisons with their own experiences, or any correspondent consciousness within themselves. They are like those bodies which are capable of exhibiting all the phenomena of electricity, while they themselves are impervious to its power. We are sure that every reader will make the application of this remark to instances within his own knowledge. We trust, however, that this is not the case with the spirited writer of this little book; but it is worthy of observation that occasionally in the midst of some particulars which have touched us very sensibly, he goes off into something that makes us suspect he is not in earnest, or has no feelings in harmony with his own descriptions. Thus where he tells us of his parting with, and losing for ever, his poor Ann (being never able to find her again, but in one of his morbid day-dreams), the preserver of his life, and which parting, in very few words, he has made very affecting, he adds a note about the superiority of the Bristol Mail, in which he was about to set out, over all other coaches.

The injured condition of the author's stomach, from the long fasting he had been under the necessity of frequently submitting to, while in his truant state, a forlorn wanderer about London streets, occasions his first resort to opium as a remedy. In the paroxysm of a complaint arising from sudden cold, opium is recommended to him by a college acquaintance, whom he acci-

dentally meets. He repairs to a druggist near the Pantheon, in Oxford-street, and it is thus that he narrates his first acquaintance with the virtues of this potent drug :

" When I asked for the tincture of opium, he gave it to me as any other man might do : and furthermore, out of my shilling, returned me what seemed to be real copper halfpence, taken out of a real wooden drawer. Nevertheless, in spite of such indications of humanity, he has ever since existed in my mind as the beatific vision of an immortal druggist, sent down to earth on a special mission to myself. And it confirms me in this way of considering him, that, when I next came up to London, I sought him near the stately Pantheon, and found him not : and thus to me, who knew not his name (if indeed he had one) he seemed rather to have vanished from Oxford-street than to have removed in any bodily fashion. The reader may choose to think of him as, possibly, no more than a sublunary druggist : it may be so : but my faith is better : I believe him to have evanesced, or evaporated. So unwillingly would I connect any mortal remembrances with that hour, and place, and creature, that first brought me acquainted with the celestial drug.

" Arrived at my lodgings, it may be supposed that I lost not a moment in taking the quantity prescribed. I was necessarily ignorant of the whole art and mystery of opium-taking : and, what I took, I took under every disadvantage. But I took it :—and in an hour, oh ! heavens ! what a revulsion ! what an upheaving, from its lowest depths, of the inner spirit ! what an apocalypse of the world within me ! That my pains had vanished, was now a trifle in my eyes :—this negative effect was swallowed up in the immensity of those positive effects which had opened before me—in the abyss of divine enjoyment thus suddenly revealed. Here was a panacea—a *Phlegmenon* for all human woes : here was the secret of happiness, about which philosophers had disputed for so many ages, at once discovered : happiness might now be bought for a penny, and carried in the waistcoat pocket : portable ecstasies might be had corked up in a pint bottle : and peace of mind could be sent down in gallons by the mail coach. But, if I talk in this way, the reader will think I am laughing : and I can assure him, that nobody will laugh long who deals much with opium : its pleasures even are of a grave and solemn complexion ; and in his happiest state, the opium-eater cannot present himself in the character of *l'Allegro* : even then, he speaks and thinks as becomes *Il Penseroso*. Nevertheless, I have a very reprehensible way of jesting at times in the midst of my own misery : and, unless when I am checked by some more powerful feelings, I am afraid I shall be guilty of this indecent practice even in these annals of suffering or enjoyment. The reader must allow a little to my infirm nature in this respect : and with a few indulgencies of that sort, I shall endeavour to be as grave, if not drowsy, as fits a theme like opium, so anti-mercenary as it really is, and so drowsy as it is falsely reputed."—(P. 88, 91.)

Our author's first eight years of experience in opium, from



1804 to 1812, are described as evincing in the most extraordinary manner its power of opening all the sources of mental delight. The succeeding years illustrate the distressing phenomena which take place after the constitution gives way to the increasing quantity and the long-continued action of this powerful drug. We will first present to the reader the lively portraiture which our author gives us of the difference in character and appearance between the exhilaration produced by wine and by opium :

“ The pleasure given by wine is always mounting, and tending to a crisis, after which it declines : that from opium, when once generated, is stationary for eight or ten hours : the first, to borrow a technical distinction from medicine, is a case of acute—the second, of chronic pleasure : the one is a flame, the other a steady and equable glow. But the main distinction lies in this, that whereas wine disorders the mental faculties, opium, on the contrary (if taken in a proper manner), introduces amongst them the most exquisite order, legislation, and harmony. Wine robs a man of his self-possession : opium greatly invigorates it. Wine unsettles and clouds the judgment, and gives a preternatural brightness, and a vivid exaltation to the contempts and the admirations, the loves and the hatreds, of the drinker : opium, on the contrary, communicates serenity and equipoise to all the faculties, active or passive ; and with respect to the temper and moral feelings in general, it gives simply that sort of vital warmth which is approved by the judgment, and which would probably always accompany a bodily constitution of primeval or antediluvian health. Thus, for instance, opium, like wine, gives an expansion to the heart and the benevolent affections ; but then, with this remarkable difference, that in the sudden development of kind-heartedness which accompanies inebriation, there is always more or less of a maudlin character which exposes it to the contempt of the by-stander. Men shake hands, swear eternal friendship, and shed tears—no mortal knows why : and the sensual creature is clearly uppermost. But the expansion of the benigner feelings, incident to opium, is no febrile access, but a healthy restoration to that state which the mind would naturally recover upon the removal of any deep-seated irritation of pain that had disturbed and quarrelled with the impulses of a heart originally just and good. True it is, that even wine, up to a certain point, and with certain men, rather tends to exalt and to steady the intellect : I myself, who have never been a great wine-drinker, used to find that half a dozen glasses of wine advantageously affected the faculties—brightened and intensified the consciousness—and gave to the mind a feeling of being “ *ponderibus librata suis* : ” and certainly it is most absurdly said, in popular language, of any man, that he is *disguised* in liquor : for, on the contrary, most men are disguised by sobriety ; and it is when they are drinking (as some old gentleman says in *Athenæus*), that men *κατὰ τοὺς ἐμφανίζουσιν οἱ τινες εἶσιν*—display themselves in their true complexion of character ; which surely is not disguising

themselves. But still, wine constantly leads a man to the brink of absurdity and extravagance; and, beyond a certain point, it is sure to volatilize and to disperse the intellectual energies; whereas opium always seems to compose what had been agitated, and to concentrate what had been distracted. In short, to sum up all in one word, a man who is inebriated, or tending to inebriation, is, and feels that he is, in a condition which calls up into supremacy the merely human, too often the brutal, part of his nature: but the opium-eater (I speak of him who is not suffering from any disease, or other remote effects of opium,) feels that the diviner part of his nature is paramount; that is, the moral affections are in a state of cloudless serenity; and over all is the great light of the majestic intellect." (P. 94—97.)

We do not believe there are many persons disposed to acquiesce in the justness of this panegyric on opium. Nor do we discover any foundation for the surmise of the author, that the resort to opium, for the sake of the pleasurable sensations it is supposed capable of conveying, is becoming common. In the far greater number of persons who have tried its effects, we believe it has been found to deteriorate altogether the state of body and mind, except in the cases where its relaxing and sedative properties have given it incalculable importance as an anti-spasmodic, for reducing nervous and fibrous energy, and for other specific and medicinal purposes.

The period of painful feelings and mental horrors begins in 1812, when the daily taking of opium commences with our author. To his moderate and temperate use of the article for the eight years preceding that of 1812, he ascribes his ignorance at that time "of the avenging terrors which opium has in store for those who abuse its lenity." For the above-mentioned period of eight years he describes himself as having been a dilettante eater of opium, never allowing it to become an article of absolute necessity, and observing proper distances between each indulgence. But towards the end of the year 1812, or the beginning of 1813, some melancholy event, which he does not explain, having greatly depressed and disquieted his mind, he made opium an article of daily diet. So regular and confirmed an opium-eater was our author now become, that, as he states of himself in his usual emphatic language, "to ask whether on any particular day he had or had not taken opium, would be to ask whether his lungs had performed respiration, or the heart fulfilled its functions." From this time opium is no longer designated by the phrase "celestial drug," but by that of the "pernicious drug." It was not, however, till this daily debauch in opium had continued for some time, that his sufferings attained their acme. And before this crisis he speaks of an intercalary year of pleasure, parenthetically interposed between his other years of mental agony. The date and dura-

tion of this interval of felicity, which he loosely sets down as a year, are not very accurately ascertained, but it should seem to have been about 1816-17, and to have owed its distinction and privilege to the reduction in the quantity of opium for some reason or other taken at this period;—from eight thousand to one thousand drops per diem.

During this happy season he informs us, that “the cloud of profoundest melancholy which rested upon his brain like black vapours rolling away from the summits of the mountains,” drew off in one day. He was again happy, and during this state of composure he receives a visit from a Malay, who he conjectures was on his route to a seaport about 40 miles from his residence. The Malay is suffered to refresh himself by lying down for about an hour on the floor, and on his departure he is presented with a piece of opium, enough in quantity, says our opium-eater, to have killed three dragoons and their horses, which he bolts down at one mouthful. He never heard that the Malay was found dead, and therefore concluded he must have been used to opium. The mention of this incident is no otherwise important than as it added a phantom of horror to the day-dreams by which he was afterwards so fiercely and perpetually visited. As he declares this insulated period of enjoyment to have been the happiest of his life, he has thought it right to favour his readers with what he calls an analysis of happiness. His account of the matter is epicurean enough; and he might have learned from Kant, the philosopher, whom he states himself to have read most attentively during this interval, that if all having the same right with himself had resolved to live in the same way, society would soon have been transformed into a swinish multitude. Whether the author is delivering his real opinions we do not know, but his description is bright and fanciful; and in many parts relieved with touches of peculiar vivacity and humour:

“I will here lay down an analysis of happiness; and as the most interesting mode of communicating it, I will give it, not didactically, but wrapt up and involved in a picture of one evening, as I spent every evening during the intercalary year when laudanum, though taken daily, was to me no more than the elixir of pleasure. This done, I shall quit the subject of happiness altogether, and pass to a very different one—the *pains of opium*.”

“Let there be a cottage, standing in a valley, eighteen miles from any town—no spacious valley, but about two miles long, by three quarters of a mile in average width; the benefit of which provision is, that all the families resident within its circuit will compose, as it were, one larger household personally familiar to your eye, and more or less interesting to your affections. Let the mountains be real mountains, between three and four thousand feet high; and the cottage, a real

cottage; not (as a witty author has it) 'a cottage with a double coach-house': let it be, in fact (for I must abide by the actual scene); a white cottage, embowered with flowering shrubs, so chosen as to unfold a succession of flowers upon the walls, and clustering round the windows through all the months of spring, summer, and autumn—beginning, in fact, with May roses, and ending with jasmine. Let it, however, *not* be spring, nor summer, nor autumn—but winter, in his sternest shape. This is a most important point in the science of happiness. And I am surprised to see people overlook it, and think it matter of congratulation that winter is going; or, if coming, is not likely to be a severe one. On the contrary, I put up a petition annually, for as much snow, hail, frost, or storm, of one kind or other, as the skies can possibly afford us. Surely every body is aware of the divine pleasures which attend a winter fire-side: candles at four o'clock, warm hearth-rugs, tea, a fair tea-maker, shutters closed, curtains flowing in ample draperies on the floor, whilst the wind and rain are raging audibly without,

And at the doors and windows seem to call,  
As heav'n and earth they would together melt;  
Yet the least entrance find they none at all;  
Whence sweeter grows our rest secure in massy hall.

(*Castle of Indolence.*)

"All these are items in the description of a winter evening, which must surely be familiar to every body born in a high latitude. And it is evident, that most of these delicacies, like ice-cream, require a very low temperature of the atmosphere to produce them; they are fruits which cannot be ripened without weather stormy or inclement, in some way or other. I am not '*particular*,' as people say, whether it be snow, or black frost, or wind so strong, that (as Mr. — says) 'you may lean your back against it like a post.' I can put up even with rain, provided it rains cats and dogs: but something of the sort I must have: and, if I have it not, I think myself in a manner ill-used; for why am I called on to pay so heavily for winter, in coals, and candles, and various privations that will occur even to gentlemen, if I am not to have the article good of its kind? No: a Canadian winter for my money: or a Russian one, where every man is but a co-proprietor with the north wind in the fee-simple of his own ears. Indeed, so great an epicure am I in this matter, that I cannot relish a winter night fully if it be much past St. Thomas's day, and have degenerated into disgusting tendencies to vernal appearances: no: it must be divided by a thick wall of dark nights from all return of light and sunshine.—From the latter weeks of October to Christmas-eve, therefore, is the period during which happiness is in season, which, in my judgment, enters the room with the tea-tray: for tea, though ridiculed by those who are naturally of coarse nerves, or are become so from wine-drinking, and are not susceptible of influence from so refined a stimulant, will always be the favourite beverage of the intellectual: and, for my part, I would have joined Dr. Johnson in a *bellum internecinum* against Jonas Hanway, or any other impious person, who should pre-

sume to disparage it.—But here, to save myself the trouble of too much verbal description, I will introduce a painter: and give him directions for the rest of the picture. Painters do not like white cottages, unless a good deal weather-stained: but as the reader now understands that it is a winter night, his services will not be required, except for the inside of the house.

“Paint me, then, a room seventeen feet by twelve, and not more than seven and a half feet high. This, reader, is somewhat ambitiously styled, in my family, the drawing-room: but, being contrived ‘a double debt to pay,’ it is also, and more justly, termed the library; for it happens that books are the only article of property in which I am richer than my neighbours. Of these, I have about five thousand, collected gradually since my eighteenth year. Therefore, painter, put as many as you can into this room. Make it populous with books: and, furthermore, paint me a good fire; and furniture, plain and modest, befitting the unpretending cottage of a scholar. And, near the fire, paint me a tea-table; and (as it is clear that no creature can come to see one such a stormy night,) place only two cups and saucers on the tea-tray: and, if you know how to paint such a thing symbolically, or otherwise, paint me an eternal teapot—eternal *à parte ante*, and *à parte post*; for I usually drink tea from eight o’clock at night to four o’clock in the morning. And, as it is very unpleasant to make tea, or to pour it out for oneself, paint me a lovely young woman, sitting at the table. Paint her arms like Aurora’s, and her smiles like Hebe’s:—But no, dear M.; not even in jest let me insinuate that thy power to illuminate my cottage rests upon a tenure so perishable as mere personal beauty; or that the witchcraft of angelic smiles lies within the empire of any earthly pencil. Pass, then, my good painter, to something more within its power: and the next article brought forward should naturally be myself—a picture of the Opium-eater, with his ‘little golden receptacle of the pernicious drug,’ lying beside him on the table. As to the opium, I have no objection to see a picture of *that*, though I would rather see the original: you may paint it, if you choose; but I apprise you, that no ‘little’ receptacle would, even in 1816, answer my purpose, who was at a distance from the ‘stately Pantheon,’ and all druggists (mortal or otherwise). No; you may, as well paint the real receptacle, which was not of gold, but of glass, and as much like a wine-decanter as possible. Into this you may put a quart of ruby-coloured laudanum: that, and a book of German metaphysics placed by its side, will sufficiently attest my being in the neighbourhood; but, as to myself,—there I demur. I admit that, naturally, I ought to occupy the foreground of the picture; that, being the hero of the piece, or (if you choose) the criminal at the bar, my body should be had into court. This seems reasonable: but why should I confess, on this point, to a painter? or why confess at all? If the public (into whose private ear I am confidentially whispering my confessions, and not into any painter’s) should chance to have framed some agreeable picture for itself, of the Opium-eater’s exterior,—should have ascribed to him, romantically, an elegant person, or a handsome face, why

should I barbarously tear from it so pleasing a delusion—pleasing both to the public and to me? No : paint me, if at all, according to your own fancy : and, as a painter's fancy should teem with beautiful creations, I cannot fail, in that way, to be a gainer. And now, reader, we have run through all the ten categories of my condition, as it stood about 1816-17 : up to the middle of which latter year I judge myself to have been a happy man : and the elements of that happiness I have endeavoured to place before you, in the above sketch of the interior of a scholar's library, in a cottage among the mountains ; on a stormy winter evening.” (P. 135—142.)

Now the pains of opium set in for a continuance ; and, whether in jest or earnest (perhaps partly in the one, partly in the other), he recounts the terrible and appalling spectacles which haunt his imagination, and compose the pageantry of his day-dreams and nightly slumbers, with admirable pathos and command of language. He thus opens to us his world of phantasms.

“The first notice I had of any important change going on in this part of my physical economy, was from the re-awakening of a state of eye generally incident to childhood, or exalted states of irritability : I know not whether my reader is aware that many children, perhaps most, have a power of painting, as it were, upon the darkness, all sorts of phantoms ; in some that power is simply a mechanic affection of the eye ; others have a voluntary, or a semi-voluntary power to dismiss or to summon them ; or, as a child once said to me when I questioned him on this matter, ‘I can tell them to go, and they go ; but sometimes they come, when I don't tell them to come.’ Whereupon I told him that he had almost as unlimited a command over apparitions, as a Roman centurion over his soldiers.—In the middle of 1817, I think it was, that this faculty became positively distressing to me : at night, when I lay awake in bed, vast processions passed along in mournful pomp ; friezes of never-ending stories, that to my feelings were as sad and solemn as if they were stories drawn from times before *Edipus* or *Priam*—before *Tyre*—before *Memphis*. And at the same time a corresponding change took place in my dreams ; a theatre seemed suddenly opened and lighted up within my brain, which presented nightly spectacles of more than earthly splendour. And the four following facts may be mentioned, as noticeable at this time :

“1. That, as the creative state of the eye increased, a sympathy seemed to arise between the waking and the dreaming states of the brain in one point—that whatsoever I happened to call up and to trace by a voluntary act upon the darkness was very apt to transfer itself to my dreams ; so that I feared to exercise this faculty ; for, as *Midas* turned all things to gold, that yet baffled his hopes and defrauded his human desires, so whatsoever things capable of being visually represented I did but think of in the darkness, immediately shaped themselves into phantoms of the eye ; and, by a process apparently no less inevitable, when thus once traced in faint and visionary colours, like writings in sympathetic ink, they were drawn out by the

force chemistry of my dreams, into insufferable splendour that fretted my heart.

"2. For this, and all other changes in my dreams, were accompanied by deep-seated anxiety and gloomy melancholy, such as are wholly incommunicable by words. I seemed every night to descend, not metaphorically, but literally to descend, into chasms and sunless abysses, depths below depths, from which it seemed hopeless that I could ever reascend. Nor did I, by waking, feel that I *had* reascended. This I do not dwell upon; because the state of gloom which attended these gorgeous spectacles, amounting at least to utter darkness, as of some suicidal despondency, cannot be approached by words.

"3. The sense of space, and in the end, the sense of time, were both powerfully affected. Buildings, landscapes, &c. were exhibited in proportions so vast as the bodily eye is not fitted to receive. Space swelled, and was amplified to an extent of unutterable infinity. This, however, did not disturb me so much as the vast expansion of time; I sometimes seemed to have lived for 70 or 100 years in one night; nay, sometimes had feelings representative of a millennium passed in that time, or, however, of a duration far beyond the limits of any human experience.

"4. The minutest incidents of childhood, or forgotten scenes of later years, were often revived: I could not be said to recollect them; for if I had been told of them when waking, I should not have been able to acknowledge them as parts of my past experience. But placed as they were before me, in dreams like intuitions, and clothed in all their evanescent circumstances and accompanying feelings, I *recognised* them instantaneously." (P. 156—159.)

After thus defining and distributing into classes the particular characteristics by which these morbid dreams, produced by a diseased state of the organs, were distinguished from the dreams of health, he proceeds to specify certain cases illustrative of the statement above extracted.

"I had been in youth, and even since, for occasional amusement, a great reader of Livy, whom, I confess, that I prefer, both for style and matter, to any other of the Roman historians; and I had often felt as most solemn and appalling sounds, and most emphatically representative of the majesty of the Roman people, the two words so often occurring in Livy—*Consul Romanus*; especially when the consul is introduced in his military character. I mean to say, that the words king—sultan—regent, &c. or any other titles of those who embody in their own persons the collective majesty of a great people, had less power over my reverential feelings. I had also, though no great reader of history, made myself minutely and critically familiar with one period of English history, viz. the period of the Parliamentary War, having been attracted by the moral grandeur of some who figured in that day, and by the many interesting memoirs which survive those unquiet times. Both these parts of my lighter reading, having furnished me often with matter of reflection, now furnished me

with matter for my dreams. Often I used to see, after painting upon the blank darkness a sort of rehearsal whilst waking, a crowd of ladies, and perhaps a festival, and dances. And I heard it said, or I said to myself, 'These are English ladies from the unhappy times of Charles I. These are the wives and the daughters of those who met in peace, and sat at the same tables, and were allied by marriage or by blood; and yet, after a certain day in August, 1642, never smiled upon each other again, nor met but in the field of battle; and at Marston Moor, at Newbury, or at Naseby, cut asunder all ties of love by the cruel sabre, and washed away in blood the memory of ancient friendship.'—The ladies danced, and looked as lovely as the court of George IV. Yet I knew, even in my dream, that they had been in the grave for nearly two centuries.—This pageant would suddenly dissolve: and, at a clapping of hands, would be heard the heart-quaking sound of *Consul Romanus*: and immediately came 'sweeping by,' in gorgeous paludaments, Paulus or Marius, girt round by a company of centurions, with the crimson tunic hoisted on a spear, and followed by the *alalagmos* of the Roman Legions." (P. 161—163.)

He observes that in the early stage of his malady, his dreams had dealt much in architectural scenery, proceeding before his imagination in an endless growth and re-production, with "such pomp of cities and palaces as was never yet beheld by the waking eye, unless in the clouds." To his architecture succeeded dreams of silvery expanses of water. These haunted him so much that he began to fear that some dropsical state or tendency of the brain might thus be making itself objective, and that the sentient organ might be projecting itself as its own object. The waters now changed their character; from translucent lakes, shining like mirrors, they now became seas and oceans.

"And now came a tremendous change, which, unfolding itself slowly like a scroll, through many months, promised an abiding torment; and, in fact, it never left me until the winding up of my case. Hitherto the human face had mixed often in my dreams, but not despotically, nor with any special power of tormenting. But now that which I have called the tyranny of the human face began to unfold itself. Perhaps some part of my London life might be answerable for this. Be that as it may, now it was that upon the rocking waters of the ocean the human face began to appear: the sea appeared paved with innumerable faces, upturned to the heavens: faces, imploring; wrathful, despairing, surged upwards by thousands, by myriads, by generations, by centuries,—my agitation was infinite,—my mind tossed—and surged with the ocean." (P. 167.)

The Malay now begins to make a conspicuous figure on the canvass. The associations connected with this personage transport the unhappy opium-eater to the shores and heart of Asia; and here we have a most picturesque display of oriental grandeur and terror. After giving certain reasons for his antipa-



thies with respect to the characters and habits of that distant world, he proceeds :

" All this, and much more than I can say, or have time to say, the reader must enter into before he can comprehend the unimaginable horror which these dreams of Oriental imagery, and mythological tortures, impressed upon me. Under the connecting feeling of tropical heat and vertical sun-lights, I brought together all creatures, birds, beasts, reptiles, all trees and plants, usages and appearances, that are found in all tropical regions, and assembled them together in China or Indostan. From kindred feelings I soon brought Egypt and all her gods under the same law. I was stared at, hooted at, grinned at, chattered at, by monkeys, by paroquets, by cockatoos. I ran into pagodas : and was fixed, for centuries, at the summit, or in secret rooms ; I was the idol ; I was the priest ; I was worshipped ; I was sacrificed. I fled from the wrath of Brama through all the forests of Asia : Vishnu hated me ! Seeva laid wait for me. I came suddenly upon Isis and Osiris : I had done a deed, they said, which the ibis and the crocodile trembled at. I was buried, for a thousand years, in stone coffins, with mummies and sphinxes, in narrow chambers at the heart of eternal pyramids. I was kissed, with cancerous kisses, by crocodiles ; and laid confounded with all unutterable slimy things, amongst reeds and Nilotic mud.

" I thus give the reader some slight abstraction of my Oriental dreams, which always filled me with such amazement at the monstrous scenery, that horror seemed absorbed for a while, in sheer astonishment. Sooner or later, came a reflux of feeling that swallowed up the astonishment, and left me not so much in terror, as in hatred and abomination of what I saw. Over every form, and threat, and punishment, and dim sightless incarceration, brooded a sense of eternity and infinity that drove me into an oppression as of madness. Into these dreams only, it was, with one or two slight exceptions, that any circumstances of physical horror entered. All before had been moral and spiritual terrors. But here the main agents were ugly birds, or snakes, or crocodiles ; especially the last. The cursed crocodile became to me the object of more horror than almost all the rest. I was compelled to live with him ; and (as was always the case almost in my dreams) for centuries. I escaped sometimes, and found myself in Chinese houses, with cane tables, &c. All the feet of the tables, sofas, &c. soon became instinct with life : the abominable head of the crocodile, and his leering eyes, looked out at me, multiplied into a thousand repetitions ; and I stood loathing and fascinated. And so often did this hideous reptile haunt my dreams, that many times the very same dream was broken up in the very same way : I heard gentle voices speaking to me (I hear every thing when I am sleeping) ; and instantly I awoke : it was broad noon ; and my children were standing, hand in hand, at my bed-side : come to show me their coloured shoes, or new frocks, or to let me see them dressed for going out. I protest that so awful was the transition from the damned crocodile, and the other unutterable monsters and abortions of my dreams, to the sight of innocent *human* natures and of infancy, that in the mighty and

sudden revulsion of mind, I wept and could not forbear it, as I kissed their faces." (P. 169—172.)

We will finish with two extracts, in each of which there is great grandeur of thought, expression, and imagery, and a character of awful melancholy. But whether the representations have been fabricated as specimens of what the writer supposes may be the progeny of a diseased and teeming fancy, or were really furnished by his own dreaming experiences, is to us not absolutely clear.

"I thought that it was a Sunday morning in May, that it was Easter Sunday, and as yet very early in the morning. I was standing, as it seemed to me, at the door of my own cottage. Right before me lay the very scene which could really be commanded from that situation, but exalted, as was usual, and solemnized by the power of dreams. There were the same mountains, and the same lovely valley at their feet; but the mountains were raised to more than Alpine height, and there was interspace far larger between them of meadows and forest lawns; the hedges were rich with white roses; and no living creature was to be seen; excepting that in the green church-yard there were cattle tranquilly reposing upon the verdant graves, and particularly round about the grave of a child whom I had tenderly loved, just as I had really beheld them, a little before sun-rise in the same summer, when that child died. I gazed upon the well-known scene, and I said aloud (as I thought) to myself, 'It yet wants much of sunrise; and it is Easter Sunday; and that is the day on which they celebrate the first-fruits of resurrection. I will walk abroad; old griefs shall be forgotten to day; for the air is cool and still, and the hills are high, and stretch away to heaven; and the forest-glades are as quiet as the church-yard; and, with the dew, I can wash the fever from my forehead, and then I shall be unhappy no longer.' And I turned, as if to open my garden gate; and immediately I saw upon the left a scene far different; but which yet the power of dreams had reconciled into harmony with the other. The scene was an Oriental one; and there also it was Easter Sunday, and very early in the morning. And at a vast distance were visible, as a stain upon the horizon, the domes and cupolas of a great city—an image or faint abstraction, caught perhaps in childhood from some picture of Jerusalem. And not a bow-shot from me, upon a stone, and shaded by Judean palms, there sat a woman; and I looked; and it was—Ann! She fixed her eyes upon me earnestly; and I said to her at length: 'So then I have found you at last.' I waited: but she answered me not a word. Her face was the same as when I saw it last, and yet again how different! Seventeen years ago, when the lamp-light fell upon her face, as for the last time I kissed her lips (lips, Ann, that to me were not polluted), her eyes were streaming with tears; the tears were now wiped away; she seemed more beautiful than she was at that time, but in all other points the same, and not older. Her looks were tranquil, but with unusual solemnity of expression; and I now gazed upon her with some awe, but suddenly her countenance grew dim, and turning to the mountains,

I perceived vapours rolling between us ; in a moment all had vanished ; thick darkness came on ; and, in the twinkling of an eye, I was far away from mountains, and by lamp-light in Oxford-street, walking again with Ann—just as we walked seventeen years before, when we were both children.” (P. 174—177.)

Once more, and then we shake hands with our opium-eater, almost sorry that his divorce from opium has terminated his dreams.

“ As a final specimen, I cite one of a different character, from 1820. The dream commenced with a music which now I often heard in dreams—a music of preparation and of awakening suspense ; a music like the opening of the Coronation Anthem, and which, like *that*, gave the feeling of a vast march—of infinite cavalcades filing off—and the tread of innumerable armies. The morning was come of a mighty day—a day of crisis and of final hope for human nature, then suffering some mysterious eclipse, and labouring in some dread extremity. Somewhere, I knew not where—somehow, I knew not how—by some beings I knew not whom—a battle, a strife, an agony was conducting,—was evolving like a great drama, or piece of music ; with which my sympathy was the more insupportable from my confusion as to its place, its cause, its nature, and its possible issue. I, as is usual in dreams (where, of necessity, we make ourselves central to every movement), had the power, and yet had not the power, to decide it. I had the power, if I could raise myself, to will it ; and yet again had not the power, for the weight of twenty Atlantics was upon me, or the oppression of inextinguishable guilt, ‘ Deeper than ever plummet sounded,’ I lay inactive. Then like a chorus, the passion deepened. Some greater interest was at stake ; some mightier cause than ever yet the sword had pleaded, or trumpet had proclaimed. Then came sudden alarms : hurrys to and fro : trepidations of innumerable fugitives, I knew not whether from the good cause or the bad : darkness and lights : tempest and human faces : and at last, with the sense that all was lost, female forms, and the features that were worth all the world to me, and but a moment allowed,—and clasped hands, and heart-breaking partings, and then—everlasting farewells ! and with a sigh, such as the caves of hell sighed when the incestuous mother uttered the abhorred name of death, the sound was reverberated—everlasting farewells ! and again, and yet again reverberated—everlasting farewells ! ” (P. 177—179.)

No book, we will venture to say, has ever so energetically depicted the pleasures and pains of opium. The balance is certainly very much on the side of the pains, looking only to its influence on the mind. The effects of this baneful drug, however, on the body, when taken for any but pure medicinal purposes, under the controul and discretion of professional experience, are exhibited in sundry forms of disease, in squalid enervation, and in accelerated old age. We trust our author has had enough of it ; and as he probably has done dreaming, except according to the usage of his ancestors, we may hope

for some useful products of his intelligent and active mind, without any thing of Messrs. Kant or Ricardo mingled in their substance ; who, as they have been the companions of his morbid existence, may not safely be associated with his sound waking, and sober creations. If he can resolve to turn his future thoughts to what is useful, in this age of abused intellect, we heartily wish him long to live in all "the sober certainty of waking bliss."



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